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THE

PORTUGUESE IN INDIA

BEING A

HISTORY OF THE RISE AND DECLINE

OF THEIR

EASTERN EMPIRE.

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BY

FREDERICK CHARLES DANVERS.

Of Her Majesty's Indian (Home) Civil Service.

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Dedicated

TO THE MEMORY OF

PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL

(SURNAMED THE NAVIGATOR),

WHO, BY DEVOTING A LIFE OF INDOMITABLE PERSEVERANCE
AND SELF-DENYING ENERGY
TO THE INTERESTS OF HIS COUNTRY,
LAID THE FOUNDATION FOR THOSE GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCHES
WHICH CULMINATED, IN THE REIGN OF DOM MANOEL,
IN THE DISCOVERY OF THE BRAZILS
AND OF THE ROUTE TO INDIA BY THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE;
ACHIEVEMENTS WHICH NOT ONLY RAISED PORTUGAL
TO A PINNACLE OF FAME,
AND PLACED HER FOREMOST AMONGST THE KINGDOMS OF THE EARTH
IN POWER AND WEALTH,
BUT IMMENSELY STIMULATED THE SPIRIT OF ENTERPRISE
AMONG ALL THE CONTEMPORARY NATIONS OF THE CIVILISED WORLD.

THE PRESENT WORK

IS A HUMBLE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE

COMMEMORATION OF THE FIVE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE BIRTH OF THAT ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,
WHICH EVENT HAS RECENTLY BEEN
CELEBRATED IN SO ENTHUSIASTIC AND AUSPICIOUS A MANNER
IN THE LAND OF HIS NATIVITY.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE movements of trade from the East to the West must have been coeval with the migrations in that direction of the earliest ancestors of our race. In process of time, and as the more distant westward parts of the extensive continent of the Eastern Hemisphere were reached, this commerce developed into the great and important Indo-European trade of the present day.

Chaldæa undoubtedly owed its wealth and influence to the trade from the East which passed through that country, and, according to certain Chinese historians, as interpreted by Pauthier, there was a direct personal communication by the Chaldæans with China so early as the 24th century B.C. This communication was, no doubt, entirely by land, as were also the principal trade routes in much later times. The legend of the arrival of the fish-god "Ea-Han," or "Oannes," in Chaldæa, probably refers to the first advent to that country of trading people from the East by sea and the Persian Gulf.

The position of Chaldæa rendered that country peculiarly favourable to commerce. Situated at the head of the Persian Gulf, and intersected by the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, it was admirably adapted for easy commercial intercourse with Persia, India, and Ceylon on the one hand, and with Arabia Felix, Asia Minor, Palestine, Ethiopia,

and Egypt on the other. In his migration from Ur of the Chaldees, Abraham undoubtedly followed a well-established trade route. Haran was at this time a great centre of trade, lying, as it did, immediately in the highway between Arrapachitis and Canaan, at a point where that highway was crossed by the great western road connecting Media, Assyria, and Babylonia with the Cilician coast. Babylon and Nineveh both owed their greatness principally to the fact of their being entrepôts of trade passing from the East to the West.

At the dawn of history the Indo-European trade was carried on by the Arabians and Phœnicians; the former in the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean, and the latter in the Mediterranean. Between the Red Sea and Persian Gulf routes, there existed a continual rivalry, and on the Red Sea there was also a sharp competition for the trade between the Gulf of Akaba and the Gulf of Suez. Whilst the Arabs, in a great measure, maintained their portion of the trade until the discovery of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, the Phœnicians and their Colonies were forced to succumb to the rivalry of Assyria, Greece, and Rome. The principal trading stations of the Phœnicians were Tyre and Sidon, from which ports their commerce was distributed along the coasts of the Mediterranean. The distance from the Arabian Gulf to Tyre was, however, so considerable, and the conveyance of goods thither by land carriage so tedious and expensive, that the Phœnicians at a later date took possession of Rhinokoloura (El Arish), the nearest port in the Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf, to which place all the commodities brought from India by the Red Sea were conveyed overland, and were transported thence by an easy navigation to Tyre,

and distributed throughout Europe. The wealth that the merchants of Tyre enjoyed by reason of this trade incited the Israelites to embark on a similar enterprise during the reigns of David and Solomon. By extending his possessions in the land of Edom, King David obtained possession of the harbours of Elath and Eziongeber on the Red Sea, whence, with the assistance of Hiram, King of Tyre, King Solomon dispatched fleets which, under the guidance of Phœnician pilots, sailed to Tarshish and Ophir, securing thereby a control over the trade of the eastern coast of Africa, and, no doubt, a not inconsiderable portion of the maritime trade with India brought to the Red Sea by Arab vessels. By the establishment of "Tadmor in the Wilderness," Solomon was also enabled to command a not inconsiderable portion of the Eastern trade that found its way up the Euphrates river from the Persian Gulf, as it passed towards the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

In course of time, Tyre sent out colonists who established themselves on the southern coasts of the Mediterranean, and founded the city of Carthage, which soon rose to considerable importance as a great trading mart; and, when the glory of Tyre began to decline, Carthage was in the zenith of her commercial prosperity and greatness. Byzantium, a Greek settlement, happily situated at the terminus of the great caravan system, by which it was placed in communication with the Ganges and with China, at an early date also became an entrepôt for the commerce of the known world.

With the rise of the Macedonian power, under Alexander the Great, the monopoly of the Eastern trade passed from the hands of the Phœnicians. The capture of Sidon and destruction of Tyre were the death blows to the commercial

prosperity of that enterprising race. Alexander next made himself master of Egypt, where he founded the city of Alexandria, to serve as a commercial port on the Mediterranean for the Eastern trade that passed up the Red Sea.

Although the profits arising from the Indian trade had now for so many years brought wealth to those who had embarked in it, practically nothing was known of India itself, to the European nations, until the invasion of that country by Alexander the Great. One consequence of this invasion, however, beyond the knowledge thus acquired, was a considerable development of Indo-European commerce, and, although the Indian conquests threw off the Macedonian yoke soon after Alexander's death some, of the results that followed therefrom did not so readily disappear. On the death of Alexander, Egypt fell to the Ptolemies, under whom arts, commerce, manufactures, agriculture, and navigation obtained a most extraordinary development, and Alexandria became the first mart in the world. About this time, the trade with India began to revive at Tyre, and in order to bring it to centre in Alexandria, Ptolemy Philadelphus set about the formation of a canal, a hundred cubits in breadth, and thirty cubits in depth, between Arsinoe on the Red Sea, near the modern Suez, and the Pelusiac, or eastern, branch of the Nile, by means of which the productions of India might have been conveyed to that capital wholly by water. This canal was, however, never finished, presumably on account of the dangers that then attended the navigation of the Arabian Gulf. As an alternative means of facilitating communication with India, Ptolemy Philadelphus built a city on the western shore of the Red Sea, to which he gave the name of Berenike, which soon became the principal emporium

of the trade with India. From Berenike the goods were carried by land to Koptos, a city three miles distant from the Nile, but which had a communication with that river by means of a navigable canal, and thence carried down the stream to Alexandria. In this channel the intercourse between the East and West continued to be carried on during two hundred and fifty years. The Indian trading ships, sailing from Berenike, took their course along the Arabian shore to the promontory Syagros (Ras-Fartak), whence they followed the coast of Persia, either to Pattala (Tatta) at the head of the lower delta of the Indus, or to some other emporium on the west coast of India.

Egypt, by the superiority of her naval forces, held the undisputed control of the Indian trade, and that portion of it which had been formerly carried up the Persian Gulf, and thence by the old trade routes along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, ceased to be conveyed in that direction in anything like the same proportions as before. The commodities destined for the supply of the more northern provinces were conveyed on camels from the banks of the Indus to the Oxus river, down which they were carried to the Caspian Sea, and distributed, partly by land carriage and partly by navigable rivers, through the different countries bounded on the one hand by the Caspian, and on the other by the Black Sea.

During this period, Carthaginian vessels were largely occupied in the conveyance of Indian products from Alexandria to the different ports in the Mediterranean, and, beyond the pillars of Hercules, to the western coast of the Iberian peninsula. But the Roman Empire was now rising to power, and desired to possess itself of that

wealth which followed an enjoyment of a monopoly of the Eastern trade. Carthage waged a long struggle with her ambitious neighbour for the retention of that trade, but she had, in the end, to yield to the superior power of her rival, and the Punic wars at length sealed her doom. Subsequently, Egypt was annexed to the Roman Empire, and reduced to the form of a Roman province by Augustus. The importance of Alexandria as a mart for the Eastern trade was fully recognised by the new conquerors of Egypt. That trade continued to be carried on in the same manner as before, and increased to an extraordinary extent under the powerful influence of Rome, whose citizens soon acquired a taste for the products of India. At the time of the conquest of Syria by Rome, there existed also a large Eastern trade by way of the Euphrates, from the Persian Gulf, and Tadmor—then better known by its Greek name of Palmyra—was a place of great wealth and importance; and by this route also Rome carried on a not inconsiderable trade in commodities of Eastern production.

It was not, so far as is at present known, until some eighty years after the conquest of Egypt by Rome, that any important change was made in the trade route from the Red Sea to India. About this time Hippalus, the commander of a ship engaged in the Indian trade, having made careful observation of the regular shifting of the periodical winds, venturing to relinquish the slow and circuitous coasting route along the Arabian and Persian coasts, struck out boldly from the mouth of the Arabian Gulf across the ocean, and was carried by the western monsoon to Mouziris, a town on the western coast of India, supposed to have occupied the site of Cranganore (Kranganur

or Kadungalur) on the coast of Cochin. The following account is given by Pliny of the ordinary route to India after this discovery :—" From Alexandria to Juliopolis is two miles ; there the cargo destined for India is embarked on the Nile, and is carried to Koptos, which is distant three hundred and three miles, and the voyage is usually accomplished in twelve days. From Koptos goods are conveyed to Berenike on the Arabian Gulf, halting at different stations regulated according to the conveniency of watering. The distance between those cities is two hundred and fifty-eight miles. On account of the heat, the caravan travels only during the night, and the journey is finished on the twelfth day. From Berenike ships take their departure about midsummer, and in thirty days reach Okelis (Gella), at the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, or Kane (Ras-Fartak) on the coast of Arabia Felix. Thence they sail in forty days to Mouziris, the first emporium in India. They begin their voyage homewards early in the Egyptian month Thibi, which answers to our December ; they sail with a north-east wind, and when they enter the Arabian Gulf meet with a south, or south-west wind, and thus complete the voyage in less than a year."

It is not certain whether the vessels that sailed from Berenike at this period extended their voyages beyond Mouziris or other ports on the Malabar coast, but it is stated, by the author of "The Circumnavigation of the Erythræan Sea," that the inhabitants of the Coromandel coast traded in vessels of their own with those of Malabar; that the interior trade of Barygaza (Broach) was considerable; and that there was, at all seasons, a number of country ships to be found in the harbour of Mouziris. Strabo also mentions that the most valuable productions

of Taprobane (Ceylon) were carried to different emporiums of India. Thus the traders from Egypt might have been supplied with them without having to extend their voyages beyond Mouziris.

Little seems to have been learned regarding India, beyond what hearsay information might have been brought home by the Egyptian sailors, until the reign of the Emperor Justinian, when Kosmos, surnamed Indikopleustes, an Egyptian merchant of the seventh century, in the course of his traffic, made some voyages to India, and subsequently wrote an account of his experience of that country. He described the western coast of India as being the chief seat of the pepper trade, and mentioned Taprobane as being a great place of trade, to which were imported the silk of the Sinæ and the precious spices of the Eastern countries, which were conveyed thence to all parts of India, to Persia, and to the Arabian Gulf. Kosmos also mentions that the Persians, having overthrown the Parthian Empire, and re-established the line of their ancient monarchs, took now an active interest in the Eastern trade, and all the considerable ports of India were frequented by their traders, who, in exchange for the productions of their own country, received the spices and precious stones of India, which they conveyed up the Persian Gulf, and, by means of the Euphrates and Tigris, distributed them through every province of their Empire.

After the death of Justinian, an important change took place in connection with the Indo-European trade. Egypt was one of the earliest conquests of the Muhammadans, and as the Arabs settled themselves in that country, and kept possession of it, the Greeks were excluded from all intercourse with Alexandria, to which port they had long

resorted as the chief mart for Indian goods. Previously to their invasion of Egypt, the Arabians had subdued Persia, and monopolised the Indian trade of that country; and, not content with carrying it on as before, they advanced far beyond the boundaries of ancient navigation, and brought many of the most precious commodities of the East directly from the countries which produced them. In order more completely to engross all the profits arising from this trade, the Caliph Omar, soon after the conquest of Persia, founded the city of Bussora, at the head of the Persian Gulf, on the western bank of the stream formed by the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, with the view of securing the command of these two rivers, by which goods imported from India were conveyed for distribution to all parts of Europe; and Bussora soon became a place of trade hardly inferior to Alexandria.

When the control of the Eastern trade thus fell into the hands of the Arabs, Alexandria became practically closed to Europeans, and the trading towns on the Mediterranean ceased to be supplied with articles of Eastern commerce. In order to meet their demands, therefore, an alternative channel of communication had to be opened up; the silk of China was purchased in Chen-si, the westernmost province of that Empire, and conveyed thence by caravan to the banks of the Oxus, where it was embarked, and carried down the stream of that river to the Caspian. After crossing that sea, it was taken up the River Cyprus as far as navigable, and was then conducted by a short land carriage to the River Phasis, which falls into the Euxine, or Black, Sea. Thence, by an easy and well-known course, it was transported to Constantinople. The commodities of India proper were

received at the banks of the Indus, whence they were conveyed by the old trade-route channels either to the River Oxus or directly to the Caspian, whence they followed the above-mentioned course to Constantinople. By this means Constantinople became a considerable mart of Indian and Chinese commodities.

During the ascendency of the Roman power, Rome became the centre of commerce from all parts of the world; but when southern and western Europe was over-run by hordes of barbarians, and Constantine had removed to Byzantium, and made that place the seat of his power, the downfall of Rome with the western Roman Empire marked a distinct epoch in commercial as well as in political history. Constantinople now became the principal centre of commerce between the East and the West; and from that city a considerable trade arose along the Mediterranean coasts with Spain, Africa, and the Republics of Italy; whilst a direct land trade with northern and western Europe was carried on by the Avars, a people inhabiting the Danubian provinces.

When the power of the Roman Empire was passing away, the inhabitants of that part of Italy since known as Venetian Lombardy, driven by Alaric to seek refuge in the small islands of the Adriatic, near the mouth of the Brenta, turned their attention exclusively to commercial pursuits, and, by the close of the tenth century, had so far increased in prosperity and power as to form themselves into an independent Republic. From that period the Venetians carried on a most important commercial intercourse with other nations, and exercised, as a trading people, more influence than any other country had done before them. Genoa, which had existed as a Roman

municipium as early as the time of the second Punic war, and Pisa followed Venice in rising to eminence as commercial States, and at the time of the Crusades they vied with each other in supplying vessels to convey the Crusaders to the Holy Land. The Venetians, over and above their freight charges, stipulated for the privilege of establishing factories in any place where the arms of the Crescent were replaced by those of the Cross.

After the fall of Constantinople, Venice procured for herself the general lordship over Greece, and of the towns of Heraclea, Adrianople, Gallipoli, Patras, and Durazzo, which greatly increased the wealth and influence of that Republic, and left it almost without a rival in the waters of the Levant. It had also brought under subjection the people inhabiting the shores of the Adriatic, and obtained from Pope Alexander III. an admission of its claim to dominion over them. Venice now carried on at Constantinople a trade in Eastern products, from which she derived enormous profits. But the Byzantine Emperor, growing jealous of the increasing power of the Venetians, caused them to be driven out of Constantinople, and assigned to Genoa and Pisa a portion of that town for purposes of trade.

Owing to the hostile rivalry of the Venetians and Genoese for the Byzantine trade, many of the German towns, formerly supplied through the Italian marts, found it more convenient to open direct communication with Constantinople, and thus a chain of commercial stations extended from Constantinople to the German Ocean, of which the principal were Vienna, Ratisbon, Ulm, Augsburg and Nuremberg.

After being ejected from Constantinople, the Venetians

turned their attention to Egypt, through which country they established a regular commerce with the East, from the ports of Alexandria and Rosetta; and they soon succeeded in monopolising the Eastern trade. From Egypt, separate fleets were sent to Constantinople and the Euxine, visiting Kaffa and the Gulf of Alexandretta; another traded with Spain and Portugal; a third with France; whilst a fourth connected the seaports of France, England, and Holland, with the great commercial city of Bruges. The internal traffic with Germany and Italy was encouraged with equal care, Oriental produce arriving from Constantinople and Egypt, and many other commodities being distributed, at first by way of Carinthia, and afterwards of the Tyrol.

The Genoese, having obtained exclusive privileges of trade, and permission to form settlements at Galata and Pera, contributed in no small degree to a revival of the commerce of the Byzantine Empire. They soon monopolised the whole trade of the Black Sea, and secured for themselves the produce of the inland caravan trade with the far East. For the better promotion of their trade, the Genoese established colonies in the Levant, on the shores of the Black Sea, and along the banks of the Euphrates. The usurpations of these people, however, at last induced the Byzantine Government to call in the aid of the Venetians and of the Turks, by whom they were finally expelled, and the power of Genoa in the East began to wane before that of Venice, who now became mistress of the Eastern trade.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century the commercial prosperity of Venice began to decline. Driven back by the advance of the Turks in Europe, to whom the

Venetians were forced to yield their Oriental trading stations, their various channels of intercourse with India were successively closed, and, after the capture of Constantinople, the Republic was left with only an intermittent trade through Alexandria, which was subject to the caprice of the Mameluke rulers of Egypt, and was also under the ban of the Pope. In addition to this, Venice became involved in ceaseless struggles with Lombardy, the Romagna, and Naples. But the final blow to her Eastern trade was struck by the discovery by Portugal of the Cape route to India, when Portuguese ships were enabled to bring home the various products of the East far more cheaply than by the former route through Egypt.

In the following pages an endeavour has been made to trace, *seriatim*, all the principal events connected with the rise of the Portuguese Nation, and with the development and decline of their Eastern Empire. It is not necessary to enlarge further on the principal topic of the work in this introduction, beyond stating that it aspires to be nothing more than a compilation from various Portuguese and Spanish publications, amplified from published and some unpublished records of the Portuguese Government relating to India; from English publications and records of the East India Company; and in a few instances from Dutch publications and records. It must not be supposed that within the limited compass of two volumes the history of the Portuguese in India could be dealt with in an exhaustive manner. A history extending over four hundred years, filled with stirring events of discovery, trade, conquest, and defeat, might well claim a small library to itself for a full account of the events that occurred within that period in connection with the Portu-

guese and with India. The present publication aspires to nothing more comprehensive than a brief narrative or sketch of the subject dealt with, which will, it is hoped, help to fill up a gap in the history of an enterprising and interesting race.

The literature on the subject of the Portuguese in connection with India is very extensive. In 1880 Mr. A. C. Burnell compiled a catalogue of works on the subject, which was printed at Mangalore, containing the names of some hundreds of authors, the works of many of whom have been published in more than one language. As might naturally have been expected, the majority of these wrote in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and before the decadence of the Portuguese power in the East.

The causes of the decline of Portuguese influence in India and the further East have formed the subject of numerous essays and disquisitions, but a careful consideration of the whole question can but lead to the conclusions: (1), that their position in the East never had in it the elements of permanent empire; and (2), that the loss of the positions they once held was due to a combination of circumstances over which the Portuguese, as a nation, could exercise but little control.

Dom Francisco de Almeida, the first Viceroy, contemplated only the establishment of factories in India, and the maintenance of commercial relations with that country, much in the same way that the Arabs held the control of the Eastern trade when the Portuguese first found out the sea-route to India. These views were, however, not held by his successor, Affonso de Albuquerque, who thought to found a great Portuguese Empire in the East, and laid considerable stress upon the importance of erect-

ing forts wherever he founded a factory, not only for the protection of the trade on shore, but to enable him to dominate the native rulers, whom he invariably endeavoured to coerce into acknowledging Portugal as a suzerain power. Dom Francisco de Almeida, on the other hand, was opposed to the erection of many forts, as well as to the endeavour to establish direct government in the East. His views in this respect were based upon the argument that, owing to the small population of Portugal, it would be impossible for that nation to furnish men in sufficient quantities adequately to occupy so many positions. For the same reasons he opposed the idea of being able to establish a Portuguese dominion in Asia, and held that the most efficient protection of the factories on land would be secured by the Portuguese fleets establishing a decided supremacy by sea. Dom Francisco de Almeida thus explained his views on this subject in a letter he addressed to King Dom Manoel:—

"With respect to the fortress of Quilon, the greater number of fortresses you hold the weaker will be your power. Let all our forces be on the sea, because if we should not be powerful at sea (which the Lord forbid), everything will at once be against us, and if the King of Cochin should desire to be disloyal, he would be at once destroyed, because our past wars were waged with animals. Now we have wars with the Venetians and the Turks of the Sultan. And as regards the King of Cochin, I have already written to your Highness that it would be well to have a strong castle in Cranganore on a passage of the river which goes to Calicut, because it would hinder the transport by that way of a single peck of pepper. With the force we have at sea we will discover what these new

enemies may be, for I trust in the mercy of God that He will remember us, since all the rest is of little importance. Let it be known for certain that as long as you may be powerful at sea you will hold India as yours, and if you do not possess this power, little will avail you a fortress on shore. And as to expelling the Moors from the country, I have found the right way to do it, but it is a long story, and it will be done when the Lord pleases and will thus be served."

Albuquerque, on the other hand, who in this, as in other matters, appears to have been a close imitator of Alexander the Great, had more ambitious views of establishing an empire in the East. But owing to the comparative smallness of the resources at his command, he could at no time bring more than a few hundreds of men together to maintain his position at any point, as compared with the numerous thousands whom Alexander led to conquest. The circumstances, however, of the two conquerors were vastly different. Whereas Alexander's base of operations was on land, and he had therefore to secure his rear by establishing fortified posts as he advanced, the Portuguese had the sea as their base of operations, and a like need did not therefore exist in their case for similar precautions against attack. Albuquerque, in an exhortation to his soldiers at the attack of Malacca, in 1511, declared that so long as he was Governor of India he would neither fight nor hazard men on land, except in those parts wherein he should build a fortress to maintain them. His policy in this respect was perhaps most fully explained in a letter he wrote to the King of Portugal upon the retention of Goa, dated in 1513. In this letter he observed as follows:

"And I hold it to be free from doubt, that if fortresses be built in Diu and Calicut (as I trust in our Lord they will be), when once they have been well fortified, if a thousand of the Sultan's ships were to make their way to India, not one of those places could be brought again under his dominion. But if those of your Council understood Indian affairs as I do, they would not fail to be aware that your Highness cannot be lord over so extensive a territory as India by placing all your power and strength in the navy only (a policy at once doubtful and full of serious inconveniences); for this, and not to build fortresses, is the very thing which the Moors of these lands wish you to do, for they know well that a dominion founded on a navy alone cannot last, and they desire to live on their own estates and property, and to carry their spices to the ancient and customary markets which they maintain, but they are unwilling to be subjects of your Highness, neither will they trade nor be on friendly terms with you. And if they will not have any of these things, how is it likely that they will be pleased to see us establishing ourselves in this city of Goa, and strengthening its defences, and your Highness lord of so important a port and bar as this is, and not labour with all their might to hinder us from accomplishing our intentions? And if it seem a hard matter to those who have written about this to your Highness, that the recovery of Goa should have been so many times attempted, how much harder must it have been to gain the country from so powerful a sovereign as the King of Bijapur, lord of so many armies, who is not likely to refrain from straining every nerve to recover the possession of it and striking a decisive blow at our prestige, if he could do so? And whenever any one of his

Captains shall come up against this city, are we to surrender it immediately without first of all measuring our forces against him? If this be so, your Highness may as well leave India to the Moors, than seek to maintain your position therein with such extraordinary outlays and expenses on the navy, in ships as rotten as cork, only kept afloat by four pumps in each of them."

In a previous letter, of the 1st April, 1512, Albuquerque had also dwelt upon this subject as follows:—

"If it be the wish of our Lord to dispose the commerce of India in such a manner that the goods and wealth contained in her should be forwarded to you year by year in your squadrons, I do not believe that in all Christendom there will be so rich a King as your Highness, and therefore, do I urge you, Senhor, to strenuously support this affair of India with men and arms, and strengthen your hold in her, and securely establish your dealings and your factories; and that you wrest the wealth of India and business from the hands of the Moors, and this by good fortresses, gaining the principal places of business of the Moors, and withdrawing from great expenses, and you will secure your hold on India, and draw out all the benefit and wealth there is in her, and let this be done at once. . . And furthermore do I say that, for effecting treaties with India, and for the establishment of factories, such as are necessary for your service, without warfare, and for India to take her stand, and for the places where there may be merchandise to admit our treaties and companies, for three years I would keep three thousand men there, well armed and with every equipment for erecting fortresses, and many arms, and my reasons for thinking so are as follows:—

"From those places where merchandise may be had, and which are frequented by Moorish merchants, we cannot obtain precious stones or spices by good means; if we would take them by force and against their will, it will be necessary to make war upon them, and in the said place for two or three years we shall be unable to derive any benefit; but if they see us with a large force of men, they honour us, and it does not enter their hearts to deceive us or cheat, but will give us of their merchandise and take of ours without war, and they will give up the mistaken notion that they will oust us from India; and does your Highness know what is the way of the Moors here? When I arrive at their ports here with the fleet, their principal care is to find out the number of our men, what arms we carry, and if they find that our forces are too great to contend with theirs, then they receive us with a welcome and give us of their merchandise and take ours with right goodwill; but if they perceive us to be weak and our number small, believe me, Senhor, that they await the last decision and oppose themselves to all that may occur better than any other people I have ever seen; this has been done in Urmuz and Malacca and every other place where I have been. . . . .

"And this, Senhor, which I here state to your Highness, will subsist in India so long as they do not see in your power the principal forces of the country, and good strongholds, or a power of men to keep them at peace, and by this manner will the traffic of merchandise be effected in India without warfare and so many quarrels. Once again I repeat, that if you wish to avoid war in India, and be at peace with all her Kings, you must send a power of men and good arms, or you must take the

principal heads of the kingdom which she possesses on the shores of the Sea."

It is clear that Albuquerque entertained most ambitious designs of founding an empire in the East, and of subjugating all the numerous petty Kings who held rule along the coasts of India. One cannot but admire the boldness of so small a nation as Portugal, with a population at that period probably not much exceeding a million souls, aspiring with a few shiploads of traders and soldiers to subdue the combined millions of India and Arabia; and, although their attempt can hardly be said to have been crowned with complete success, they came nearer to the accomplishment of their object than their most devout admirers and well-wishers could reasonably have anticipated; but the forces at their command were never sufficient to inspire sufficient confidence in themselves, or terror to their opponents.

The Portuguese had to compete for trade with the Arabs, who, for several hundred years, had carried on a commerce with the East as peaceful traders, to the mutual advantage of the native rulers and of themselves. In their intercourse with the natives of India, the Arabs had established a strong bond of union which it was necessary to break down before the Portuguese could hope to replace their predecessors in the possession of the Eastern trade, and so lucrative was this trade that they were not likely to abandon it without a violent struggle. Two methods lay open to the Portuguese for the accomplishment of this object; the one was by successful competition, and the other by force. The principle of peaceful commercial rivalry was, however, not yet understood, and the latter alternative was therefore adopted in order to dispossess the Arabs of

their long-established trade. In the struggle for supremacy the Arabs fought to the death, and they were strongly supported in their cause by the Grand Turk and the Soldan of Cairo, both of whom were deeply interested in preventing the trade of India from being diverted from its long-established channels through their respective territories. The Arabs, whose trade was a source of considerable profit to the native rulers of India, also intrigued with those Princes for the exclusion of the Portuguese from their territories. In this they were in many cases for a time successful, and with none to a greater extent than with the Zamorin of Calicut, then the most powerful potentate of the Malabar Coast. The capture of Goa by the Portuguese also forced the Adil Khan to offer the most strenuous opposition to them, and to throw in his lot with the Moors or Arabs, whose influence with the King of Cambay induced him, too, to resist the establishment of Portuguese trading stations in his dominions.

The hostility of the Arabs and natives of India to the Portuguese pretensions in the East, which was caused primarily by a desire to retain the control of that trade which had for several centuries so enriched all who had a share in it, was also greatly increased by the inhuman barbarities too often resorted to by the Portuguese in order to crush their opponents and to drive them from the Indian seas. The destruction of defenceless towns, the indiscriminate murder of their opponents, and the wholesale piracy openly practised on the high seas in the name of a civilised nation, naturally enough raised a spirit of opposition and retaliation on the part of those whose interests and lives were so seriously menaced.

But, whilst the means employed to destroy the Arab

trade with the East cannot be defended upon general principles, there can be no doubt but that Europe collectively benefited to no inconsiderable extent by the check which this attack on the trade that formerly passed through Turkish dominions must have given to the resources of that terrible foe to the civilised nations of the West. The Ottoman Empire was already beginning to decay, destroyed by the love of luxury and ease, the outcome of easily-gained wealth due to a long monopoly of the Eastern trade. The great and valiant rulers of the past were now succeeded by weak and vicious Sultans, and the destruction of their commerce with India and the East, followed in 1571 by the signal defeat of their navy off Patras by a combined fleet of the Mediterranean powers, effectually put a stop to their further European conquests. By a curious irony of fate, Venice and Genoa, two of the nations who, although they flourished by means of the Eastern trade that passed through the Ottoman Empire, took part in a combined expedition against that State, and shared with it in a decadence of wealth and power upon the diversion of the Eastern trade from its ancient channels to the direct sea-route to Europe.

Amongst the difficulties that beset Portugal in her communications with India, by no means the least was the obligation placed upon her by the famous Bull of Pope Alexander VI., to propagate the Catholic Religion in all new lands discovered by her, as a condition of being allowed to hold them on conquest with the Papal sanction and benediction. To this end priests of different orders accompanied the several expeditions to India, and large funds were appropriated for their services and maintenance. Unfortunately, at an early date, violent measures

were adopted with the view of forcing the people to embrace the Catholic faith. Their pagodas were detroyed, and an attempt appears almost to have been made to carry out their propagandism by fire and sword, in imitation of the manner in which Muhammadanism had been previously introduced into India. The forces at the disposal of the Portuguese were, however, utterly disproportioned to the magnitude of their intentions, and the results were not only a complete failure to accomplish their object, but their attempts greatly increased their unpopularity with the people, and added to the difficulties they otherwise encountered in establishing a Portuguese Empire in the East. The priests, monks, and other members of the various religious orders, in course of time multiplied in India out of all proportion to the requirements of the Portuguese populations or of the native converts, and greatly harassed the Government by their inordinate assumptions and pretensions, so that they added in no inconsiderable degree to the difficulties of Government in dealing with the natives. To such an extent did they abuse their power that they absorbed a large proportion of the revenues of the State for their maintenance and ecclesiastical purposes, so that the Government often lacked means for the proper support of their factories and military establishments.

In this and other ways were the revenues of the State misappropriated and squandered, and successive Governors were left without the means for establishing themselves in new conquests, and often held those they had acquired only by the passive permission of the natives. Almost the final blow to the hopes of the Portuguese of establishing an Eastern Empire was given when Portugal fell

under the Spanish dominion, and Philip II. absorbed all the revenues from India in his fruitless attempt to subdue Holland. At no time during the early years of their conquests in India did the Portuguese hold territorial possessions extending much beyond the boundaries of their forts, excepting at Goa, and until the latter part of the eighteenth century their Goanese territories were of too limited an area to merit the high-sounding title of Empire. In Ceylon they did acquire sovereign rights, and succeeded in establishing their rule over some limited areas in the vicinity of their forts. They, however, never succeeded in reducing the King of Kotta and other native chiefs to subjection, and the history of their occupation of Ceylon reveals a continued state of warfare until they were finally ejected from their several positions on the island by the Dutch.

A great deal has been written by various Portuguese authors on the "Ruin of India," by which term is meant the downfall of the Portuguese power in the East. The manner in which the State revenues were devoted to other than Imperial purposes has already been referred to. In the absence of any extensive landed possessions from which rents might have been obtained in order to supplement the profits derived from trade, a very favourite practice of successive Viceroys was to put a high customs duty upon all goods arriving at or leaving their several ports, and to such an extent was this carried that trade was effectually driven away, and forced to seek other places which were not subject to Portuguese rule, and their ruinous exactions. In this manner several of the most important emporia, which had for centuries been noted as the principal seats of trade in the East, were

effectually ruined, and Ormuz, Calicut, Cochin, Quilon, and Malacca, deprived of their commerce, sank under Portuguese mismanagement into places of secondary importance, and never afterwards recovered their commercial supremacy. The religious Orders, when no longer able to draw large revenues from the State in India, turned hostile to the Government under which they had accumulated wealth, and acted in positive opposition, and even hostility to it, until at length orders were sent out by the Marquis of Pombal for the expulsion of the Jesuits from the country. A laxity of Government, and a general corruption amongst the servants of the State, in which each one, regardless of the public interests, sought but his own benefit and the accumulation of wealth, only too certainly prepared the way for the downfall of Portuguese rule in India.

From an old document in the Pombal collection, it would appear that Philip III., King of Spain, writing about the year 1630, addressed circular letters to the various commercial bodies of the Peninsula, asking their opinions as to the best means of restoring the fading prestige in India. To this the Worshipful Company of Weavers of Lisbon replied that they attributed the loss of India in a great measure to the alienation of the revenues of those possessions—which ought to have been devoted to their defence—to the promotion of Spanish projects in Flanders, and to the maintenance and support of religious bodies in the Peninsula.

Diogo do Couto, in a small work which he wrote on this subject, remarks that the Governors of India had ceased to trouble themselves with governing; that the soldiers, being subject to no discipline, became insolent,

and devoted themselves to amusement, and that the officials generally endeavoured to enrich themselves by extortion and injustice, by which means also they entirely alienated the natives from Portuguese rule. In the services, also, merit no longer secured promotion, which was given only to those who, by flattery, secured the good will of the Governor.

There can be no doubt but that during the sixty years of Spanish dominion the interests of Portugal were entirely sacrificed to those of Spain, and the Indian trade was only looked upon as a means of supplying the latter with funds for carrying out her designs in Europe, so that not only were the Portuguese Indian possessions made to contribute towards the cost of Spanish expeditions in the West, but their resources were applied to a cause which resulted in the dispatch of expeditions to the East by European enemies of Spain, who competed with her for the possession of that trade, the resources of which had been so long and unscrupulously employed against them. Thus, on the restoration, when Portugal again enjoyed her freedom, the conditions of her Eastern enterprises were entirely changed; the Indian trade was ruined; the enemies which Spain had raised up in the East refused to be satisfied, or to declare peace without full compensation for past injuries, and the cause of Portugal in India was altogether crushed beyond all hope of future recovery. It is, however, an undoubted fact that she failed to profit by the experiences of the past, and followed a course in India directly opposed to her best interests.

In a despatch of the 19th December, 1729, the Viceroy, João de Saldanha da Gama, observed that the ruin of India was visibly owing to the want of commerce, a want

which arose from two causes, the primary one being the horror which all merchants—who were solely natives or Moors—had of the office of the Inquisition, not only by reason of the rage they felt when they witnessed their rights treated with contumely, but also on account of what they endured in the dungeons, where they preferred rather to suffer death than to give up their habit of not eating or drinking in the presence of Christians, or of taking food prepared by persons who were not of their caste; but, the castes being very numerous, it was impossible to have dungeons enough to keep them separate. The Viceroy then proceeded to remark, "I do not know under what law the Inquisition pretends to have the right to try men who were never Catholics, but what I see is that, on account of the excessive number of prisoners of this description, all the northern province is depopulated, the admirable factory of Tanna is lost, and a corresponding one is being commenced at Bombay, from whence the English take silks, woollen goods, and other merchandise, which they introduce into Portugal." In 1814 the Inquisition was abolished in India, but it was then too late to efface the calamitous effects that it had produced upon the people of India to the detriment of the Government under whose auspices it had been introduced into that country.

Much might be written as to the causes of the decay of Portuguese power in India, but enough has perhaps been already stated to enable the reader to realise the leading circumstances and facts, as stated by the Portuguese themselves, which led to that result, further details of which will be found in the following pages.

The Portuguese territories in India now consist of Goa,

Daman, and Diu. The settlement of Goa lies about 250 miles south-south-east from Bombay, and extends between 14° 53′ and 15° 48′ N. latitude, and between 73° 45′ and 74° 24′ E. longitude. It is bounded on the north by the river Tirakul, or Auraundem, separating it from the Sáwantwari State; on the east by the range of the Western Gháts, separating it from the district of Belgaum; on the south by the North Kanara District; and on the west by the Arabian Sea. Its extreme length from north to south is 62 miles; its greatest breadth from east to west 40 miles; and the total area 1,062 square miles. The population in 1881, including Anjediva, was 445,449 persons; the number of towns, four; villages, 400; parishes, 100; and houses, 87,196. Goa is divided into nine districts, viz., Ilhas, Salsette, Bardes, Pernem, Sanquelim, Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem, and Canacona. The first three of these constitute what is known as the *Velhas Conquistas*, and the others form the *Novas Conquistas*. The territory is intersected by numerous rivers, most of which are navigable. It possesses a fine harbour, formed by the promontories of Bardes and Salsette. Half way between these extremities projects the *Cabo*, or Cape, from the island of Goa, dividing the harbour into two anchorages, known respectively as Aguada and Marmagão, each of which is capable of accommodating safely the largest ships during a considerable portion of the year.

The inhabitants may be divided into three classes, viz., Europeans, the descendants of Europeans, and natives. The last class may be again divided into Christians and Pagans. The native Christians, who constitute a little more than half the population, are the descendants of Hindus converted to Christianity on the subjugation of

the country by the Portuguese, and can still trace the caste to which they originally belonged. All classes of the people, except Europeans, use the Konkain language with some admixture of Portuguese words, but the official language is Portuguese, which is principally spoken in the capital and the chief towns, as well as by all educated persons.

The majority of the population profess the Roman Catholic religion, and are subject in spiritual matters to an Archbishop, who has the title of Primate of the East, and exercises jurisdiction over the Catholics of all the Portuguese Colonies in the East, and of a great portion of British India. His nomination rests with the King of Portugal, subject to confirmation by the Pope. There are altogether 96 Catholic Churches in Goa, mostly built by the Jesuits and the Franciscans prior to the extinction of the religious orders in Portuguese territory. The Hindus and Muhammedans enjoy perfect liberty in religious matters, and have their own places of worship.

At the conquest of Goa by Affonso de Albuquerque, the village communities, amongst which the inhabitants were distributed, were found to be in the enjoyment of certain immunities from taxation and of other privileges. Albuquerque carefully maintained the constitution of the villages, and avoided all appearance of fresh taxation. The same policy was followed by his successors; and in 1526 a register was compiled, called *Foral dos usas e Costumes*, containing the peculiar usage and customs of the communities, and the privileges enjoyed by them from time immemorial. This register served as a guide book to subsequent administrations. But, in time, the communities were burdened with additional imposts, and

placed under certain restrictions. At present they are under the supervision of Government, which appoints in each District of the *Velhas Conquistas*, an officer called *Administrador das Communidades*, to watch rigidly over their proceedings. There is a regular staff of village servants, but no village head-man. On questions affecting the interests of a whole village, a sort of *pancháyat*, or Council, is held, composed of one or more members of each clan (*vangor*), and the decisions are determined by the majority of votes. In the *Velhas Conquistas*, a great portion of the land is held by the village communities, which, after paying the rent and other Government taxes, divide the annual produce amongst themselves; while in the *Novas Conquistas* the lands are distributed among the *vangors*, who cultivate them and enjoy their net produce.

Previously to 1871, Goa possessed a comparatively large native Army, but owing to the rebellion which broke out in that year it was disbanded, and a battalion composed wholly of Europeans was obtained from Portugal. The force now consists of 313 men of all ranks, besides which there is a police force of 919 men.

Goa is considered an integral part of the Portuguese Empire, and, with Daman and Diu, forms, for administrative purposes, one province subject to a Governor-General, who is appointed directly by the King of Portugal. Besides his civil functions, he is invested with supreme military authority in the Province. His personal staff consists of two aides-de-camp, and a secretary, who are also appointed by the King. Although he is the chief executive authority, the Governor-General cannot, except in cases of emergency, impose new taxes or abolish the existing ones, contract loans, create new appointments, or

reduce the old ones, retrench the salaries attached to them, or generally incur any expenses not sanctioned by law; nor can he, in any circumstances, leave the Province without the special permission of the Home Government.

In the administration of the Province, the Governor-General is aided by a council composed of the Chief Secretary, the Archbishop of Goa, or, in his absence, the chief ecclesiastical authority exercising his functions, the Judges of the High Court, the two highest military officers in Goa, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of the Junta da Fazenda Publica (council of public revenue), the Health Officer, and the President of the Camara Municipal de Capital (Municipal Chamber or Corporation of the Capital). As a rule, all the members give their opinions, and vote in every matter on which they are consulted by the Governor-General. There are also three other Juntas or councils, called the Junta Geral da Provincia (general council of the Province), the Junta da Fazenda Publica (council of public revenue), and the Conselho da Provincia (the council of the Province). The first of these is composed of the Chief Secretary, the Archbishop or his substitute, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of the Junta da Fazenda Publica, the Director of Public Works, the Health Officer, a Professor of the Medico-Surgical College, a Professor of the Instituto Professional, a Professor of the Lyceum, a Professor of the Normal School, and a representative from each of the municipal corporations of the Province. This Junta discusses and decides all questions relating to public works, and the expenses necessary for their execution, the preservation of public health, the establishment of schools, the alteration of custom duties, &c. The Governor-

General is empowered to suspend the operation of any resolution passed by this Junta, pending a reference to the Home Government. The second Council consists of the Governor-General as President, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of the same council, and the Accountant-General. This Junta exercises a direct and active control over the public revenues, making the requisite provisions for their proper collection and expenditure, and no public expense can be made without its sanction. The third Council is altogether of inferior importance.

In addition to the above machinery of administration there are subordinate agencies for the local government of the different districts. In connection with these agencies, the entire territory of Goa is divided into two tracts, known as the Velhas and Novas Conquistas (old and new conquests). The former tract is sub-divided into three districts (conselhos), viz., the Ilhas, Bárdes, and Salsette, and each of these again into parishes, of which there are eighty-five in all. Every district has a municipal corporation, and is placed under the charge of a functionary called Administrador da Conselho. This officer is appointed by the Governor-General, and is entrusted with duties of an administrative character, besides those connected with the public safety and health. Every parish has likewise a minor Council, called Junta da Parochia, presided over by a Magistrate, called Regedor, whose duties are to inspect and direct the police establishments of the parish, keep a strict surveillance over liquor shops, gaming houses, &c., open wills and testaments, and report generally every important occurrence to the Administrador. Similarly, in each of the six divisions into which the Novas Conquistas are sub-divided, there is an officer,

called Administrador Fiscal, whose duties are almost identical with those of the Administrador da Conselho. The functions of a Regedor are here exercised by a village kulkarni. Of the above-named six divisions, the first is Pernem; the second, Sanquelim, or Satári and Bicholim; the third, Ponda; the fourth, Sanguem, or Astagrár and Embarbákam; the fifth, Quepem, or Bally, Chandorowadi, and Cacora; and the sixth Canacona with Cabo de Ráma. Each of the sub-divisions of the Velhas and Novas Conquistas is also known by the name of Province. The offices of Governor, Chief Secretary, Attorney-General, and some other important ones are almost invariably filled by Europeans, while those of Administrador da Conselho and Regedor are held by natives.

Damán is a town and settlement in the Province of Gujarát, Bombay Presidency, situate about 100 miles north of Bombay. Including the parganá of Nagar Havili, it contains an area of eighty-two square miles, with a total population (1881), including absentees and temporary residents, of 49,084 persons. The Settlement of Damán is bounded on the north by the river Bhagwán, on the east by British territory, on the south by the Kalem river, and on the west by the Gulf of Cambay. Damán town is situated in latitude 22° 25′ N., longitude 72° 53′ E.

The Settlement is composed of two portions, in Damán proper, namely, parganá Naer or Damán Grande, and parganá Calana Pavori or Damán Pequeno, and the detached parganá of Nagar Havili, separated from it by a narrow strip of British territory, five or seven miles in width, and intersected by the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway. The portion of Damán proper con-

tains an area of twenty-two square miles, and 29 villages, with a population of 21,622 souls; it lies at the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay, and is divided by the river Damán-Gangá into the two separate tracts known as Damán Grande (Great Damán) and Damán Pequeno (Little Damán). The first, on the south, is contiguous to the British District of Thana, while the other lies towards the north and borders on Surat District. The parganá of Nagar Havili, situated towards the east, has an area of sixty square miles, with a population (1881) of 27,462 persons, and is likewise sub-divided into two parts, called Eteli Pati and Upeli Pati, containing respectively twenty-two and fifty villages.

The territory of Damán forms, for administrative purposes, a single District, and has a municipal chamber or corporation. It is ruled by a Governor invested with both civil and military functions, subordinate to the Governor-General of Goa. The judicial department is superintended by a judge, with an establishment composed of a delegate of the Attorney-General and two or three clerks. The total revenues of Damán in 1873-74 amounted to £7,960 10s., of which the larger portion was derived from the parganá of Nagar Havili. The chief sources of revenue are land tax, forest, abkári or excise, and custom-duties. The expenditure in the same year was £7,880 4s. The police force consisted, in 1874, of 194 officers and men.

The Settlement of Damán has two forts, situated on either side of the river Damán-Ganga. The former is almost square in shape, and built of stone. It contains, besides the ruins of the old monastic establishments, the Governor's palace, together with the buildings appertain-

ing to it, military barracks, hospital, municipal office court house, jail, two modern churches, and numerous private residences. On the land side this fort is protected by a ditch crossed by a drawbridge, while at its north-west angle extends its principal bastion, which commands the entrance to the harbour. It is occupied by the Governor and his staff; the military establishment, officers connected with the Government, and a few private individuals; all are Christians. The smaller fort, which is a more recent structure, is placed by the Portuguese under the patronage of St. Jerome. Its form is that of an irregular quadrilateral, enclosed by a wall somewhat higher than that of the other fort. The principal buildings within it are a church, a parochial house, and a mortuary chapel surrounded by a cemetery. Both the forts have brass and iron cannon on the walls, some of which are mounted, and others either attached to old carriages or lying on the ground.

Diu is an island forming portion of the Portuguese possessions in Western India; situated in latitude 20°43′ 20″ N. and longitude 71° 2′ 30″ E., and separated by a narrow channel through a considerable swamp from the southern extremity of the Peninsula of Káthiáwár, in the Bombay Presidency. Its extreme length from east to west is about seven miles, and its greatest breadth from north to south two miles. Area, 52·5 square kilometres. On the north, the narrow channel separating it from the mainland is practicable only for fishing boats and small craft. On the south the face of the island is a sandstone cliff, washed by the sea, with deep water close beneath. Several groves of cocoanut trees are scattered over the island, and the hills attain an elevation of about 100 feet. It has a small but excellent

harbour, where vessels can safely ride at anchor in two fathoms of water. The climate is generally dry and sultry, the soil barren, the water scarce. Agriculture is much neglected. The principal products are wheat, millet, náchni, bájra, cocoanuts, and some kinds of fruit. The entire population of Diu island, according to the census of 1881, numbered 6,229 males and 6,407 females, total, 12,636 persons, of whom 303 are Christians, including four Europeans.

The town of Diu stands at the east end of the island, the castle being in lat. 20°42′ N., and long. 70° 59′ E.; distance from Nawa Bandar, five miles. In the days of its commercial prosperity the town alone is said to have contained above 50,000 inhabitants. There are now 2,929 houses, which, with very few exceptions, are poorly constructed. Some of the dwellings are provided with cisterns, of which there are altogether about 300, for the accumulation of rain water. Diu, once so opulent and famous for its commerce, has now dwindled into utter insignificance. Not long ago it maintained mercantile relations with several parts of India and Mozambique, but at present its trade is almost stagnant. The castle is separated from the other fortifications by a deep moat cut through the solid sandstone rock, through which the sea had free passage at one time, but now it only enters at the highest tides. Besides Diu town there are three large villages on the island, namely, Monakbara, with a fort commanding the channel on the west; Bachawara on the north; and Nagwa, with a small fort commanding the bay on the south. The principal occupations of the natives were formerly weaving and dyeing, and articles manufactured here were highly prized in foreign markets.

At present fishing affords the chief employment to the impoverished inhabitants. A few enterprising persons, however, emigrate temporarily to Mozambique, where they occupy themselves in commercial pursuits, and, after making a sufficient fortune, return to their native place to spend the evening of their lives. The total revenue of Diu in 1873-74 was £3,802.

The Governor is the chief authority in both the civil and military departments, subordinate to the Governor-General of Goa. The judicial department is under a Juiz de Direito, with a small establishment to carry out his orders. For ecclesiastical purposes the island is divided into two parishes, called Se Matriz and Brancawara, the patron saints being St. Paul and St. Andrew. Both parishes are under the spiritual jurisdiction of a dignitary styled the Prior, appointed by the Archbishop of Goa. The office of Governor is invariably filled by a European, other posts being bestowed on natives of Goa. The public force consisted in 1874 of 97 soldiers, including officers.

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October, 1894.

HISTORY

OF THE

PORTUGUESE IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

Early History and Development of the Iberian Peninsula and Spain.

THE early history of Portugal is included in that of Spain, or Hispania, as the entire peninsula was called by the Romans; but it was called Iberia by Herodotus. The first known account of this country is in connection with the Phœnician settlements there, which were referred to under the name of Tartessus, and are generally understood to have included the country about the mouth of the Guadalquiver; or it may occasionally have been used in a more extensive sense, and have been referred to as embracing all the Phœnician colonies in Bœtica, the ancient name of Andalusia. Tartessus was, in the opinion of some, identical with the Tarshish of Scripture. As a geographical expression Tarshish is of extreme antiquity, being referred to in Genesis x. 4 as one of the places peopled by the sons of Javan, who, was himself one of the sons of Japhet. "And the sons of Javan, Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim. By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands." The Phœnicians must have

CHAP. I.

journeyed, and carried on a pretty extensive trade, beyond the pillars of Hercules long before the time of King Solomon, since it was undoubtedly their vessels—the ships of Tarshish—which brought "gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks" to Jerusalem (I. Kings x. 22). Bœtica is said to have been one of the most fertile regions of the old world. According to Kenrick's "Phœnicia" quoted in *The Story of the Nations*, the wide plains through which the Guadalquiver (Bœtis) flows produced the finest wheat, yielding an increase of a hundred-fold; the oil and the wine, the growth of the hills, were equally distinguished for their excellence. The wool was not less remarkable for its fineness than in modern times, and had a native colour beautiful without dye. Like the other great rivers of Iberia, which take their course to the ocean, the Bœtis washes down gold from the mountains in which it rises, and, by following it to its source, the rich mines which they contain would be soon discovered. Gold, silver, quicksilver, tin, lead, copper, and iron abound in the mountains in which the Bœtis and its tributaries rise. The myth of the herds of cattle which Hercules carried off from Geryon indicates the richness of the pastures near the mouth of the Bœtis. The river was navigable for boats in ancient times as high up as Corduba, and, till the seventeenth century, for large vessels to Seville. The River Anas, or Guadiana, which rises near the Bœtis, and flows into the Atlantic through a valley almost parallel in its direction, was also navigable to a considerable distance from the sea, and the hills which bordered it were no less rich in metals. The ocean-tides, which enter the mouths of these rivers, carried ships far up into the land; and the estuaries, which abound along the coast, afforded similar facilities to the inhabitants for shipping the various products of the country. The sea was equally productive with the land in the materials for an extensive commerce. The warmth of the waters, and perhaps the greater range which the ocean afforded, caused

the fish and conchylia to attain to a size not known in the Mediterranean. The salted eels of Tartessus were a delicacy at Athenian tables; and the "Tyrian tunny," which is mentioned along with it, came partly from the same coast, where its favourite food abounded.

It is uncertain at how early a period the Phœnicians first planted colonies on this coast, but according to Strabo it was soon after the Trojan war. The most important of these colonies was Gadeira, or Gades, whose name survives in the modern Cadiz, and is supposed to have been founded somewhere about 1100 B.C. Their other colonies in this part were Malaca, Abdera, and Carteia, places which now exist under the names of Malaga, Almeria, or, according to some, Adra, and Rocadillo. The original city of Gadeira was small, and enclosed within a strong wall, whence the name "Gadir" or "Gadeira," which means in the Phœnician language "an enclosure" or "a fortified place." It occupied almost exactly the site of the modern Cadiz, being spread over the northern end of the island, the little islet of the Trocadero, and ultimately over a portion of the opposite coast. It contained temples of El Melkarth, and Ashtoreth or Astarté. Malaca was situated about as far to the east of the straits as Gadeira was to the west of them. It derived its name from Malakh, the Phœnician word for "salt," its inhabitants being largely employed in the making of that commodity, and in the salting and pickling of fish. The mountains in its vicinity were abundantly productive both of gold and of other metals. Abdera lay still further to the east. It was situated about midway in a shallow bay, which indents the southern coast of Spain, towards the extreme east of the rich province of Granada. Carteia was in the bay of Algesiras, which lies immediately west of the rock of Gibraltar.

The Phœnicians appear to have enjoyed the exclusive benefit of the trade with Tartessus until about the year 630 B.C., when Colœus, a shipmaster of Samos, on his

CHAP. I. B.C. 600 to 406.

way to Egypt, was driven by the force of the wind the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea, and finally beyond the pillars of Hercules, when he landed on the coast of Tartessus, and, trading there with his cargo, gained sixty talents. Thus a new sea-route was pointed out to the Samians and the Greeks, and a new commercial region opened up. The Phœnicians immediately adopted this route, and gained precedence of the Samians beyond the pillars of Hercules. They discovered at the same time, or had previously discovered, the east coast of Iberia; it is certain that they reached the mouths of the Rhone before the year 600 B.C.

The Greeks do not appear to have followed up their trade with Iberia to any great extent, and little therefore is known of that country for about 350 years, beyond the fact that there went, in the fourth century B.C., an embassy to Alexander the Great, from the remote West, of Gauls and Iberians, and from that time the Greeks began to discuss the geography of that country. It came, however, again into notice during the first Punic war. Carthage being a Phœnician colony, the Carthaginians, no doubt, from the very first, traded with Iberia; and in one of their treaties with Rome in 509 B.C. there was a stipulation that "the Romans and their allies shall not sail beyond the Fair Promontory," which is supposed to have meant westward of it, and that this was specially intended to protect the Carthaginian markets in Iberia. The Carthaginians must have obtained considerable influence in that country, for in their contests with the Greeks—their great commercial rivals—in Sicily, Hamilcar's army was composed partly of Iberians. Again, in 406 B.C., it is related that Hannibal and Hamilco sent envoys to treat with the chiefs in Iberia and the Balearic Islands, when preparing an army for another contest with the Greeks under Dionysius. That the Carthaginians established colonies in Iberia is certain, attracted, no doubt, by the wealth of the silver mines there, the richest of which are said to have been in

the neighbourhood of New Carthage. These are reputed to have been discovered by a certain Aletes, who was supposed to have done so much for his country by this discovery that a temple was dedicated to him at New Carthage. Diodorus says that all the mines in his time were first worked by Carthaginians. Some of these belonged to the State, but others were worked by private enterprise. Carthage carried on an extensive trade with Europe, including tin and copper from Britain, and amber from the Baltic. Trade was carried on, not only with the dwellers on the coast, but also with inland tribes. Thus goods were transported across Iberia to the interior of Gaul, the jealousy of Massilia (Marseilles) not permitting the Carthaginians to have any trading stations on the southern coast of that country.

As soon as Carthage had lost her supremacy in Sicily and Sardinia, Hamilcar Barca endeavoured to make up for this by establishing a new empire in Iberia. In that he was eminently successful, and he is said to have founded Barcelona, and to have called it after his own name, Barcino. In later years Barcelona became the principal station of the intercourse with the Eastern countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea.

After Hamilcar's death the work was carried on by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, who was the founder of New Carthage (now Carthagena). He is also reputed to have been the author of the treaty with the Romans by which the boundaries of the two empires were fixed at the River Iberin (Ebro). On the death of Hasdrubal, the command in Iberia devolved upon Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar. Hannibal, after gaining a great victory over a native army, laid siege to Saguntum, a Greek city in alliance with Rome, which, it was agreed when the treaty with Rome was made by Hasdrubal, should be left independent. The capture of that town, in opposition to a remonstrance from Rome, led to the outbreak of the second Punic war, which was commenced by Hannibal's celebrated march

CHAP. I.

B.C. 210 to 132.

with an army, principally composed of Iberian troops, across the Pyrenees and Alps right into the heart of the enemy's country. A Roman army, however, under Cnæus and Publius Scipio, carried the war into Iberia, where they gained many brilliant victories over the Carthaginian generals. Six years of hard fighting ended in the defeat and death of these two brave men, but, in 210 B.C., the son of Publius, the elder Africanus, struck a decisive blow at the Carthaginian power in Iberia by the sudden capture of New Carthage. The war was continued until, in 207 B.C., the Roman army gave the Carthaginians a decisive defeat at Silpia, which left them masters of nearly the whole of Iberia, Gades alone being left to Carthage. That place, however, also surrendered to the Romans two years later, and from this date the reduction of the country into a Roman province was only a matter of time. The country was henceforward known as Hispania. Rome had now to deal only with the natives of the country, but these, especially in the more mountainous parts, carried on for a long time a sort of guerilla war. Of all the tribes, the Celtiberi, who inhabited the interior of the country, were ever uncertain and intractable, and the "Celtiberian war" of Roman histories meant generally a war involving the greater part of Hispania. In 154 B.C., the Romans suffered a disastrous defeat from the Lusitanians who, some seven years later, revolted from Rome under the leadership of a chief named Viriathus, and inflicted many disastrous defeats on the Roman armies. Being now joined by the Celtiberi in the revolt, the country seemed well-nigh lost to Rome, insomuch that a treaty was exacted from the Imperial Empire declaring the independence of the Lusitanians; but, about the year 132 B.C., Lusitania and its towns, after some obstinate fighting, were reduced to submission by the consul Junius Brutus; and the capture of Numantia shortly before by the younger Scipio having given Rome a hold over the inland districts, the whole country, with the exception of its

northern coasts, again became nominally a Roman territory. The Roman administration generally favoured the development of the country's prosperity, whilst piracy in the Mediterranean was checked in the interest of its commerce.

CHAP. I.

B.C. 97 to 19.

In 97 B.C. the Celtiberians, under the leadership of the famous Sertorious, again rose up against Rome, and carried on the war for eight years, but, in 71 B.C., the country was reconquered by Pompey for Rome, and reorganized under a somewhat more stringent rule than before. It was not, however, until the year 19 B.C. that the consolidation of the Roman dominion in Hispania was completed. The country was now fairly conquered; the warlike peoples of the north were cowed and broken; the south was thoroughly Romanized, the population having adopted the Latin manners and the Latin tongue. Some of the best specimens of Roman architecture, and some of the finest Roman coins, have been discovered in the cities of Spain, which, from the time of Augustus, became really prosperous, and were famous for their schools and their scholars. Spain, in fact, was more completely Roman than any province beyond the limits of Italy. The country which had hitherto harassed Rome with incessant risings and insurrections was at last peaceful and contented. Under Augustus it was divided into the three provinces of Lusitania, Bœtica, and Tarraconensis. Of these, Bœtica answered nearly to Andalusia inclusive of Granada; the remainder of Spain, Gallicia, and the Asturias, Biscay and Navarre, Leon and the two Castiles, Murcia, Valencia, Catalonia, and Aragon, all contributed to form the third and most considerable of the Roman Governments, which, from the name of its capital, was styled the Province of Tarragona; and Lusitania corresponded nearly to modern Portugal. For purposes of local administration the country was divided into fourteen administrative districts, of which there were seven in Tarraconensis,—viz., Tarraco (Tarragona), Carthago Nova

CHAP. I. A.D. 256 to 415.

(Carthagena), Cæsar Augusta (Zaragoza), Clunia Sulpicia Colonia (ruins near Arandilla), Asturia Augusta (Astorga), Lucus Augusti (Lugo), and Braccara Augusta (Braza); in Bœtica there were four: Gades (Cadiz), Corduba (Cordova), Astigi (Ecija), and Hispālis (Seville); and in Lusitania three: Emerita Augusta (Merida), the capital, Pasc Julia (Beja), and Scalabis (Santarem) on the Tagus. Lisbon, then a place of inferior importance, and called Olisipo, became under Roman rule a municipium with the epithet of Felicitas Julia.

With the exception of an incursion by the Franks, in 256 A.D., by whom Tarraco was almost destroyed, and several flourishing towns were reduced to mere villages (which, however, proved to be only a passing storm), the country enjoyed peace and prosperity for about 400 years, during which commerce and civilization flourished; and in the fourth century the cities of Emerita Augusta, or Merida, of Corduba, Hispalis, Braccara, and Tarraco, were numbered with the finest, richest, and most illustrious of the Roman world. The natural wealth of the country was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade. In 409, however, the year of the sack of Rome under Alaric, a tide of barbarians swept over the country, when Suevi, Alani, and Vandals ravaged with equal fury the cities and the open country. The ancient Gallicia, whose limits included the kingdom of Old Castile, was divided between the Suevi and the Vandals; the Alani were scattered over the provinces of Carthagena and Lusitania, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean; and the fruitful territory of Bœtica was allotted to the Silingi, another branch of the Vandalic nation. These were driven out by Visigoths under Ataulphus; and in 415 Walia, his successor, established the Visigothic kingdom in Spain on the ruins of the old Roman

province. Spain, thus reconquered, was nominally subject to Rome, but soon became really independent, and began to be the seat of a Christian civilization. CHAP. I. A.D. 418 to 811.

The Visigothic kingdom in Spain, founded by Walia, lasted for nearly three centuries, from 418 to 711, and Toledo was its centre of administration. For a time Spain still remained in name a Roman province, but King Euric (466-485) succeeded in defying the empire and in establishing a Visigothic kingdom in full and avowed independence.

Very little is known of the progress and trade of Spain during the existence of the Visigothic rule; but at the opening of the eighth century, Musa, the Governor of Africa, received the message of the traitor, Count Julian, that brought on the invasion of Spain. At the order of Musa, his lieutenant Tarik crossed the Straits in 711; and, soon after disembarking in Andalusia, met and defeated the armies of Spain in the decisive battle of Xeres, where Roderick, last of the Gothic kings, lost his life. Having received reinforcements, Tarik speedily reduced Malaga, Granada, Cordova, Seville, and, finally, the Spanish capital, Toledo, itself. Musa now took the command in Spain, and received the submission of Saragossa and Barcelona, reached the Pyrenees, and within the space of four years reduced the whole of Spain, Gallicia excepted, to an Arab dependency.

At first the Arabs were tolerant of the people's religion, but after awhile they became less so, and this led to a reaction on the part of the Christian populations in the north. This movement was headed by Pelayo; and his grandson, Affonso I., succeeded in driving back the Moors and forming a Christian kingdom to the north of the Douro. Affonso II.'s reign witnessed the establishment of another Christian State in Spain, and, in 811, the Arabs were driven beyond the Ebro, when Tortosa, after a siege of two years, succumbed to the forces which Louis

CHAP. I. A.D. 813 to 1469.

the Pious had led over the mountains. Henceforth the province was ruled by the Counts of Barcelona, as representatives of the Frankish kings.* This movement continued, and the Moors were gradually driven towards the south; the kingdoms of Leon, Navarre, Aragon, and Castile were successively established, but, about the middle of the eleventh century, the two former kingdoms were absorbed by the latter, and henceforth the history of Christian Spain centred round the two States of Castile and Aragon. The formation of these two great Christian States was contemporaneous with a disruption of the Mussulman power. Until the latter half of the thirteenth century these States carried on a crusade against the Moors, but it then came to a sudden standstill, and the latter were allowed to retain possession of Granada for more than two centuries.†

By the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, in 1469, the history of Spain as a united State commences. It is not the object of the present work to

* Charlemagne having conquered a considerable part of Spain adjacent to the Pyrenæan mountains, appointed a governor who had his residence at Barcelona. About the year 900 the Governor of Barcelona made himself independent of Charles the Simple, King of France; and his successors, the Counts of Barcelona, appear to have given much attention to the manufacturing and commercial interests of their subjects. In the year 1068 the usages, or customary laws, of Barcelona were collected into a code, and according to one of these laws all vessels arriving at, or sailing from, Barcelona were assured of friendly treatment; and they were declared to be under the protection of the Prince so long as they were upon the coast of Catalonia. This judicious and hospitable law was confirmed and amplified by his successors, the Kings of Aragon, in the years 1283, 1289, and 1299.

† That there existed a regular trade between the peninsula and England at an early date is clear from the fact that on the 17th February, 1294, King Edward granted safe-conduct to the merchants of Spain and Portugal, to last only till the middle of October, on condition that the Kings of Spain and Portugal should act in the same manner to his subjects; and in November, 1317, a grant was made to the merchants of certain towns in Spain exempting them from liability for the debts or crimes of the people of any other kingdom or province in Spain. In 1325 King Edward, being very desirous to obtain the friendship of the King of Castile, to support him in the war with which he was threatened by France, granted to all the nobles, merchants, masters of ships, mariners, and other subjects of that King, permission to trade freely in his British and French dominions; and in order further to gratify the Spanish King, he promised that his subjects should not be liable to arrest for any matters formerly in dispute. In November, 1430, an agreement of mutual free trade was concluded between England and Castile.

follow up this history; suffice it here to state that in 1609 Philip III. ordered the expulsion of all the Moors from the country within three days. The edict was obeyed, but it was the ruin of Spain. The Moors had been the backbone of the industrial population, not only in trade and manufactures, but also in agriculture. They had introduced into Spain the cultivation of sugar, cotton, rice, and silk. They had established a system of irrigation which had given fertility to the soil. In manufactures and commerce they had shown equal superiority to the Christian inhabitants, and many of the products of Spain were eagerly sought for by other countries. The expulsion of their principal agents for the promotion of these advantages was a blow to the commercial prosperity of the country, from which it has never since fully rallied.

A.D. 1609.

Whilst in the hands of the people who established Tyre and Carthage, the two most extensive commercial centres of the old world, and of their mercantile successors, the Romans and the Arabs, the trade of Spain was extensive and profitable; but on the decline of their respective influences in the peninsula the commercial prosperity of the country also fell away. Phœnicia and Rome, whilst paramount in Spain, traded largely with the East, and Oriental commerce thus found its way into the Iberian peninsula direct, and through it probably into Gaul. The commerce of the Moors in the Mediterranean was, however, much more extensive than that of the Christians. They were also superior to them in naval power, and particularly in the size of their vessels. Abdirraman, the Saracen chieftain, or calif, of the greatest part of Spain, built, it has been stated, a vessel larger than had ever been seen before, and loaded her with innumerable articles of merchandise, to be sold in the Eastern regions. On her way she met with a ship carrying dispatches from the Omir of Sicily to Almoez, a sovereign on the African coast, and pillaged her. Almoez thereupon fitted out a fleet, which captured the great Spanish ship returning from Alexandria,

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loaded with rich wares for Abdirraman's own use, and particularly beautiful slaves, among whom were some women very skilful in music. It was probably in imitation of those built by the Moors in Spain that the Christian Spaniards introduced the use of large ships, for which they were distinguished, at least down to the time of Philip II., whose invincible armada consisted of ships much larger than the English vessels opposed to them.

CHAPTER II.

Rise of the Portuguese Kingdom—Discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator—Early Traders with India—State of India at the End of the Fifteenth Century.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1087.

HAVING thus briefly sketched the rise and development of the Iberian peninsula and the establishment of an independent Spanish empire, it is necessary to go back again to the days of the Moorish ascendancy in order to trace the rise of the Portuguese kingdom, with which the present work is more particularly concerned.

Affonso VI., King of Leon and Castile, being apprehensive that his success in taking the city of Toledo would bring upon him the whole force of the Moors, sent to demand assistance from Philip I. of France, and the Duke of Burgundy, whose daughter he had married. His request was granted by both princes, and a numerous body of troops was speedily collected for the service, having at their head Count Raymond of Toulouse, and Count Henry, younger brother of Hugh, Duke of Burgundy. These arrived at the Court of Dom Affonso in the year 1087, and having, in the course of two or three years, given great proofs of their courage and conduct, the King resolved to bestow his daughter Urraca upon Count Raymond of Toulouse, and assigned him the province of Gallicia for the support of his dignity. About the year 1095 Dom Affonso, being desirous to express his gratitude also to

CHAP. II. A.D. 1114 to 1158.

Count Henry of Burgundy, gave him in marriage a natural daughter of his, named Theresa, and upon this marriage he conveyed in full property the frontier provinces of Oporto and Coimbra he had conquered from the Moors. The new sovereign, with the title of Count of Portocalensis, fixed his residence at Guimarães, a town to the north of the Douro. He took his title from Portus Cale, a town at the mouth of the Douro (now Oporto). This had been an important place for trade with the Phœnicians, who called it Gaia, or Cago. During the Roman occupation it was the leading port on the west coast of the peninsula, and it was this town which gave the name to Portugal.

Count Henry is said to have performed great exploits against the Moors, but the accounts given of them are few and indistinct. He died on 1st May, 1114, and was succeeded by his son, Dom Affonso Henriques, who gained further victories over the Moors, and signally defeated them, on 25th July, 1139, on the plains of Ourique,* which place was long looked upon by the Portuguese as the birthplace of their monarchy. On the 15th March, 1147, the King, Dom Affonso, captured Santarem, a strong city, forty miles from Lisbon, by which he gained a considerable tract of country, with a strong barrier to his dominions. After this he caused himself to be crowned King of Portugal, before an assembly of the States, where he also solemnly renounced all dependence upon the crown of Spain. The next year the King endeavoured to take Lisbon from the Moors, in which attempt he was at first unsuccessful; but at length a fleet of adventurers, numbering about 14,000, consisting mostly of English, with some Normans, Flemings, and others, who were on their way to the Holy Land, having anchored at the mouth of the Tagus, he demanded their assistance, as not altogether foreign to their design of making war upon the infidels.

* According to Camoens, in "The Luciads," the five "inscutcheons" on the shield of Portugal are ascribed to the five Moorish kings killed at Ourique.

His request was readily granted, and, with their assistance, Lisbon was speedily reduced, and was finally taken on the 28th June, 1158.

The name Lisbon (Lisboa) is a modification of the ancient name Olisipo, or Ulyssipo, of Phœnician origin, "hipo" meaning, in their language, a place enclosed by a wall—possibly a fortified place—and it is said to have been founded by Ulysses. Under the Romans, Olisipo became a municipium with the epithet of Felicitas Julia. After the Romans, the Goths and the Moslems successively became masters of the town and district. Under the latter the town bore in Arabic the name of Lashbûna or Oshbûna. Whilst in the hands of the Saracens, Lisbon, and also Almeirim, were particularly famous for their manufactures of silk.

After the capture of Lisbon, Dom Affonso was successful in all his undertakings. He settled the internal government of his kingdom, procured a bull from Pope Alexander III. confirming his regal dignity, undertook many successful expeditions against the Moors, and became master of four out of the six provinces which compose the present kingdom of Portugal. He died in 1185, and was succeeded by his son, Dom Sancho I., who, by steadily applying himself to the work of restoration, in a short time so improved his possessions that he acquired the titles of "The Restorer of Cities," and "Father of his Country."

In the year 1189 a fleet, composed for the most part of English vessels, but having on board a great number of adventurers of other nations bound for the Holy Land, entered the River Tagus. Dom Sancho solicited them to assist him in a design he had formed of attacking the city of Silves, in Algarve, to which they willingly assented. Having joined them with a squadron of his own galleys, and marched a body of troops by land, the place was reduced, and the English, according to agreement, were rewarded with the plunder. It is not necessary here

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1279 to 1367.

to follow in detail the further development of the Portuguese kingdom; suffice it to say that on the accession of Dom Diniz to the throne, on the death of his father Affonso III., in 1279, the period of war and of territorial extension was over, and Portugal was an established kingdom. During the reign of Dom Affonso III., the commercial relations with England considerably increased, and the fishing-grounds of each were used in common. Both he, and his son Dom Diniz, encouraged husbandry and manufactures, and did their best to turn the splendid position of Portugal for foreign trade to good account. The latter cultivated friendly relations with King Edward I. of England, with whom he freely corresponded, and with whom he made a commercial treaty in 1294. He also corresponded often with King Edward II., and agreed with him, in 1311, that the Knights Templars had been greatly maligned. On their suppression by Clement V., recollecting the great services which the military orders had rendered to Portugal, and their great power, Dom Diniz founded the Order of Christ, and invested it with the lands of the Templars. He also was the first to establish a royal navy for Portugal, of which a Genoese, named Manoel Pessanha, was the first admiral. Dom Pedro I., grandson of Dom Diniz, also greatly valued the friendship of England, and was on intimate terms with King Edward III., who, in 1352, had ordered his subjects, by proclamation, never to do any harm to the Portuguese. A curious sequel to the commercial treaty of 1294 was executed on the 20th October, 1353, when Affonso Martins Alho, on behalf of the maritime cities of Portugal, signed a treaty with the merchants of London guaranteeing mutual good faith in all matters of trade and commerce.

Ferdinand, the son of Dom Pedro, on his accession to the throne in 1367, continued to cultivate friendly relations with the English, by whom he was assisted in his contests with Castile. These contests continued during the regency of

Leonora after Ferdinand's death. Owing to the unpopularity of Leonora, and to the fear that she might bring about a Castilian dominion in Portugal, an Act was passed on the 16th December, 1383, constituting Dom João—the Grand Master of Aviz, an illegitimate son of Dom Pedro I.—defender and regent of the kingdom, with powers little less than royal. After the defeat of the Castilians at Atoleiros and Trancoso, a Cortes assembled at Coimbra, whereat it was deemed necessary, for the safety of the kingdom, that a responsible chief should be appointed, and accordingly, on 6th April, 1385, the Grand Master was proclaimed King. King João then called all his chivalry together, with the freemen of his cities, and with the help of 500 English archers (adventurers who at this time arrived at Lisbon in three large ships under the leadership of three squires named Northberry, Mowbray, and Hentzel) utterly defeated a superior Castilian army at Aljubarrota, on 14th August; and, in the following October, Nuno Alvares Pereira, surnamed the Holy Constable, destroyed another army at Valverde. These blows greatly weakened the prestige of Castile and increased that of Portugal. In the following year John of Ghaunt, Duke of Lancaster, arrived with 2,000 English lances and 3,000 archers, intending to assert his claim to the crown of Castile in right of his marriage with the Princess Constance. The intended invasion of Castile, however, proved abortive, and in accordance with the proposals of the Spanish King, Princess Catherine, the duke's daughter, was affianced to the Prince Royal of Spain. King João of Portugal, perceiving the advantage of the friendship and alliance of England, signed the treaty of Windsor on 9th May, 1386, by which the two countries were to be allies for ever in every transaction. He drew the alliance still closer by marrying, on the 2nd of February, 1387, Philippa of Lancaster, a daughter of John of Ghaunt by his first marriage. The long reign of Dom João I. was one of peaceful development, and he

CHAP. II. A.D. 1387 to 1415.

lived to see Portugal expand beyond the sea. The key-notes of his foreign policy were friendship with England and peace with Castile. Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. of England all successively ratified the treaty of Windsor; Richard II. sent troops to help King João against Dom Diniz in 1398. Henry IV. made him a knight of the newly-established Order of the Garter in 1400, he being the first foreign sovereign to receive it. From devotion to St. George, the patron saint of the Order, whose name was at all times his battle-cry, he bore for his crest the dragon, the saint's well-known symbol. Henry V. sent him help in the expedition to Ceuta in 1415.

It was not until the accession of Dom João to the throne of Portugal that that country began to assume a prominent position as a kingdom. Dom João was the first to establish the throne upon a solid basis, and with him commenced the glorious dynasty known as that of Aviz, which lasted 200 years, and embodied the period of Portugal's greatest dignity, prosperity, and renown. Here we must for a time leave the political history of the country to follow its commercial rise, which may be attributed primarily to the discoveries of Dom Henrique, one of Dom João's sons, who was born at Oporto on the 4th March, 1394.

Dom Henrique's mother was Queen Philippa, the daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, and he was thus the nephew of Henry IV. of England, and great grandson of Edward III. Before commencing upon his maritime enterprises, Dom Henrique, together with his brothers Dom Duarte and Dom Pedro, accompanied their father in an expedition against Ceuta, which was also joined by many distinguished adventurers from England, France, and Germany, and one wealthy Englishman took with him four vessels laden with provisions. Ceuta was taken after a hard-contested fight, and the King knighted his three sons on the field of battle; he subsequently conferred on

CHAP. II. A.D. 1415.

Dom Pedro the title of Duke of Coimbra, and on Prince Henry that of Duke of Viseu, and he also made him Master of the Order of Christ and Governor of the kingdom of the Algarves. This was the first occasion on which the title of duke was conferred upon anyone in Portugal, where it had not previously existed.

The renown of Prince Henrique, after the taking of Ceuta, became so high in Europe that he was invited severally by the Pope, the Emperor of Germany, and the Kings of Castile and of England to undertake the command of their respective armies. The prince, however, had now set his mind upon the conquest of Guinea, and he sent every year two or three vessels to examine the coasts beyond Cape Non, the limit of Spanish exploration; yet none of his ships for many years had the hardihood to round Cape Bojador. Besides exploring the west coast of Africa, the Prince had, however, in his mind a hope of reaching India by the south point of that continent.

On the fall of the Roman empire the commerce of the world had passed into other hands, and the great Indo-European trade was now principally carried on by the Moors, or Arabs. The crusades had acted as a great stimulus to the demand for Eastern luxuries. The vast mercantile operations of the Arabs had filled Spain with the rich productions of the East, and the luxurious habits of the Moorish courts of Seville and Granada were imitated by the Catholic princes of Aragon and Castile. The hostilities with the Moors naturally led to an interruption in the supply of these objects of luxury, and thus it may be inferred that their expulsion from the peninsula was one of the great stimulants to the search for a passage to India by the sea.

The large revenues of the Order of Christ, of which Prince Henrique was the grand master, provided him with resources for which he could imagine no more worthy employment than the conquest and the conversion of the heathen, and the general extension of the know-

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A.D. 1416 to 1428.

ledge of the human race, with its concomitant commercial advantages. Dom Henrique gathered much information regarding the commerce of Africa from the Moors themselves; and the more entirely to enable himself to carry out his objects without embarrassment he took up his abode in the promontory of Sagre in Algarve. He originally named his new quarters Terça Nabal (short for Terçena Nabal), or Naval Arsenal, but at a later time it received the name of Villa do Infante. Here he devoted himself to the study of astronomy and mathematics, and hence he despatched vessels on adventurous explorations.

The travels of Dom Pedro were very instrumental in stimulating the efforts of his brother Dom Henrique. Dom Pedro started in 1416 on a visit to the principal countries of Europe and Western Asia; his first destination was Palestine, whence, after visiting the holy places, he proceeded to the court of the Grand Turk, and to that of the Grand Sultan of Babylonia, where he met with a magnificent reception. He thence passed to the court of Rome, where he obtained from Pope Martin V. the important prerogative for the Kings of Portugal of receiving the right of coronation by unction, in the same manner as was observed in the crowning of the Kings of England and France. The Prince also visited the courts of the Kings of Hungary and Denmark; he afterwards went to Venice, and there received from the Republic, in compliment to him as a traveller and a learned royal prince, the priceless gift of a copy of the travels of Marco Polo, which had been preserved by the Venetians in their treasury as a work of great value, together with a map which had been supposed to have been by the hand of the same illustrious explorer. The Prince then proceeded to England, where he was received by King Henry VI. with every mark of honour and regard. On the 22nd of April, 1427, Dom Pedro was elected a Knight of the Garter, shortly after which, in 1428, he returned to Portugal

after an absence of twelve years. Subsequently to the last-named date the trade between England and Portugal considerably increased, and British vessels were often to be seen in Portuguese waters. The principal articles of commerce were wine, osay, wax, grain, figs, raisins, honey, cordovan, dates, salt, hides, &c.

The discovery of the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira, in 1418-20, was the first fruit of Dom Henrique's explorations. For a long series of years the Prince had, with untiring perseverance, continued to send out annually two or three caravels along the West Coast of Africa. Cape Non had been passed, but it was not until 1434 that an expedition, under Gil Eannes, succeeded in doubling Cape Bojador. Further slight discoveries were made from time to time, and about 1441 Dom Henrique, seeing that he would have to send out many expeditions to contend with the infidel natives of the African coast, sent to the Pope, informing him of his proceedings, and praying for a concession in perpetuity to the crown of Portugal of whatever lands might be discovered beyond Cape Bojador to the Indies inclusive, especially submitting to His Holiness that the salvation of these people was the principal object of his labours in that conquest. The news of these discoveries was considered so valuable by the Pope and the College of Cardinals that a bull was forthwith issued in conformity with the request, and this was subsequently confirmed by Popes Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. The Regent, Dom Pedro, also granted a charter to his brother Dom Henrique, authorizing him to receive the entire fifth of the produce of the expeditions appertaining to the King, and in consideration of the great labour and expense which the Prince undertook at his own sole charge, he issued a mandate that none should go on these expeditions without Prince Henry's licence and especial command.

Dom Henrique's method for Christianizing the people of Africa was by ordering his captains to bring home some

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1442 to 1444.

natives whenever they could capture them: also an important object of this was with the view of acquiring local information from them as an aid to further discoveries. This they did, and, alluding to the negroes so taken to Lisbon, the chronicler Azurara, who had been an eye-witness, remarked: "They were treated with kindness, and no difference was made between them and the free-born servants of Portugal. Still more, those of tender age were taught trades, and such as showed aptitude for managing their property were set free, and married to women of the country, receiving a good dower just as if their masters had been their parents, or at least felt themselves bound to show this liberality in recognition of the good services they had received. Widow-ladies would treat the young captives, whom they had bought, like their own daughters, and leave them legacies in their wills, so that they might afterwards marry well, and be regarded absolutely as free women. Suffice it to say that I have never known one of these captives put in irons like other slaves, nor have I ever known one who did not become a Christian, or who was not treated with great kindness. I have often been invited by masters to the baptism or marriage of these strangers, and quite as much ceremony has been observed as if it were on behalf of a child or relation."

There was, however, another side to this question. The profits to be obtained from the trade with Africa—consisting principally of negro slaves and gold—was such that it not only, by appealing to the avidity of the Portuguese, induced them to acquiesce in Dom Henrique's schemes of discovery, which they had previously opposed on account of their cost, but it filled all Europe with a desire to embark under the flag of the Portuguese, in order to share in the benefits of this trade. A company of merchants at Lagos obtained from the Prince, in 1443, a charter for the exclusive right of trading with the Moors of the African coast for a limited time; and, in the following year, a few vessels belonging to this first Royal

African Company arrived at a small island called Nar. But instead of trading with the Moors, they made a hostile attack upon them, slew many, and brought off 155 captives. Prince Henry afterwards built a fort on the little island of Arguin for the accommodation of the Company; and there they established their factory, to which they sent, annually, ships with woollen cloth, linen, corn, &c., and some silver. These they exchanged with the Moors, or Arabs, for negro slaves and gold-dust.

Early in the fifteenth century Dom Henrique conceived the idea of obtaining possession of the Canary Islands; these were, however, claimed by Castile, in virtue of the King having, in 1402, assisted the Norman Jean de Bétheucourt in conquering them, and to whom in consequence he made homage of the islands. The rival claims of the two kingdoms remained unsettled till 1479, when, on the 4th of September, the treaty of peace was signed at Alcaçova, between Affonso V. of Portugal and Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, according to the terms of which "the conquests from Cape Non to the Indies, with the seas and islands adjacent, should remain in possession of the Portuguese, but the Canaries and Granada should belong to the Castilians."

In 1433 the Azores were discovered by one of Dom Henrique's expeditions. In 1455 and 1456 Luigi Cadamosto, a Venetian gentleman, entered the service of the Prince, who entrusted him with the charge of an expedition which discovered the Cape de Verde Islands, and made also most important visits to the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Rio Grande. Dom Henrique did not live to see the successful results of his enterprises, for he died on the 13th November, 1460, shortly after taking part in an expedition against Alcaçar Seguer. He was buried in the church of St. Mary, in Lagos, but his body was subsequently removed to the monastery of Santa Maria de Batalha, where his tomb still exists, and on it is inscribed the Prince's well-known motto, "Talent de bien faire."

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A.D. 1461 to 1484.

King Affonso V., the nephew of Dom Henrique, being desirous of having a map of the world projected, entrusted all the plans that had been prepared by his uncle to the Venetian Fra Mauro, of the Camaldolese Convent of San Miguel de Murano. On this map, which occupied three years in construction, and which preceded by forty years the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama, the southern extremity of Africa was clearly laid down under the name of "Cavo di Diab," and to the north-east of that point are inscribed the names of "Soffala," and "Xengibar." This information was most probably obtained through the Arab traders, either from their own knowledge or from information they had received from the natives. In 1461-62 the King sent out two armed caravels, under the command of Pedro de Cintra, by whom the coast of Africa was discovered to some miles south of Sierra Leone. In 1469 the King rented the trade of the African coast to Fernão Gomez for 500 cruzados a year, for five years, reserving the ivory trade only to the Crown, and stipulating for the discovery of a hundred leagues of coast annually. This stipulated exploration was to commence at Sierra Leone, the point reached by the latest previous discoverers. In 1471 the equinoctial line was crossed from north to south for the first time within human knowledge; and by the expiration of his contract Fernão Gomez had made discoveries as far as Cape St. Catherine, two degrees south of the equator.

On the death of Affonso V., his son and successor, João II., entered with zeal into the views of his predecessors, and of his great uncle Dom Henrique. In 1484 Diogo Cão reached the mouth of the Congo river, and in this voyage he was accompanied by the celebrated Martin Behain, the inventor of the application of the astrolabe to navigation. In his next voyage he traversed more than 200 leagues beyond the Congo.

When Diogo Cão was returning for the first time from Congo, one João Affonso de Aveirô was commissioned by

CHAP. II. A.D. 1484.

the King of Benin to convey an ambassador to the King of Portugal, with a request that he would send missionaries to teach his people the Christian religion. This negro ambassador informed King João that eastward of Benin, some 350 leagues in the interior, there lived a powerful monarch named Ogane, who held both temporal and spiritual dominion over the neighbouring Kings, and that the King of Benin, on his own elevation to the throne, sent him an embassy with rich presents, and received from him the investiture and insignia of sovereignty. His story tallied so remarkably with the account of Prester John, which had been brought to the peninsula by Abyssinian priests, that the King was seized with an ardent desire to get further information upon the subject, for he plainly saw how immensely his double object of spreading Christianity and extending his commerce by opening the road to the Indies would be furthered by an alliance with such a sovereign. He accordingly determined that the attempt should be made, both by sea and land, to reach the country of Prester John. The results of these expeditions form the subject of another chapter.

At the time when the Portuguese first reached India the Indo-European commerce was entirely in the hands of the Arabs. After the death of Mohammed, the Arabs began to promulgate his doctrines with the sword and to extend the dominions subject to their sway. The rapidity of their successes stands unrivalled in the history of mankind. Having subdued Persia and Egypt, the Greeks were cut off from intercourse with Alexandria, which had for a long time been their principal resort for Indian goods. The Arabs soon appreciated the enormous advantages derivable from Eastern commerce, and entered upon the pursuit of mercantile enterprise with the same ardour which had characterized their efforts as warriors. They speedily outstripped the limits of previous nautical investigation, and imported many of the most costly com-

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modities of the East immediately from the countries which produced them. In order to give every possible encouragement to commerce, Khalif Omar founded the city of Bussora, on the west bank of the Shat-el-Arab, between the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, a station scarcely inferior to Alexandria for the shipping engaged in the Indian trade.* Although the Arabs in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries made several descents upon Guzerat, the Gulf of Cambay, and Malabar, they made no fixed stay upon these coasts; but a considerable number of individual merchants established themselves there, and gained for themselves a reputation for commercial probity. They had also possessed themselves of the whole of the north coast of Africa, from the Delta of the Nile to the Straits of Gibraltar, together with a great part of Spain. The Christian races were thus cut off from the Eastern commerce, with the exception of a small inland trade that had been established through Tartary.

With the rise of Venice, a closer intercourse than previously existed was established between the Christians and Mohammedans; the ancient channel of intercourse with India by Egypt was again laid open, and Venetian merchants became the distributors of Indian produce over the west of Europe.

About the middle of the eleventh century the empire of the khalifs began to decline, and this was followed by the irruptions of the Turks, whose invasion of Syria and Palestine was one of the proximate causes of the crusades. These expeditions, while they naturally revived the old hostility between the Christians and Mohammedans, opened the eyes of the sovereigns of the West to the wealth that was to be obtained from the commerce of the East. The merchants who were associated with these adventurous expeditions obtained for themselves permission to settle at Acre, Aleppo, and other trading

* Introduction to *India in the Fifteenth Century*. Hakluyt Society.

towns on the coast of Syria, together with a variety of commercial privileges; and by these means the cities of Venice, Genoa, Amalfi, Pisa, and Florence entirely engrossed the Indian trade. A strong competition soon arose between the Genoese and Venetians for the control of this trade. The former, combining with the Greeks, drove the Venetian merchants from Constantinople, and the latter, in retaliation, procured a bull of dispensation from the Pope, by which they were permitted to open a free trade with the infidels, and they were thus enabled to establish their intercourse with India upon a more solid basis than that which they had heretofore possessed. By the conquest of the Greek empire by Mohammed II., in 1453, the Genoese were finally expelled from Constantinople, which city then ceased to be a mart for the supply of Indian commodities to the nations of the West. This trade was thereafter monopolized by Egypt and the parts of Syria subject to the Sultans of the Mamlúks, and as the Venetians by their commercial treaties with those powerful princes commanded those channels of intercourse, they were enabled to monopolize the supply of the products of the East to the countries of the West, until the close of the fifteenth century.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese first arrived in India, that country was passing through one of those convulsive throes to which it had been subject from the very dawn of history. The Moguls had not as yet invaded India, and it was not until 1526 that Baber founded his empire at Delhi and Agra. Meantime northern India, or Hindustan proper, had been parcelled out amongst a number of Afghan Mussulman chiefs; excepting to the south and west, where the Rajputs still maintained an independent dominion. The remainder of India, known as the Deccan and the Peninsula, was about equally divided between Mussulmans and Hindús. The Deccan was occupied by a powerful Mussulman dynasty known as the Brahmany

CHAP. II.

Sultans. Southward of the Deccan the whole peninsula, corresponding to the present Madras presidency, including Mysore, but exclusive of Malabar, comprised the Hindú kingdom of Narsinga, the last which deserved the name of empire.* The territory of Malabar was divided into a number of petty kingdoms, each of which was governed by a Raja; but these Rajas acknowledged the authority of a suzerain, who reigned at the ancient seaport of Calicut, under the title of Zamorin or Emperor. From time immemorial the seaports of Malabar, and especially Calicut, had been famous for their trade in spices, pepper, ginger, and other Indian commodities. The Rajas of the several kingdoms were deeply interested in this trade, for they levied a tax on every sale, and often supplied the cargoes. The principal traders were, however, Mussulmans from Arabia and Egypt, who went by the name of Moors. These men carried away not only rich cargoes to the Red Sea, but shiploads of pilgrims going to Mecca. They landed their pilgrims at Jedda and their goods at Suez. The goods were then carried through Egypt on the backs of camels to the city of Alexandria, where they were again shipped in the vessels of Venetian and Genoese merchants, and conveyed to the different ports in the Mediterranean.

About the time that the Portuguese arrived in India the empire of the Brahmany Mussulmans became dismembered into five separate kingdoms,—namely, Ahmednagar and Berar on the north, Bíjápúr and Golconda on the south, and the petty State of Bider in the centre. The peninsula of Guzerat had been formed into a Mussulman kingdom, the chief city of which was Cambay, which sometimes gave its name to the entire kingdom. The coasts between Guzerat and Malabar, though nominally forming part of the kingdoms of Kandeish, Ahmednagar, and Bíjápúr, were infested by pirates, and the trade in its ports must have been very inferior to that of Malabar.

* *The History of India from the Earliest Ages.* By J. Talbays Wheeler.

CHAPTER III.

Discoveries of Dom João II.—Search for Prester John—Voyage of Bartholomeu de Diaz—Discoveries of Christopher Columbus—Bull of Pope Alexander VI.—Treaty of Tordesillas—Death of Dom João II. and Succession of Dom Manoel to the Throne of Portugal—Voyage of Vasco da Gama, and Discovery of the Sea-Route to India—Melinde—Calicut.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1481 to 1487.

SOON after Dom João II. had ascended the throne, he formed a resolution to endeavour to discover the lands whence spiceries were procured. To this end he first dispatched Father Antonio de Lisboa and Pedro de Montaroyo, charged with a commission to discover where Prester John dwelt; whether his territories reached to the sea; and where the pepper and cinnamon grew, and other sorts of spicerie which were brought to the city of Venice from the countries of the Moors. When these reached Jerusalem, however, they found that without a knowledge of Arabic it would be useless to continue their journey, and they accordingly returned to Lisbon. Having received their report, the King charged João Peres de Covilhão with this duty. He had already served the State in several capacities on former occasions, and had acquired a knowledge of the Arabic tongue in Barbary. With him was associated in this duty Affonso de Paiva, who was also very expert in the Arabic language. For the expenses of this voyage they were granted a sum of 400 cruzadoes out of the Royal Treasury, one half of which they received in cash and the other half in bills on Naples. These men set out on the 7th May, 1487, and proceeded first to Barcelona and then on to Naples. From Naples they took ship to the island of Rhodes, where they stayed a few days, and then crossed to Alexandria, where they were both laid up with the ague.

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Having recovered from their sickness they purchased some wares, and proceeded to Cairo as merchants, where they stayed until they found a company of Moors going to Aden. Joining their caravan, they accompanied them to Tor, on the Red Sea, at the foot of Mount Sinai, where they gained some information relative to the trade with Calicut. Taking ship here they sailed to Suakim, and from thence to Aden, where they parted; Covilhão directed his course towards India, and Paiva passed into Ethiopia; but before parting they appointed to meet again at Cairo on a certain fixed date.

At Aden Covilhão embarked in a Moorish ship for Cananor, on the Malabar coast, and after some stay in that city went to Calicut, where he saw a great quantity of ginger and pepper, which grew there, and was informed that cloves and cinnamon were brought thither from far countries; hence he went to Goa, and from there passed to the island of Ormuz, whence, having informed himself of the trade carried on at that port, he embarked in a ship bound for the Red Sea, and landed at Zeila, a port on the African coast, just outside the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. He joined himself with some Moorish merchants, with whom he proceeded down the coast as far as Sofala. Here he learned that the coast might be sailed all along towards the west, and that there was, not far off, a very great and rich island, which was about 900 miles in length, and which was called by the Moors "The island of the Moon," since known as the island of St. Lawrence, and now by the name of Madagascar. Covilhão had thus made himself acquainted, on the spot, with the character of the Indian trade, and he resolved to venture no further until the valuable information he possessed was conveyed to Portugal. He therefore returned to Zeila, and from thence passed to Aden, and so to Tor and Cairo. Here he stayed for some time, waiting for Affonso de Paiva, but at last met with messengers from King João, who informed him that Paiva had died a short time before.

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The names of these messengers were Rabbi Abraham of Beja and Joseph of Lamego. These two men, having already on a previous occasion been in Persia and in Bagdad, had informed the King of the spiceries and riches that were to be found in the island of Ormuz, and they were now, under orders of His Majesty, again on their way thither. Having delivered the King's letter to Covilhão, it was found to contain instructions that if they had already discovered everything contained in their original commission they were to return to Lisbon forthwith, but, if otherwise, they were to send home at once the results already obtained, and to endeavour to search out the rest; but they were, above all, to discover the country of Prester John, and to cause Rabbi Abraham to visit the isle of Ormuz. Covilhão accordingly sent Joseph of Lamego back to Lisbon with a full account of all the places he had visited and what he had seen, and he further informed the King that if his ships which traded with Guinea were only to continue their course along the coast to Sofala, they would not only discover the island of the Moon, but might also strike into the Eastern seas, and so reach the coast of Calicut. As for himself, he proposed to accompany Rabbi Abraham to Ormuz, and, after his return thence, he would seek out Prester John, whose country, he had ascertained, reached unto the Red Sea.

Covilhão then proceeded with Rabbi Abraham to Ormuz, and returned again to Aden, whence Abraham returned to Lisbon, but Covilhão passed into Ethiopia, and came to the court of Prester John, which was, at that time, not far from Zeila. Here he was very courteously received, but experienced great difficulty in obtaining permission to leave the country. At last he was dispatched with many presents and accompanied by a large retinue. The Prete (as the Prester John, surnamed Alexander, was called) also sent by him, as a present to the King of Portugal, a great crown of gold

CHAP. III. A.D. 1487. and silver. In delivering it to the King, Covilhão was to say, on behalf of the "Prete," "that a crown is not wont to be taken from the father's head, but only for the son, and that he was his son, and that he had taken the same from his own head to send it to the King of Portugal, who was his father, and that he sent him the same as the most precious thing that he had at that instant, offering him all the favours, aid, and succours, as well of men as of gold and victuals, which he should stand in need of for his fortresses and fleets, and for the wars which he would make against the Moors in these parts of the Red Sea, even unto Jerusalem."

Covilhão was not, however, destined to complete his journey home. A quarrel broke out on the way between one of his escort and some Moors, in consequence of which two of the latter were apprehended and sent as prisoners to the "Prete," who immediately dispatched two high officials from his court to recall the expedition, and Covilhão had consequently to return with the rest, and was taken to Shoa, the residence of the court. Here he met with a very favourable reception, and in course of time became so necessary to the Prince, that he was compelled to spend the remainder of his life in Abyssinia. He married in that country, and from occupying highly-important posts, amassed a considerable fortune. He passed thirty-three years of his life in Abyssinia, and died there.

A.D. 1486 It has been stated in the preceding chapter that Dom João also sent out an expedition by sea for the discovery of the country of Prester John. The command of this was entrusted to Bartholomeu de Diaz, a member of a family of daring navigators, which had already contributed, in no small degree, to the successful discoveries of recent years: thus João Diaz had been one of the first who had doubled Cape Bojador; Lourenço Diaz was the first to reach the bay of Arguin; and Diniz Diaz was the first to reach the land of the

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1486.

...s, and even Cape Verde, to which he gave its name.

The expedition of Bartholomeu de Diaz consisted of ... ships of fifty tons each, with a tender for carrying provisions. He was in one of the ships; and the other was commanded by Juan Infante, another knight; whilst in the tender was Captain Pedro Diaz, brother to the commander. The expedition started about the end of August, 1486, making directly for the south, and, passing the Manga das Areas, where Diogo Cão had placed his furthest pillar, they reached a bay to which they gave the name of Angra dos Ilheos. The point is now called Diaz Point, or Pedestal Point. Proceeding southward, Diaz reached another promontory, where he was delayed five days in struggling against the weather, and the frequent tacks he had to make induced him to call it Angra das Voltas, or Cape of the Turns or Tacks. It is now called Cape Voltas, and forms the south point of the Orange river. From this they were driven before the wind for thirteen days due south, with half-reefed sails, and out of sight of land, when suddenly they were surprised to find a striking change in the temperature, the cold increasing greatly as they advanced. When the wind abated, Diaz, not doubting that the coast still ran north and south, as it had done hitherto, steered in an easterly direction with the view of striking it, and, finding that no land made its appearance, he altered his course for the north, and came upon a bay where were a number of cowherds tending their kine, who were greatly alarmed at the sight of the Portuguese, and drove their cattle inland. Diaz gave the bay the name of Angra das Vaqueiros, or the Bay of the Cowherds. It is the present Flesh Bay, near Gauritz river. He had rounded the Cape without knowing it.

In proceeding eastward from Flesh Bay, Diaz reached another bay, to which he gave the name of São Braz, where he put in to take water. Continuing east, he reached a small island in Algoa Bay, on which he set up

CHAP. III. a pillar with a cross, and the name of Santa Cruz, which he gave to the rock, still survives.

A.D. 1487. This was the first land beyond the Cape which was trodden by European feet. Still going onwards a river was reached, some twenty-five leagues beyond the island of Santa Cruz, and as João Infante, the captain of the "S. Pantaleon," was the first to land, they called the river the Rio do Infante. It was that now known as the Great Fish river. Here the remonstrances and complaints of the crews compelled Diaz to turn back. Passing Santa Cruz, and sailing onwards to the west, he at length came in sight of that remarkable cape, which had been hidden from the eyes of man for so many centuries. In remembrance of the perils they had encountered in passing that tempestuous point, he gave to it the name of "Cabo Tormentoso," or Stormy Cape; but when he reached Portugal, and made his report to King João II., the latter, foreseeing the realization of the long-coveted passage to India, gave it the enduring name of Cape of Good Hope. Diaz arrived at Lisbon in December, 1487, after an absence of sixteen months and seventeen days. In this voyage he had discovered 350 leagues of coast. This great and memorable discovery was the last that was made in the reign of King João II.

Having already referred (p. 21) to the papal bull by which all lands discovered beyond Cape Bojador to the Indies, inclusive, were conceded in perpetuity to the Crown of Portugal, it is necessary to refer briefly to the discoveries of Christopher Columbus, in consequence of which a somewhat similar concession was granted to Spain.

A.D. 1470. Columbus, a Genoese, appears to have gone to Lisbon to reside about the year 1470, and, whilst there, he began to surmise, as stated by his son Ferdinão, "that if the Portuguese sailed so far south, one might also sail westward, and find lands in that direction." At Lisbon Christopher Columbus married Felipa Moñiz de Perestrello, daughter of Bertolfomeu Perestrello, from

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whose maps and papers Columbus derived much information, and, in order to acquaint himself practically with the method pursued by the Portuguese in navigating to the coast of Guinea, he sailed several times in their ships as if he had been one of them. "It was not only," says Ferdinão Columbus, "this opinion of certain philosophers, that the greatest part of our globe is dry land, that stimulated the admiral; he learned also, from many pilots, experienced in the western voyages to the Azores, and to the island of Madeira, facts and signs which convinced him that there was an unknown land toward the west." Martin Vicente, pilot of the King of Portugal, told him that, at a distance of 450 leagues from Cape St. Vincent, he had taken from the water a piece of wood sculptured very artistically, but not with an iron instrument. This wood had been driven across by the west wind, which made the sailors believe that certainly there were, on that side, some islands not yet discovered. Pedro Correa, the brother-in-law of Columbus, told him that near the island of Madeira he had found a similar piece of sculptured wood, and coming from the same direction; he had also said that the King of Portugal had received information of large canes having been taken up from the water in those parts, which between one knot and another would hold nine bottles of wine. Herrerd states also that the King had preserved these canes, and caused them to be shown to Columbus. The colonists of the Azores related that when the wind blew from the west, the sea threw up, especially in the islands of Graciosa and Fayal, pines of a foreign species. Others related that, in the island of Flores, they found one day, on the shore, two corpses of men, whose physiognomy and features differed entirely from those of our coasts.

While Columbus* was at Lisbon, a correspondence was

* The particulars of the development by Christopher Columbus of his project for the discovery of a western route to India have been taken from the late Mr. R. H. Major's Introduction to *Select Letters from Columbus*, published by the Hakluyt Society.

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A.D. 1484.

being carried on between Fernão Martins, a prebendary of that place, and the learned Paolo Toscanelli, of Florence, respecting the commerce of the Portuguese to the coast of Guinea, and the navigation of the ocean to the westward. This came to the knowledge of Columbus, who forthwith dispatched by an Italian, then at his house, a letter to Toscanelli informing him of his project. With his reply Toscanelli, expressing approval of his design, sent him a copy of a letter which he had written to Martins a few days before, accompanied by a chart, the most important features of which were laid down from the descriptions by Marco Polo. The coasts of Asia were drawn at a moderate distance from the opposite coasts of Europe and Africa, and the islands of Cipango, Antilla, &c., of whose riches such astonishing accounts had been given by this traveller, were placed at convenient spaces between the two continents.

The political position of Portugal, engrossed as it was by its wars with Spain, rendered the thoughts of an application for an expensive fleet of discovery worse than useless, and several years elapsed before a convenient opportunity presented itself for making the proposition. But shortly after the perfecting of the astrolabe by the joint labours of the celebrated Martin Behaim and the Prince's two physicians, Roderigo and Josef, who were the most able geographers and astronomers in the kingdom, Columbus submitted to the King of Portugal his proposition of a voyage of discovery, and succeeded in obtaining an audience to advocate his cause. He explained his views with respect to the facility of the undertaking from the form of the earth, and the comparatively small space that intervened between Europe and the eastern shores of Asia, and proposed, if the King would supply him with ships and men, to take the direct western route to India across the Atlantic.

His application was received at first discouragingly, but the King was at length induced, by the excellent arguments of Columbus, to make a conditional con-

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A.D. 1484.

cession, and the result was that the proposition was referred to a council of men supposed to be learned in maritime affairs. The council, consisting of the above-named geographers, Roderigo and Josef, and Cazadilla, Bishop of Ceuta, the King's confessor, treated the question as an extravagant absurdity. The King, not satisfied with their judgment, then convoked a second council, consisting of a considerable number of the most learned men in the kingdom; but the result of their deliberations was only confirmative of the verdict of the former junta, and a general sentence of condemnation was passed upon the proposition. As the King still manifested an inclination to make a trial of the scheme of Columbus, and expressed a proportionate dissatisfaction with the decisions of these two juntas, some of his councillors, who were inimical to Columbus, and at the same time unwilling to offend His Majesty, suggested a process which coincided with their own views, but which was at once short-sighted, impolitic, and ungenerous. Their plan was to procure from Columbus a detailed account of his design under the pretence of subjecting it to the examination of the council, and then to dispatch a caravel on the voyage of discovery under the false pretext of conveying provisions to the Cape Verde Islands. King João, contrary to his general character for prudence and generosity, yielded to their insidious advice, and their plan was acted upon; but the caravel which was sent out, after keeping to its westward course for some days, encountered a storm, and the crew having no real heart in the project, returned to Lisbon, ridiculing the scheme in excuse of their own cowardice.

So indignant was Columbus at this unworthy manœuvre that he resolved to leave Portugal and offer his services to some other country, and towards the end of 1484 he left Lisbon secretly with his son Diogo. It has been affirmed that he proceeded first to Genoa and made a personal proposition to that Government, but met with a contemptuous refusal. Towards the close of the last

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A.D. 1486 to 1492.

mentioned year it is certain that Columbus went to Spain and arrived at the Convent de la Rabida in a very impoverished condition. By the influence of the friar of that convent, Columbus proceeded to Cordova in the spring of 1486, with introductions to Fernando de Talavera, confessor to the Queen and a man possessed of great political interest. He, however, regarded the design as unreasonable and preposterous. The court also was at that time so engrossed with the war at Granada as to preclude any hope of gaining attention to his novel and expensive proposition. At length, at the close of 1486, the theory of Columbus, backed as it was by his forcible arguments, gained weight with Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo and Grand Cardinal of Spain, and by means of his influence an audience with the Sovereigns was obtained, and the result of the interview was the expression of a favourable opinion, qualified by the necessity of an appeal to the judgment of the *literati* of the country. These, after numerous delays, reported that the scheme was too groundless to be recommended, and Columbus was accordingly informed that the cares and expenses of the war against the Moors precluded the possibility of their Highnesses engaging in any new enterprises, but that when it was concluded there would be both the will and the opportunity to give the subject further consideration.

In Argensola's *Anales de Aragon* it is stated that when the King looked coldly on Columbus' proposals, because the royal finances had been drained by war, Isabella offered her jewels for the enterprise; but this was rendered needless, as Luis de Santangel, Escrisano de Racion de Aragon, advanced 17,000 florins for the expenses of the armada.

At length, having overcome all difficulties, Columbus set sail, with a fleet of three ships, on the 3rd of August, 1492, on his unprecedented and perilous voyage. Shortly after the return of Columbus from this successful voyage of discovery, the Spanish King obtained from Pope Alexander VI. (Rodrigo Borgia) the celebrated Papal Bull,

which granted to Spain, westward, similar privileges to those which had previously been granted to Portugal relative to their discoveries eastward. The circumstances relating to the issuing of this bull were as follows:—

On the 8th January, 1454, Pope Nicholas V., as has been already stated (*vide* p. 21), granted to Affonso V., King of Portugal, an exclusive right to all the countries that might be discovered by his subjects between Cape Non, on the west coast of Africa, and the continent of India. After the first voyage of Christopher Columbus and the discovery of Hispaniola (Haiti), Ferdinand, King of Aragon, and Isabella, Queen of Castile, wished to obtain from the Pope a recognition of their rights to all countries discovered by their squadrons. Pope Alexander VI., who then occupied the papal chair, was, by birth, a subject of King Ferdinand's, and he was anxious to secure the assistance of that monarch for certain ambitious designs he had in view. There existed, therefore, no difficulty in obtaining from him the desired recognition. Accordingly, on the 4th May, 1493, Pope Alexander issued a bull (see Appendix) granting to Ferdinand and Isabella, by virtue of his apostolic and pontifical power, the same rights and privileges in respect to the countries discovered to the south and west as the Portuguese possessed over their African discoveries, and under the same conditions of promulgating the Christian faith; and, further, with the view of preventing any future dispute between the two Powers as to their respective possessions, an imaginary line of demarcation was indicated, limiting the pretensions of the two Powers respectively. This line was a meridian drawn from the north to the south pole, running 100 leagues from the west of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands, so that all the islands and lands discovered, or to be discovered, to the west of that line, which had not already been occupied by a Christian Power before the previous Christmas Day, were to belong to the aforesaid King and Queen, and to their

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A.D. 1494.

heirs and successors, as those to the east of the same line were to belong to the Crown of Portugal. In laying down this line of demarcation it is clear that the two groups of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands were confused together as being only one group; and, further, it does not appear to have occurred to the author of this bull that the two nations, by pursuing their respective courses of discoveries and annexations, would probably meet in the opposite hemisphere; and it was not long before this took place.

The King of Portugal was very discontented with the division made by the Pope, and, after having vainly protested at the Court of Rome, he proposed a conference on the subject to Ferdinand and Isabella, which they accepted in order to avoid a quarrel. Commissioners were accordingly appointed by both parties, who met at Tordesillas in 1494. The Portuguese complained that the line drawn by the Pope was too near to Africa, and prevented them from extending their discoveries and conqests towards the new continent, the extent of which was as yet but little known. In the result it was eventually agreed to extend the line laid down by Alexander VI. for 270 leagues towards the west, or 370 leagues from the Cape de Verde Islands, all to the west of that line to belong to the Sovereigns of Aragon and Castile, and all to the east to the Crown of Portugal.

The 3rd Article of the Treaty of Tordesillas, drawn up in accordance with this agreement, indicated how the line of demarcation was to be fixed; the 4th Article stipulated that Spanish vessels should have free right of navigation across the seas assigned to Portugal; and the 5th Article laid down that the new line should only be binding in respect to islands or territories which might have been discovered subsequently to the 20th June, 1494. It was further agreed that these arrangements should be submitted to the Pope for his confirmation, which was accorded in a bull dated the 24th June, 1506.

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CHAP. III.

A.D. 1495.

The conditions of the 3rd Article of Treaty under which able officers were to be sent to the spot for the purpose of fixing and demarcating the points at 370 leagues distant from the Cape de Verde Islands, were never carried out, and, as a matter of fact, it is not easy to conceive how they could have been, seeing that no European had as yet set his foot in the countries which the line would touch. Nevertheless, the want of this demarcation was sure to produce new altercations as soon as the vessels of the two nations happened to come across each other in any part of the great Indian Ocean, as, it will be seen, actually did occur later on.

After this digression we must now return to the current of events following the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope.

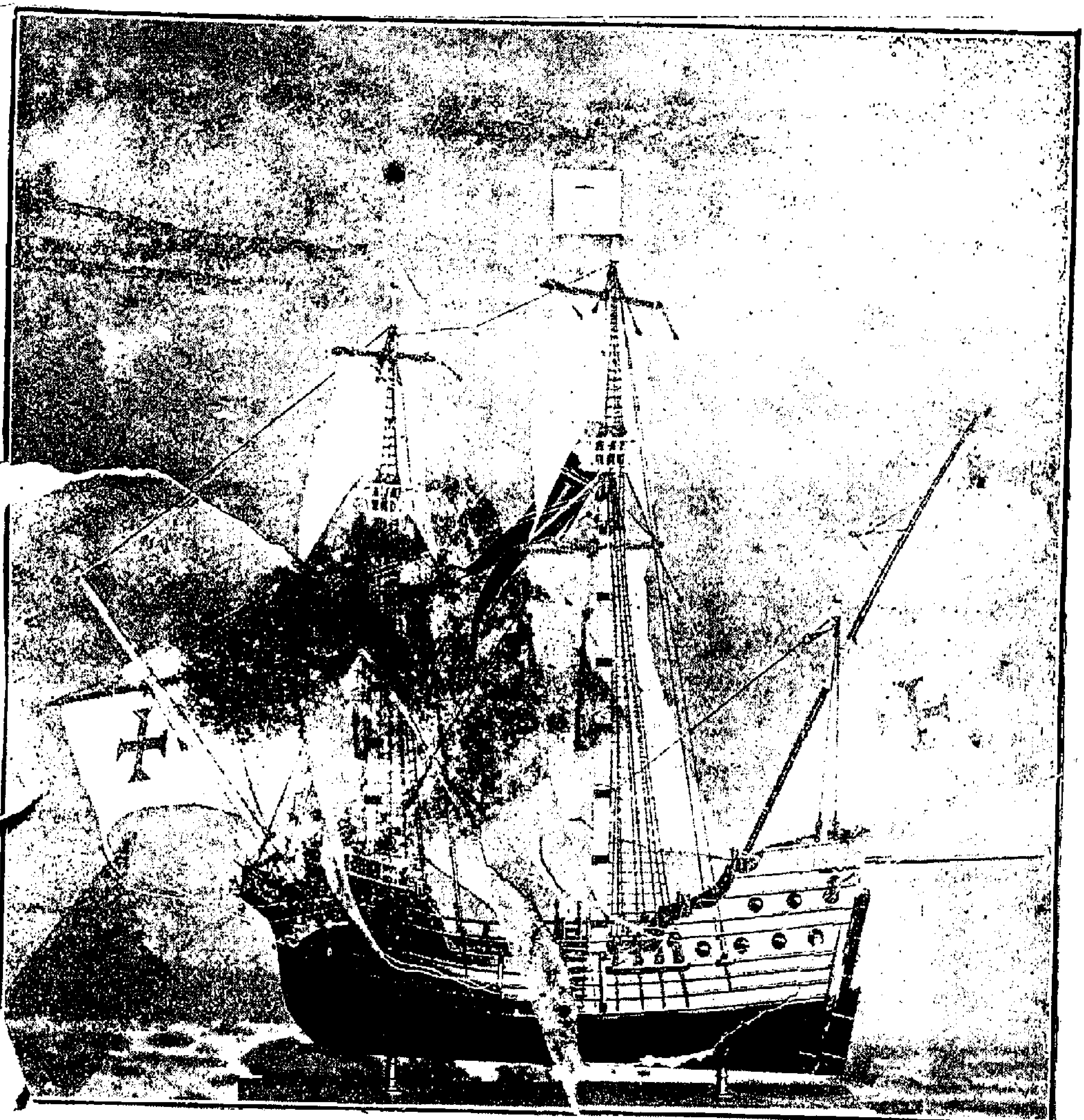
The consequences of this important discovery were not immediately grasped. Soon after the return of Bartholomeu de Diaz, King João II. was seized with a severe illness, and the condition of His Majesty's health and the personal anxieties accruing from the state of his kingdom, together with his domestic troubles, presented serious obstacles to the development of those schemes with regard to India that cannot fail to have presented themselves to his mind after the momentous voyage of that navigator. King João II. died on the 25th October, 1495, and he was succeeded by King Manoel, whose first thought was to resume the distant maritime explorations which had already reflected so much honour on the far-sighted intelligence of their initiator, Prince Henry. Before entering upon this enterprise, however, he consulted Abraham Zakut, a Jew of Beja, and celebrated mathematician, who had also the credit of being a great astrologer. He having cast the King's horoscope, and declared it to be favourable to the enterprise, Dom Manoel entered into it with energy and zeal. According to Gaspar. Correa, King João II., before his death, at the instance of one Janifante, a foreign merchant, ordered three tall ships to be

CHAP. III. A.D. 1496.

constructed, which would be able to stand out to sea, with the view of employing them in a projected voyage to India. He had also been informed by a leading merchant in Venice of the great riches and trade which issued from India, which was the principal commerce of Venice because it went thence to all parts, including Spain and Lisbon. This correspondence was discovered by King Manoel, who ordered the three ships that had been commenced to be completed.

For the command of this expedition* the king selected Vasco da Gama, the son of Estevão da Gama, who had been Comptroller of the Household of the King Dom Affonso. In the accounts of this expedition differences occur amongst the several authors, and there is some variation in respect to details between Correa and de Barros. The former states that Vasco da Gama went in the ship "São Rafael," Paulo da Gama (his brother) in the "São Gabriel," and Nicolau Coelho in the other ship "São Miguel." De Barros, on the other hand, says that Vasco da Gama went in the "São Gabriel," with Pedro de Alanquer as pilot, who had been to the Cape of Good Hope, and Diogo de Diaz, brother of Bartholomeu de Diaz, as clerk. Paulo da Gama was captain of the "São Rafael," Joam de Coimbra pilot and Joam de Sá clerk. The third ship, named "Berrio," had as captain Nicolau Coelho, Pedro Escolar as pilot, and Alvaro de Braga as clerk. Historians assert that these ships were about 120 tons each, but by other competent authorities it is considered that they must have been much larger, and probably from 250 to 300 tons register. De Barros states that there was also another ship, whose captain was Gonzalo Nunes, a servant of Vasco da Gama, "which went only manned so that

* Barreto de Rezende, in his treatise on the Viceroys of India, states that this expedition was first planned in 1496, and that about the middle of the following year the whole fleet was fully equipped and only awaited orders to start. The ships were built on plans designed by Bartholomeu de Diaz and João Infante, who, having doubled the Cape, knew better than anyone else the best style of ship for the purpose.



VASCO DA GAMA'S SHIP "S. GABRIEL."

From "Noticia Sobre a Nao S. Gabriel, &c.," Lisbon.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1496.

after the stores of the ships had begun to be expended they might take the superabundant provisions which this ship carried, and its crew would go over to the other ships." Again, as to the numbers who accompanied this expedition; these have been variously stated to have been 240, 170, and 148. Castanheda states that the store ship, which had been bought from Ayres Correa, was of 200 tons. It is, however, now authoritatively accepted that the "S. Gabriel" was commanded by Vasco da Gama, the "S. Miguel" by Paulo da Gama, and the "Berrio by Nicolau Coelho.*

The following description of the "São Gabriel" has recently been published by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon: "The appearance of this vessel was of a most irregular shape. In the bow there was a large forecastle, and the stern was considerably raised above the water-line, this conjunction of forms giving the ship an enormous floating power and great strength, but as regards nautical conditions, of a very deficient character. It would appear from drawings and documents, believed to be authentic, that the dimensions of the 'São Gabriel' were as follows: Length at water-line, $19^{m\cdot}5$; extreme length, $25^{m\cdot}60$; beam $8^{m\cdot}5$, or about one-third of the extreme length; draught forward, $1^{m\cdot}70$; draught aft, $2^{m\cdot}30$. The tonnage of the 'São Gabriel' is stated in records to have been 100 tons, and was supposed to have carried, when fully equipped, 178 tons. The rigging consisted of three masts, and a pole in the bow answering the purpose of a bowsprit, the sails being six in number,—viz., mainsail, foresail, mizen, spritsail, and two topsails. The 'São Gabriel' carried an armament of 20 guns, and on maintopmast a white flag with the Portuguese arms of the time of Dom Manoel. Besides this she bore at the 'top' the dis-

* In a publication recently issued by the Portuguese Government in connection with the Columbus Centenary it is stated that the "S. Gabriel" was of 120 tons, the "S. Raphael" 100 tons, the "Berrio" of 50 tons, and the store ship of 200 tons burden; and that the whole force in this fleet numbered 160 men.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1497. tinctive red flag of a Captain—Mor. There exists now at the Jeronymos Convent at Belem a figure of 'S. Gabriel' which, by tradition, is supposed to be the figurehead of Vasco da Gama's famous ship."

Correa describes their outfit and cargoes as follows: "The King ordered the ships to be supplied with double tackle and sets of sails, and artillery and munitions in great abundance, above all provisions with which the ships were to be filled, with many preserves and perfumed waters, and in each ship all the articles of an apothecary's shop for the sick; a master, and a priest for confession. The King also ordered all sorts of merchandise of what was in the kingdom and from outside of it, and much gold and silver, coined in the money of all Christendom and of the Moors. And cloths of gold, silk, and wool, of all kinds and colours, and many jewels of gold, necklaces, chains, and bracelets, and ewers of silver and silver gilt, yataghans, swords, daggers, smooth and engraved, and adorned with gold and silver workmanship. Spears and shields, all adorned so as to be fit for presentation to the Kings and rulers of the countries where they might put into port; and a little of each kind of spice. The King likewise commanded slaves to be bought who knew all the languages which might be fallen in with, and all the supplies which seemed to be requisite were provided in great abundance and in double quantities."

The expedition rode at anchor off Belem for three days waiting for a fair wind; but there seems to be some uncertainty as to the day on which they actually sailed, Correa fixing it as the 25th March, de Barros as the 8th, and Osorio the 9th July, whilst according to another account it was on the 2nd June, 1497: one asserting that it occurred on the day of our Lady of March, and another on the day of our Lady of Belem. From a careful consideration of all the circumstances of this voyage it seems probable that the earliest date was the correct one. The expedition made its way to the Cape de Verde Islands, and after two

unsuccessful attempts, during which the sailors clamoured to be allowed to return to Portugal, they succeeded in doubling the Cape. The exact date of this event is also uncertain, but it was most probably in October or November. Having sighted land, they ran along the coast for some distance, and encountered a violent storm, which placed them in great jeopardy, as their ships were too weak to withstand the force of the waves. Proposals were again made to turn back, which Vasco da Gama absolutely refused to do, and threatened to throw overboard anyone who might speak of such a thing, as he had sworn that he would not turn back one span's breadth until he had obtained the information he had come to seek. As the stormy weather continued, some of the sailors organized a conspiracy to overpower their officers and take the ships back to Lisbon. This mutiny was hatched on board of Nicolau Coelho's vessel, and was privately communicated to him by one of his crew. It having come to the knowledge of Vasco da Gama, he seized the ringleaders, whom he loaded with irons and confined in their cabins, and thus suppressed the contemplated rising.

The weather having calmed down, the vessels soon came in sight of land, and as this occurred on Christmas Day the country was named Terra de Natal. Sailing further on they reached the mouth of a large river, where they careened the ships and repaired them, and having transferred to the other vessels everything from Nicolau Coelho's ship, which was damaged beyond the power of repair, having many of her ribs and knees fractured,* it was decided to break her up in order to repair the other vessels. The men and cargo were divided between the other ships. Faria-y-Sousa says they burnt the store ship; but in another account it is stated that before reaching the Cape of Good Hope they stowed away the supplies of the store

* According to one account it was the "S. Miguel," and according to another the "S. Gabriel" which was broken up.

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ship in the other vessels, and that Nunes there ... turned with it to Portugal.

Vasco da Gama resumed his voyage on the ... February, 1498, with two ships only, and arr... Mozambique one day in March. On the way ... they overhauled a canoe, and took out of it a Moorish broker from Bombay, Davané by name, but afterwards surnamed Taibo, from whom Vasco da Gama received much useful counsel and advice, and who saved him from the treachery of the Sheikh of Mozambique. None of ... crews landed here, but having put on shore a convict, João Machado by name, the vessels followed the ... until they reached Quiloa. They were unable to put in here (where also a trap had been laid for their destruction by a Moorish pilot they had on board) on account of an adverse wind which prevented them from making the port; so, passing, they ran along the coast to Mombas... where they arrived early in April, and anchored outside the bar. Here they narrowly escaped being wrecked ... the treachery of the King, who sent pilots on board ... that especial purpose, with a pressing invitation to Vasco da Gama to bring his ships into port. They, however, ... safely away, after having put a Portuguese convict, na... Pedro Didey, on shore. It is supposed that the inhos... pitable reception of da Gama at these places was due ... the jealousy of the Arabs, who were unwilling to ... these new rivals entering upon the trade which ... hitherto been exclusively in their hands.

Leaving Mombassa, Vasco da Gama steered his cou... along the coast, and shortly after starting one afterno... he sighted two sambuks, one of which was captured, ... the other escaped. Proceeding onwards, the vess... reached Melinde, and anchored off that port at the e... of April, 1498. On the arrival of the Portuguese shi... the King sent out to them a message of welcome, and after the exchange of courtesies between Vasco da Gama and the King, the Moor Davané was sent on shore to

peak with His Majesty. Subsequently, at the request of the King, Nicolau Coelho was sent on shore to visit him; and later on Vasco da Gama, accompanied by his captains, held an interview with His Majesty in boats on the sea, and presented to him a sword in a handsome gold and enamelled scabbard, with a sword-belt, a lance of gilt iron, and a buckler lined with crimson satin, worked with gold thread. The King received this present very graciously, and promised to keep it as an evidence of his friendship towards the King of Portugal.

On the following day Vasco da Gama went in great state to visit the King on shore, where he was received with much honour. Upon discussing on the subject of his projected voyage to India, the King informed him that he should not proceed to Cambay, as had been suggested by the broker Davané, because that country did not produce the articles he desired to obtain, but they were taken there from a distance, and were consequently much dearer than in the land where they grew; but he promised to give him pilots who would take him to the city of Calicut, where the pepper and ginger grew, and other drugs and merchandise were also procurable in almost unlimited quantities. The King also spoke to Davané,* and enjoined him to deal honourably with the Portuguese, which he solemnly promised to do.

Da Gama was now anxious to get away as early as possible, but was informed that he would yet have to remain there another three months, until the month of August, which was the time of the monsoon for the navigation. This interval da Gama made use of in refitting and recaulking his ships, and laying in a new set of rigging and cables, which the crews occupied themselves in making of the coir of the country. Before leaving Melinde, the King paid a visit to the Portuguese ships, and was much pleased with the reception he there met with; and, with His Majesty's permission, Vasco da

* At Melinde Davané acquired the sobriquet of "Taibo," which means "good," and after this we find him constantly referred to by that name.

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Gama set up, on the top of a hill outside the city, a white marble column, carved with the escutcheon and name of King Dom Manoel. The King then, having provided the ships with everything that could be required, sent also two of the best pilots that were to be found, one of whom was named Malemo Cana, a Moor of Guzerat. After a formal leave-taking, Vasco da Gama set sail from Melinde on the 6th August, and in twenty days' time Mount Dely, in the kingdom of Cananor, was sighted; and thence, coasting along within sight of the land, the pilots cast anchor off the town of Capucad, or Capocate, two leagues from the city of Calicut.*

Calicut was, at this time, the most important place of trade in the whole of India, and it is said that the Arabs had established a trade here 600 years before. The town contained a large number of foreign and native Arabs; some of them, merchants of Grand Cairo, brought large fleets of many ships, with much trade of valuable goods from Mecca; and they took back in return pepper and drugs, which were transported thence to Turkey, and to all the provinces of Christendom, by exchange from country to country. In consequence of their great wealth the Arabs were more influential and respected in the country than the natives themselves.

* The foundation of Calicut is traditionally ascribed to Cheraman Perumál, the lord of Malabar. The residence of the King of that province had formerly been at Coulam (Quilon), and when the Moors of Mecca discovered the Indies, and settled in Malabar, they converted the King, who became so zealous a devotee that he determined to go and end his days at Mecca. Before he departed he divided his dominions among his kindred, reserving only a small portion of twelve leagues, from which he was to embark, and which was never before inhabited. This he gave to Mana Vikrama the Samori, or Zamorin, commanding that the same should be inhabited, in memorial of his embarkation, investing him with his sword and turban, and commanding all others to be obedient to him as their emperor. This was the origin of Calicut. At the place where he embarked the city was built, and, out of a principle of devotion all goods were shipped from thence, by which means the port of Conlam (Quilon) became neglected. The merchants removing thither, it was soon one of the richest marts in India. The present town dates from the thirteenth century, and has given its name to the cloth known to the Portuguese as Calicut, and to the English as Calico. The Zamorins rose to great power, and, with the aid of the Moors, or Moplas, extended their dominions both south and east; and the capital is described by the earliest Portuguese visitors as containing many magnificent buildings.

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In case any apprehensions should be entertained by the people of Calicut as to the object of the arrival of the Portuguese vessels, Vasco da Gama concocted a story that his ships had been separated from many others with which he had started on his voyage, and that he had come to seek them there. Vasco da Gama had contemplated at once going ashore to see the King, but he was dissuaded from this by the Moor Davané, who advised him not to do so until hostages should have been sent on board as guarantee for his safe return. Several boats came alongside from the shore with fish, poultry, and fruit, from which many purchases were made through Davané and the pilots, whom da Gama instructed to pay whatever prices were asked. This action caused reports to be spread in the town of the liberality of the Portuguese, which also came to the ears of the King. After three days His Majesty sent a Nair, a gentleman of position, to inquire the object for which these foreign ships had arrived at that coast, and da Gama accordingly sent the Moor Davané back with him to relate to the King the fictitious story of the lost fleet, and to explain their desire to trade for spices and drugs. Having been further informed by the Moor of the liberal presents given by da Gama to the King of Melinde, His Majesty offered to supply as much pepper and drugs as could be wished for, and dispatched him back to the ships with many presents of fowls and fruit.

The Moorish traders of Calicut having heard of the message sent from the King to the Portuguese, offering to supply them with the principal products of that country, and fearing that if they were once admitted to trade here they would not limit themselves to that port, but would extend their commerce to other Indian marts, resolved to adopt every means to get them turned out of the country. This decision they then communicated to other Moorish merchants throughout the coasts of India; and with the view of at once

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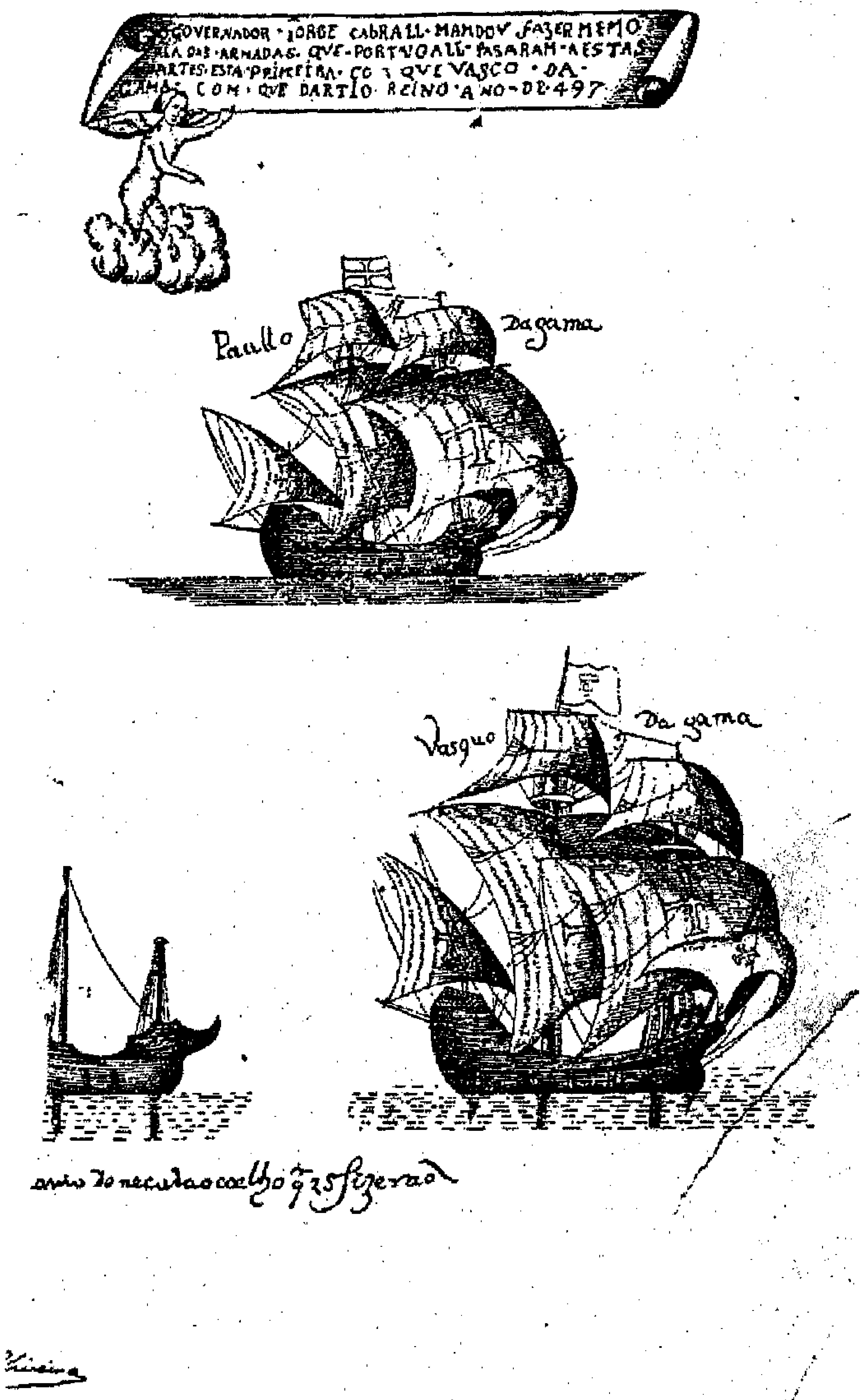
carrying their purpose into effect they placed themselves in communication with the King's chief factor, who was the principal overseer of his exchequer, and with the King's *gazil*, or minister of justice. The Moors informed these men that the Portuguese, who came from a very far country, had certainly not arrived all this distance for mere purposes of trade, of which, being a wealthy nation, they had no need, but only to spy out the country, with the view of returning and conquering it by force of arms, and plundering it. They therefore requested that the King might be warned against them, and be careful how he entered into any treaties with them. These arguments the Moorish merchants backed up by liberal presents, with a view to secure also the goodwill of the King's high officers of State.

The broker Davané, having delivered his message to the King, was dismissed without any definite reply, but was informed that he might purchase there in full security anything he might require. When next Davané went on shore, Vasco da Gama sent with him João Nunes, a convict, who could speak Arabic and Hebrew, and could also understand the Moors' language. The instructions given to Nunes were that he was to look well at everything he saw in the city, and at the manner of the inhabitants, and to listen well to what he heard, but not to speak or ask any questions. By an artifice Davané and Nunes were prevented from returning to the ships at night, and they had therefore to sleep in Calicut. This was not altogether unfortunate, for Nunes met with a Moor who, recognizing his nationality, spoke to him in Castilian, and took him to sleep at his own house. This man, Alonzo Perez by name was a native of Seville, who had turned Mohammedan, and by his services the Portuguese were greatly assisted in their negotiations with the natives, whilst by his timely warnings they were enabled to avoid the plots which had been planned against them by the Moors.

The following day the Castilian went on board Vasco



THE FLEET OF VASCO DA GAMA.

From "Os Navios de Vasco da Gama," por Joao Braz d'Oliveira.

da Gama's vessel, and warned the Portuguese of the intention of the Moors to have them turned out of the country if possible. On his return to the shore he was closely questioned by the Moors, who were unaware of his having turned against them, and he gave them such replies and information as had been supplied to him on board the ships. The conclusion they then arrived at was that they would not be able to prevent the King from speaking to the Portuguese, but that after he had received their presents, whilst friendship and commerce were being established, it would be necessary to take such measures as might then seem practicable to prevent them from obtaining cargoes. To this end they determined to spare no expense in securing the willing services of the overseer of the Treasury and of the *gazil*. Accordingly the Moors gave them much money and rich jewels, and they on their part engaged to do all in their power with the King, and to counsel him not to admit the Portuguese into the country, in consideration of which the Moors also offered to pay the King all the losses he might thereby suffer.

Vasco da Gama having sent a message to the King to the effect that he could do nothing without first establishing peace, and that after having effected this he would enter into trade with him, the latter sent a Nair on board to demand that someone should be sent on shore to give explanations on all points he might desire to be informed of, and also to bring word how they wished the peace to be made. Accordingly Nicolau Coelho was sent, accompanied by twelve men, to whom Vasco da Gama gave all the necessary instructions as to how he should act, and what he should demand. On going ashore, Nicolau Coelho was kept waiting outside the King's palace until the evening, when he was informed that the King could not see him that evening. He was prevented from returning to his ship at night, and slept at the house of a native, where the Castilian managed to see him, and told him to dis-

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semble, because they were exposing him to these delays in order that he might get angry and lose his temper. On the morning Coelho was taken again to the palace, when the King excused himself from seeing him on the plea of indisposition, and desired that any message he wished to deliver should be sent to him through the overseer of the Treasury. This, however, he refused to do, since he had been instructed to deliver it only to the King. After some further delay, during which Nicolau Coelho desired to be allowed to return to the ships, he was at last admitted into the presence of the King, to whom he delivered the message with which he had been entrusted. In reply the King expressed his satisfaction with all he had asked for, and ordered the overseer of the Treasury to see it carried out.

On his return to the shore the Castilian passed by Coelho, and slipped a note into his hand, advising that the Portuguese should make great demonstration over the concessions granted to them, and send on shore a small quantity of merchandise for selling and buying each day, taking care to embark each night what they had purchased during the day; also that a factor should be sent with the broker and João Nunes, and another man, who should be warned not to try and obtain more than was offered. Accordingly Vasco da Gama appointed one Diogo Diaz, a man of the King's establishment, as factor, and Pedro de Braga as clerk, with whom he sent João Nunes, the broker Davané, and the Moorish pilot from Melinde. These went on shore with a selection of merchandise for sale or barter, and the broker was instructed not to show any urgency or obstinacy in dealing, but in everything he was to appear as though well pleased, and to act so that he might be considered simple rather than wary.

These having landed with their merchandise, were allowed to occupy a house in the town for the purposes of trade. Having settled the prices at which they would sell their goods, and also for the purchase of pepper and

drugs, a brisk trade was commenced, which continued for several days, the Portuguese factor striking a balance and settling accounts with the overseer of the Treasury each night, when the goods purchased were also sent on board the ships. For the first few days spice was purchased, and subsequently ginger and cinnamon; the ginger was heavily loaded with red clay, and the cinnamon was old, of a bad quality, and quite unserviceable; but the factor acted as though he did not perceive the deception, and purchased all that was brought to him. Thus he accepted goods at more than double their value, and gave excess of weight on all the merchandise he sold.

When the Moorish merchants perceived the action of the Portuguese in this matter, they naturally entertained great fears as to the security of their own trade. They accordingly again saw the *gazil* and urged upon him that he should counsel the King not to establish peace nor trade with the Portuguese until he should have had many years' experience of their being sincere friends, because it was very clear they were not merchants, but spies, who came to see the country in order that they might afterwards come with a large fleet to take and plunder it. If they were really merchants, the Moors argued, they would not buy in that manner, nor unprofitably give such high prices for that which was worth nothing. By means of further presents the *gazil* was gained over to their side, and he represented to the King that as the Portuguese were not dealing as genuine merchants they were probably men of war who had come to spy out the country for evil purposes; that, therefore, they ought not to be allowed to take in cargo, but rather that they should be killed and their ships burnt, so that they should never return there again. Upon this representation having been made to His Majesty, the King resolved to send for the ambassador at once, and receive his present and message, but that in the meanwhile the Portuguese should be permitted to continue buying as before.

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The King accordingly sent for the ambassador to come to him; but having been previously warned by a message from the Castilian, Vasco da Gama asked that hostages might be sent on board his ships. To this His Majesty agreed, and sent three Nairs of distinction, one of whom was the *gazil's* nephew. The Castilian managed to communicate this last-named fact, and, on the arrival of the hostages, Vasco da Gama detained the nephew of the *gazil* and one of the Nairs. He then went towards the shore accompanied by twelve persons, besides some of his household and a band of trumpeters, and the other Nair, whom he sent to the King to announce his arrival; but as it appeared that His Majesty had gone away, Vasco da Gama refused to land, but said that when the King returned and could see him he would come back again; and he then returned to his ship.

The King having been informed of what had happened returned next day, and sent to tell Vasco da Gama that he was waiting to see him at his palace. The latter immediately went on shore, and, having put on a sumptuous dress, he went in full procession, accompanied by his present for the King. Da Gama's dress consisted of a long cloak, coming down to his feet, of tawny-coloured satin, lined with smooth brocade, underneath which was a short tunic of blue satin, and white buskins. On his head he wore a cap with lappels of blue velvet, with a white feather fastened under a splendid medal; on his shoulders a valuable enamel collar, and a rich sash with a handsome dagger at his waist. His present consisted of a piece of very fine scarlet cloth and a piece of crimson velvet; a piece of yellow satin; a chair covered with brocade of deep nap, studded with silver gilt nails; a cushion of crimson satin with tassels of gold thread, and another cushion of red satin for the feet; a hand-basin chased and gilt, with an ewer of the same kind; a large gilt mirror; fifty scarlet caps with buttons and tassels of

crimson silk and gold thread; and fifty knives of Flanders, with ivory handles and gilt sheaths.

The *catual*, or chief officer of the King's palace guard,[1] came out to meet Vasco da Gama, and conducted him into the King's presence. The King has been described as seated in his chair, which the factor—who had preceded da Gama with the presents—had got him to sit upon. He was a very dark man, half-naked, and clothed with white cloths from the middle to the knees; one of these cloths ended in a long point, on which were threaded several gold rings with large rubies, which made a great show. He had on his left arm a bracelet above the elbow which seemed like three rings together, the middle one larger than the others, all studded with rich jewels, particularly the middle one, which bore large stones that could not fail to be of great value. From this middle ring hung a pendant stone which glittered—a priceless diamond the thickness of a thumb. Round his neck was a string of pearls, about the size of hazel-nuts; the string took two turns, and reached to his middle; above it he wore a thin, round gold chain, which bore a jewel of the form of a heart surrounded with large pearls, and all full of rubies; in the middle was an emerald of great size and value. According to the information which the Castilian afterwards gave to the captain-major of this jewel, and of that which was in the bracelet on his arm, and of another pearl which the King wore suspended in his hair, they were all three belonging to the ancient treasury of the Kings of Calicut. The King had long, dark hair, all gathered up, and tied on the top of his head with a knot made in it; and round the knot he had a string of pearls like those round his neck, at the end of which was a pendant pearl, pear-shaped, and larger than the rest. His ears were pierced with large holes, with many gold earrings of round beads.

Close to the King stood a boy, his page, with a silk cloth round him. He held a red shield with a border of

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gold and jewels, and a boss in the centre of a span's breadth, of the same materials, and the rings inside for the arms were of gold. He also held a short drawn sword of an ell's length, round at the point, with a hilt of gold and jewellery with pendant pearls. On the other side stood another page, who held a gold cup with a wide rim, into which the King spat; and at the side of his chair was his chief Brahman, who gave him, from time to time, a green leaf, closely folded, with other things inside it, which the King ate and spat into the cup. Da Gama was graciously received by the King, and he presented to His Majesty a letter from Dom Manoel, expressing at the same time a desire that the Portuguese might be permitted to trade in his country. The King ordered Dom Manoel's letter to be translated, and, having promised to give his reply at another audience, he dismissed Vasco da Gama, who thereupon retired to the Portuguese factory, where he remained that night.

The next morning the overseer of the Treasury arrived at the factory with some handsome presents, which the King had sent to Vasco da Gama for himself, consisting of twenty pieces of white stuff, very fine, with gold embroidery, which they call "Beyramies"; twenty other pieces called "Sinabafas," ten pieces of coloured silk, four large loaves of Bengoin, as much as a man could carry, and in a porcelain jar fifty bags of musk, six basins of porcelain of the size of large soup-basins, and six porcelain jars, each holding thirty pints of water. Da Gama also, by the broker, gave suitable presents to the overseer of the Treasury and to the *gazil* and the *catual*.

Shortly after this the King desired again to see Vasco da Gama, and, as he had gone away some distance from the port, the *catual* arrived at the factory with two litters, one for himself and the other for Vasco da Gama. As they were starting, the Castilian, passing by João Nunes, said to him, "Sufrir y callar" (endure and be patient). This was repeated to Vasco da Gama, and it

made him very angry, as he thereby perceived that a deceit was being practised upon him. CHAP. III.

Attended by a few Portuguese the *catual* took him by roads, with many turns, until it became night, when they stopped at some large houses, where they lodged Vasco da Gama and his men in a separate inner house in the middle of the other houses, where they were, to all intents and purposes, detained as prisoners. In the morning the *catual* sent to tell da Gama that the King's orders were for him to remain there, as he could not speak to him; but the messenger refused to take back a reply to the *catual*. After having been thus detained all that day and the succeeding night, the Nairs took them away the next morning, continuing their course through thickets until midday, when they reached the bank of a river. They then put Vasco da Gama with four others into one boat and his other companions in another. Towards night they arrived at a certain village, where they landed, and were put into separate houses, the occupants of the one boat not knowing where those from the other had been confined. After midnight the *catual* sent for Vasco da Gama. He had been urged by the Moors to kill him, but this he dared not do for fear of the King's anger; but every annoyance was practised in the hope of causing him to break out into violence, but without the desired effect. At last the *catual* told him the King's desire was that he should have all his merchandise landed from his ships. This he readily agreed to do, and dispatched João de Setubal with a message to his brother informing him of the treatment he was receiving, and desiring him to send the boat which conveyed João de Setubal back to the factory with merchandise of all sorts. If he saw that they did not then allow him, Vasco da Gama, to return on board, he was to take back the factor, nobody was to go on shore, and he was to keep a good guard over the hostages. A.D. 1498.

One boat-load of goods was sent on shore, but, upon many other boats being sent for more goods, Paulo da

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Gama wrote to his brother, telling him that if the *catual* did not at once release him he would adopt hostile measures, and destroy all the ships in the port, and that in the meanwhile he should send ashore no more goods. Upon this being communicated to the *catual* he was greatly angered, and sent to the factory, and took the factor and clerk, with the three men who were with them, and Vasco da Gama with three others, and delivered them up to the *gazil* that he might keep them, whilst he himself went to tell the King of the affront which they had given him.

Upon this being reported to the King he ordered the goods in the factory to be at once brought in, and that Vasco da Gama and his companions should be killed. Subsequently, however, on the advice of his Brahman and the overseer of the Treasury, this order was rescinded, and His Majesty determined to wait until the Portuguese should first commence hostile operations.

News having reached the ships of the factor having been taken and the factory closed, a council was held as to what was now to be done, when it was determined to return the hostages with much honour, in the hope that the Portuguese on shore would then be liberated. Accordingly Nicolau Coelho accompanied the two Nairs from the ship who were entrusted with a message to the King that if Vasco da Gama and his companions were not sent back, the King of Portugal would certainly execute vengeance upon him for his treachery and breach of faith. The ships then set sail, and made a pretence of departing, but came to anchor again shortly. The Nairs immediately proceeded to the King, and, in consequence of their pleadings, he made an ample apology to Vasco da Gama, and dismissed him with rich presents, at the same time saying he had been deceived by evil councillors, whom he would surely punish; and that he might embark at once, and go with his good wishes. The factor also was ordered to go with the overseer of the Treasury

to see how much merchandise there was in the factory, which he would immediately order to be paid for; but when he arrived there he found that the factory had been robbed, and this the broker informed him had been done by the King.

Upon embarking with his men, Vasco da Gama bade farewell to the overseer of the Treasury, and said that if at any time he returned to Calicut he would take his revenge upon those who had done him wrong. He was followed into the boat by the Castilian, who on reaching the ships informed Vasco da Gama that all the ill-treatment he had received was caused by the *catual*, who, for the large bribes given him by the Moors, had done everything without the knowledge or assent of the King. Vasco da Gama, before sailing, gave this Castilian a certificate of faithfulness and honesty which he might show to any other Portuguese who might arrive at that port; and he told him to inform the Moors that for love of them he would come back to India, and that the evils they had procured for him would be their destruction.

This message having been repeated to the King, he sent for the Castilian, and dispatched him to the ships, accompanied by one of his Brahmans, to tell Vasco da Gama that he felt very great regret for what had happened, but that he had arrested the person whose fault it was, who would receive suitable punishment; therefore he entreated him to return to Calicut, because he would send on board his ships all the goods required to complete their lading, and all those which had remained on shore, for he did not wish them to go away speaking ill of him. Vasco da Gama replied that he would not then return, but was going back to his country to relate to his King all that had happened to him. He fully admitted that this had been caused by the treachery of his own people with the Moors, and stated that, if at any time he should return to Calicut, he would revenge himself upon the Moors, who had done

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the harm. He would, however, tell his King of the good compliments of the King of Calicut now that he had repented of his error.

Having dismissed the messengers, Vasco da Gama set sail with a fair wind in November, 1498, and shortly afterwards appeared before Cananor. Now the Moors at Calicut had already communicated with their co-religionists at Cananor with regard to the Portuguese, and these, at their instigation, made all sorts of false representations to the King of that place respecting them, in the hope that they might thus interfere with their prospects of trade at that port. His Majesty had, however, received different information from another source, and had made up his mind to give the Portuguese a favourable reception should they arrive at his country. Accordingly, as soon as Vasco da Gama's vessels were seen off Cananor,* the King sent a Nair in a boat urgently to request that they would come into his port. This boat was followed by others containing presents of water and wood, figs, fowls, cocoa-nuts, dried fish, butter and cocoa-nut oil, accompanied by an offer of as much cargo as their ships could carry.

On receipt of this message, Vasco da Gama determined to establish peace and trade with the King of Cananor, and forthwith stood into the port, where he anchored and fired salutes. The King then sent, as a free gift, more spices and merchandise than the vessels could hold, so that some had to be declined; and Vasco da Gama sent in return large quantities of the goods he had on board to the value of double that which he had received from the King. He also sent Nicolau Coelho with a present to the King, who received it very graciously, and shortly afterwards, at His Majesty's desire, Vasco da Gama, with his captains, met the King, and entered into a treaty with him on behalf of the King of Portugal. On this occasion the King

* Cananor was, according to the legend of the partition of his kingdom by Cheraman Perumal, included in the kingdom of the Chirrakal rajas, to whom the Mopla sea kings owed suzerainty, more or less nominal, down to the time of Haidar Ali's invasion of Malabar.

gave him an engagement signed by himself and his ministers on a gold leaf, together with handsome presents for the King of Portugal; Vasco da Gama at the same time gave the King a handsome sword on behalf of Dom Manoel. After distributing presents to the King's ministers, and the exchange of courtesies generally, Vasco da Gama prepared to depart; but he first dismissed the broker Davané, giving him at the same time very liberal presents and a certificate of his honesty and faithfulness. Having received at the last moment further presents of provisions from the King, Vasco da Gama sailed from Cananor on the 20th November, 1498.

The intention of Vasco da Gama had been to steer straight for Melinde, but the wind having dropped as the ships got out to sea, he steered again for the land and anchored off Anjediva* for some days. News soon spread to the mainland that the Portuguese vessels were in a bay of that island, and Timoja, a pirate, sent some boats disguised in the hope of capturing them; but having been warned of his intentions by some fishermen, Vasco da Gama fired at them before they got near his ships, and they thereupon separated and made for the coast.

Sabayo, the King of Goa, having also heard of the near presence of the Portuguese vessels, sent to them a Grenadine Jew, who was his captain-major at sea, with some boats, with the view, if possible, of bringing them to Goa. His intentions were, however, discovered to the Portuguese by some of the fishermen to whom they had shown great liberality; and not only was the Jew, with many of his men, captured, but all his boats were taken and most of the crews surprised and slain. The Jew was detained on board one of the vessels, and afterwards became a Catholic, being baptized by the name of Gaspar da Gama. Having taken in water, the Portuguese ships

* Anjediva lies off the coast of North Kanara. It is believed to have been known to the Greeks by the name Leuke, and that it was here where the ancient Greek merchant ships used to meet before entering on the more fertile shores of Kanara and Malabar. The island is mentioned by Ibn Batuta.

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A.D. 1499.

set sail from Anjediva for Melinde, where they arrived on the 8th January, 1499.

As soon as the vessels reached this port, the King came down to the beach, personally greeting the captains on their landing, and taking them away with him to his palace. They then related to the King all that had happened to them since they were last at Melinde, and requested that they might be permitted to take the two pilots with them to Lisbon, with the view of teaching them how to sail down that coast of Africa, and on their return they would be able to relate to His Majesty all they would see of the greatness and wealth of Portugal. This request pleased the King, and he accordingly gave it his ready acquiescence; also, before leaving, he gave to Paulo da Gama a letter to the King of Portugal, written on a leaf of gold, similar to the one which had been given by the King of Cananor, together with presents consisting of gold, silver, and ivory ornaments, besides jewellery for the Queen. After the exchange of many costly presents between the King and the captains, Vasco da Gama sailed from Melinde on the 20th of January, 1499, taking with him to Portugal on board his ship an Ambassador from the King of Melinde.

The vessels enjoyed a good run and fair weather, putting in nowhere until they arrived at the Azores, and anchored in the port of Angra, at the island of Terceira. The vessels were now leaking very considerably, and it needed constant work at the pumps to keep them afloat. Whilst here, Paulo da Gama, who had been ailing ever since passing the Cape, died, as did also many of the crew who were sick. Paulo da Gama was buried on the island, in the monastery of S. Francisco.

As soon as the ships arrived at Terceira, many boats started for Lisbon to take the news of their return to the King, hoping to obtain great favours as a reward for bringing the glad tidings. After the vessels had been refitted, and fresh crews taken on board, they departed

for Lisbon, accompanied by many others, and arrived at their destination on the 18th of September, 1499. CHAP. III A.D. 1499.

Arthur Rodriguez, a man of Terceira, was the first to arrive at Lisbon with the news of the return of Vasco da Gama's expedition. The King being then at Cintra, Rodriguez proceeded thither at once, where he arrived at one o'clock in the morning, and at once communicated the important news to His Majesty. The King's joy was unbounded, and he at once made Rodriguez a gentleman of the household, and his son a page of the chamber, and gave to the father besides a gratification of 100 cruzados. The next day the King went to Lisbon, when another messenger arrived with the further news of the death of Paulo da Gama, and the sickness of the crews. The King also rewarded him, and then awaited the arrival of the ships at the bar, where there were boats and pilots on the look-out, who brought them in all dressed out with flags, while the King was looking on from the House of Mines, which afterwards became the India House.

The King at once sent Jorge de Vasconcelos, a chief nobleman of his household, to visit Vasco da Gama, and to convey to him His Majesty's greetings, and many of his relatives and friends also went on board to welcome him on his return. On landing, Vasco da Gama was received by all the nobles of the Court, who conducted him to the King's presence, where he was most graciously received, and the King afterwards took him to his palace and presented him to the Queen. The next day, the King conferred upon him the title of "Dom." After having attended Mass, Dom Vasco presented Nicolau Coelho to the King, he having conveyed on shore the presents brought home for the King and Queen from the Kings of Cananor and Melinde.

After rewarding all who had taken part in this great enterprise, the ships were unloaded, and their freight of pepper and drugs carefully weighed and valued, when it was found that, after taking every expense of the voyage

CHAP. III. A.D. 1499.

into consideration, the value of the cargo brought home was as sixty to one compared with all the expenses of the voyage.* The King then presented Dom Vasco da Gama with 20,000 cruzados in gold, and conferred upon him and upon his heirs a perpetual right of 200 cruzados, which he might lay out each year, of his own money, in cinnamon, at Cananor, and send home in any vessel free of all charges on account of freight. Liberal rewards were also made to Nicolau Coelho, to the heirs of Paulo da Gama, and to the relatives of all others who had died on the voyage. The King further gave a large offering to the monastery of Belim, and to other holy houses and convents, and went with the Queen, in solemn procession, from the cathedral to São Domingo, where Calcadilha preached a sermon on the grandeur of India, and on the great and miraculous discovery of it, so that he greatly stimulated and inclined the hearts of men to go thither to win honour and profit, such as they saw in the case of those who had so recently come from thence.

The news of these glorious deeds made a complete revolution in the commerce of Europe, and raised the political importance of Portugal to a high degree; whilst to her Kings was added the glorious title of "Lords of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and China."

*At this time the quintal of pepper was worth at Lisbon 80 cruzados; that of cinnamon 180; that of cloves 200; that of ginger 120; that of mace 300; and the quintal of nutmeg 100. Taking the cruzado as worth 2s. 3d., and the quintal at 128 lbs., the value of pepper was about 1s. 5d., of cinnamon about 3s. 2d., of cloves about 3s. 6d., of ginger about 2s. 1d., of mace about 5s. 3d., and of nutmeg about 1s. 9d. per lb.

CHAPTER IV.

Expedition under Pedro Alvarez Cabral—Discovery of Brazil—Arrival at Calicut, where a Factory was Established—The Factory Attacked and Death of Ayres Correa—Bombardment of Calicut —Cabral Proceeds to Cochin and Establishes a Factory there —Return of Cabral to Lisbon—Expedition under João da Nova —Defeat of the Zamorin's Fleet—Visit to Cochin and Cananor —Discovery of S. Helena—Expedition under Dom Vasco da Gama—Quiloa made Tributary—Submission of the King of Baticala—Arrival at Cananor—Bombardment of Calicut—Visit to Cochin—Message from the Queen of Quilon—Defeat of the Zamorin's Fleet—Factory at Cananor—Attack on Cochin by the Zamorin, and Defence by Duarte Pacheco—Expedition under Affonso de Albuquerque and others—Treaty with the Zamorin—Expedition under Lopo Soarez de Algabaria.

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A.D. 1500.

THE expedition of Vasco da Gama having thus proved successful in reaching India by sea, the event was celebrated by public thanksgivings throughout the kingdom, followed by feasts and entertainments to the people. It was fully recognised that in order to accomplish what had been so satisfactorily commenced, it would be necessary to provide sufficient force to overawe the Arabs, who would be sure similarly to employ force to prevent the Portuguese from supplanting them in their profitable trade.

In the year following da Gama's return, and at his recommendation, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, a scion of a noble house of Portugal, was charged with the command of an expedition to Calicut, with the view of establishing commercial intercourse with the King of that country. The expedition was a magnificent one, consisting of thirteen ships formidably armed with artillery, but at the same time sumptuously provided with presents for the King, and

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manned by the boldest and most famous seamen of the period. Among these were Bartholomeu de Diaz, who fourteen years before had rounded the Stormy Cape; Nicolau Coelho, who had been one of da Gama's companions, and the interpreter Gaspar, whom da Gama had brought home with him from India, together with others who had been specially selected, with the view of establishing a factory on the coast of Malabar. The fleet carried 1,200 men, eight Franciscan friars, eight chaplains and a chaplain-major. The captains who set out with Cabral were Sancho de Toar, Simão de Miranda, Ayres Gomes da Silva, Nicolau Coelho, Vasco de Ataide, Bartholomeu de Diaz, Pedro de Diaz (his brother), Gaspar de Lemos, Luiz Pires, Simão de Pina, and Pero de Ataide. The expedition sailed from Belem on the 9th March, 1500, and Cabral having been presented with a royal banner, which had been blessed by the Bishop of Visen, and a cup which had received the Pope's benediction, proceeding with a fair wind, arrived in sight of Grand Canary at eight o'clock on the morning of the 14th. On Sunday, the 22nd, about ten o'clock, S. Nicholas, one of the Cape de Verde Islands, was sighted, where the fleet met with a storm, and one of the vessels, commanded by Vasco de Ataide, lost convoy and returned to Lisbon.*

In the *Lendas da India* it is stated that Cabral continued a westerly course towards the Azores, in order to obtain more favourable winds for doubling the Cape of Good Hope, as the science of taking the altitude of the sun was unknown in those days. The only instruments the navigators then possessed were compasses to ascertain the direction of the winds, "which generally blew towards some land or other." João de Barros, Damião de Goes, Jeronimo

* In *Noticias Ultramarinas* it is stated that after passing Cape Verde "one of the ships, commanded by Captain Luiz Pires, was lost sight of and never more heard of." This is also the account given in the *Lendas da India*, except that there it is said the lost ship was commanded by Pero de Figueiro. The weight of evidence appears, however, to be in favour of the version given above.

Osorio, and other historians state that Cabral's fleet, after passing the Cape de Verde Islands, was driven by strong gales and currents in the Atlantic to an unknown land. Other writers assert that the discovery of Brazil was probably owing to the fact of Cabral being unaware of his whereabouts, after spending some days in a fruitless search for the missing ship. Others again maintain, on the authority of letters written to Dom Manoel by members of Cabral's crew, that he purposely strayed out of his way to discover the new land.

On the 21st April Cabral sighted the top of a mountain, on what he at first supposed to be an island, and as they were then in Holy Week he gave it the name of *Monte Pascoal.* At six o'clock the fleet was anchored in nineteen fathoms of water, six leagues from the shore. The next day Cabral stood in closer and anchored in ten fathoms, at the mouth of a river. Here an attempt was made to land, but the surf was too heavy, and the landing party accordingly returned to the ships. In the night a storm sprang up, and it was accordingly deemed advisable to weigh anchor and stand out to sea. The next day the fleet proceeded along the coast in search of a good harbour, which was eventually found in a bay, where the vessels cast anchor in eleven fathoms. Affonso Lopez, the pilot, who was sent ashore to explore, captured two of the natives in a small craft, whom he took with him on board his ship. The next morning the vessels stood in nearer to the shore and entered the harbour, which was found to be a very capacious one, and large enough to accommodate 200 ships.

Upon coming to an anchor, Cabral sent Nicolau Coelho and Bartholomeu de Diaz on shore with the two natives, to whom clothes and beads had been given. At the approach of the boat, a number of men with bows and arrows made their appearance on the beach, but, on a signal from the two natives, they retired, and the Portuguese were allowed to land in peace. The natives having left the

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vicinity of the beach, the Portuguese took in a large quantity of water, and then retired to their ships. The fleet remained here some time, and Cabral erected a cross on a great tree and named the country *Vera Cruz*, or, as it was afterwards called, *Santa Cruz*, which name it retained until the importation from it into Europe of the valuable dye-wood of the *ibirapitanga* caused it to be called *Brazil*, from the name which had long previously been given to similar dye-woods imported from India. The harbour into which the fleet entered Cabral named *Porto Seguro* but it has since been known as the *Guseada da Coroa Vermelha*, or *Red Crown Bay*. On the 1st May formal possession was taken of the country for Portugal, and Cabral forthwith sent Gaspar de Lemos back to Lisbon in one of his vessels to convey the important news to the King. Cabral put on shore two young *degradados*, or banished criminals, with orders to make themselves acquainted with the products and habits of the country, and one of these subsequently became an able and respected agent of the colony which King Manoel lost no time in establishing.

The expedition left Porto Seguro on the 2nd May, and on the 24th it encountered a terrific storm, in which four vessels sank with all hands,—namely, those commanded by Ayres Gomes da Silva, Vasco de Ataide, Bartholomeu de Diaz, and Simão de Pina. The remainder of the fleet, consisting now of only seven vessels, were forced to run before the wind for six days, and soon one of these separated from the rest and ran into the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea, and thence returned home with only six men, the rest having perished by famine and disease. The fleet, now reduced to six ships, arrived off the coast of Sofala on the 16th July, where chase was given to two vessels, one of which was stranded and the other captured; but as the latter was commanded by Sheikh Fateyma, uncle to the King of Melinde, Cabral treated him well, and let him go free with his ship. On the

20th July Mozambique was reached, and here the fleet refitted before proceeding on its voyage. The services of a pilot having been obtained, the fleet proceeded to Quiloa, where it arrived on the 26th July, and thence to Melinde, which was reached on the 2nd August. A very short stay was made at Melinde, where, after giving some presents to the King, including a letter from the King of Portugal, and taking on board two Guzerat pilots, the expedition left for Calicut on the 7th August.

The first land sighted in India was Gogo, a port in the kingdom of Cambay, and, proceeding thence along the coast, Cabral came to the island of Anjediva. Having refreshed the crews and overhauled the ships, the expedition proceeded onwards, and arrived in sight of Calicut on the 30th of August, about six months after its departure from Lisbon.

When about a league from the shore, the King of Calicut sent representatives in gaily-decked boats to welcome the Portuguese. Cabral accordingly sent a deputation to the Zamorin of one European and four natives, the latter being some of those carried away by da Gama, but as they were low-caste men, the Zamorin could not receive them. Cabral then demanded that hostages should be sent on board to obviate any treachery, in case he wished to land, and named the Cutwal—he who had ill-treated da Gama—and a Chief Nair, as the most suitable persons; these, however, declined the honour, but on other hostages being furnished, Cabral landed the next day with thirty officers and men, and had an audience with the King on the beach, to whom he delivered some costly presents, with which His Majesty was greatly pleased. A treaty of peace and friendship was at once concluded, and a factory established, which was placed in charge of Ayres Correa, with seventy Europeans, two nephews of a Guzerat merchant being sent on board the captain's ship as hostages for his safety.

Whilst lying off Calicut Cabral sent, at the King's

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1500. request, a caravel with seventy men and some artillery to take a large Moorish ship which was then passing by. This vessel was easily captured, and presented to the King. As soon as the factory was fairly established, the hostages appear to have been allowed to return to the shore; the Moors, however, so far prevented the Portuguese from obtaining spices that, at the end of two months, only two vessels had been loaded. Cabral accordingly complained to the Zamorin, but the latter hesitated, and appeared embarrassed how to act. Cabral, therefore, with a view to hasten his decision, on the 17th December attacked and seized a Moorish vessel that was loading in the harbour, whereupon the Moors on shore became greatly excited, and attacked the factor's house. After three hours' resistance the building was destroyed, and Ayres Correa, with fifty-three of his men, was killed. Upon the news of this outrage reaching Cabral he sent to demand satisfaction, but, not receiving any, he seized and destroyed ten large Moorish ships, and, after bombarding the town for two days, set sail for a place called Fundarane, where several people were slain, and from thence to Cochin, which port was reached on the 24th December. On the way thither two more ships belonging to Calicut were met with and burnt. Thus was commenced a war of rivalry between the Portuguese and Arabs for the possession of the Eastern trade in which, at a later date, the natives of different parts of India became involved according as they encouraged the Portuguese or Arab traders. In this contest the Venetians gave their support to the Arabs, since the success of the Portuguese could not fail to injure their trade between Cairo and Europe.

On arriving at Cochin, a Syrian Christian, Michael Jogue by name, who was a passenger in one of the vessels for the purpose of visiting Rome, and afterwards proceeding to the Holy Land, was dispatched on shore, accompanied by an European, to visit the Raja Trimum-

para, who received them in a very friendly manner, and sent a message to Cabral that he might either purchase spices for money or give merchandise in exchange for them, as was most convenient to him. Cabral was in every respect much pleased with the Raja of Cochin, who, although much less wealthy than the Zamorin, and consequently not living in so much state, was greatly superior to him in every other respect, being honest in his dealings and intelligent and truthful in his conversation.

Cochin was at this time described as a long, low, sandy island covered with cocoa-nut trees, and divided by a deep river, a quarter of a mile broad, from the neighbouring island of Vypin. Passing up this river for half-a-mile, a wide expanse of backwater appeared, which extended for about 100 miles north and south. The town of Cochin was small and situated close to the river, and in it was the Raja's palace (where Matancherri now stands), by no means an imposing edifice, and badly furnished. A few Moors resided there, and possessed better houses than those of the native population, which were merely composed of mats, with mud walls and roofs thatched with leaves. At this period no buildings were allowed to be constructed of stone or brick, and tiled, excepting temples and palaces; but Moorish merchants were permitted to surround their buildings with stone walls for the security of their merchandise.

The Raja suggested that to avoid any misunderstanding, and to create mutual confidence, it would be best for him to send Nair hostages on board the fleet. This was accordingly done, the Nairs being exchanged for others every morning and evening, as they could not eat on board without violating some religious rules. An alliance of friendship was signed, and the Portuguese promised Trimumpara to instal him, at some future date, as Zamorin, and to add Calicut to his dominions. A factory was then given to the Portuguese, in which Gonçalo Gil Barbosa was placed as factor, with six

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others, to sell their merchandise and to provide lading for the next ships that should arrive there.* The Raja allowed them a guard, and permitted them to sleep within the walls of his palace. One night the factory caught fire, which was, of course, attributed to the vindictiveness of the Moors, but no injury appears to have resulted.

Whilst Cabral was at Cochin he received deputations from both the Rajas of Cananor and Quilon,† inviting him to visit them, and promising to supply him with pepper and spices at a cheaper rate than he could obtain them at Cochin; but their offers were politely declined. Two natives also paid Cabral a visit, and requested a passage to Europe, stating that they were members of a large Christian community residing at Cranganor, about twenty miles north of Cochin, in which some Jews of little note were also located.

As Cabral was preparing to leave Cochin, on 10th January 1501, a fleet belonging to the Zamorin, carrying 1,500 men, was descried off the harbour. The Raja immediately sent messengers to inform the Portuguese of the appearance of the enemy, and to offer them any assistance they might require. But the Calicut

* In thus leaving a factor behind at Cochin, Cabral followed the practice first established by the Phœnicians, who planted factories, or agencies, in all lands whither they traded, where they were able not only to dispose of their goods to the best advantage, but also to collect the produce of other lands so as to be ready for shipment on the arrival of their fleet.

† The ancient history of Quilon goes back to the records of the primitive Syrian Church in India. It was for long one of the greatest ports of Malabar, and the residence of the King of that region. It is mentioned as Coilon in a letter of the Nestorian patriarch Jesujalius of Adiabene, who died A.D. 660. It appears in Arabic as early as 851 A.D., under the name of Kaulam-Mall, when it was already frequented by ships from China; and during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it continued to be the great port of trade in Malabar with China and Arabia. It is the Coilum of Marco Polo, and the Columbum of several ecclesiastical writers of that age, one of whom, Friar Jordanus, was consecrated Bishop of Columbum, about 1330. It was an emporium for pepper, brazil-wood, and ginger, the last kind of which was known till late in the middle ages as columbine ginger. Kaulam was an important place down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Varthema speaks of it as a fine port, and Barbosa as, "a very great city, with many great merchants, Moors and Gentoos, whose ships trade to all the Eastern ports, as far as Bengal, Peru, and the Archipelago."

people held off, and had evidently no wish to come to an engagement. On the following day, finding that they did not attack, Cabral chased them, but was overtaken by a violent storm, which carried him out to sea. He did not subsequently return to Cochin, but put into Cananor, where he arrived on the 15th January, and received on board an ambassador from the Raja of that country to the King of Portugal, together with presents, and the offer of a free trade to that port. On the following day he started on his voyage home, carrying with him, but as he asserted accidentally, the Nair hostages, and leaving his factor and people at Cochin without any attempt either to provide for their safety or to reconvey them to their native land. But they were taken every care of by the Cochin Raja, and subsequently honourably returned to their friends.

Near Melinde, one of the most richly freighted of the ships, of 200 tons, and laden with spices, commanded by Sancho de Toar, foundered on a reef. The crew escaped with their lives, and they burnt the ship; but the King of Mombassa succeeded in recovering the guns, which he afterwards turned to account against the Portuguese. At Mozambique the rest of the ships were refitted, and one of them was sent to settle a trade at the mine of Sofala. At Cape de Verde they fell in with Pero de Diaz, whose vessel had parted with them in a storm on the way out; he had escaped many dangers by sea and land, chiefly in Port Magadoxo near Cape Guardafui. These three vessels returned together to Lisbon, where they arrived on the 21st July, 1501. Shortly afterwards Pero de Ataide, who had parted from the other ships, also arrived, as well as the vessel which had been sent to Sofala.

Historians are silent on the subject of the reception accorded to Cabral on his return, but Vespucci gives the following account of the wealth which he brought back. He says there was an immense quantity of cinnamon, green and dry ginger, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, mace,

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1501.

musk, civet, storax, benzoin, porcelain, cassia, mastic, incense, myrrh, red and white sandal-wood, aloes, camphor, amber, caune (Indian shot, *Cauna Indica*), lac, mummy, anib, and tuzzia (Huija), opium, Indian aloes, and many other drugs too numerous to detail. Of jewels he knew that he saw many diamonds, rubies, and pearls, and one ruby of a most beautiful colour weighed seven carats and a-half; but he did not see all. Cabral died before the 8th of July, 1534, and was buried in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, in the church of the Graça, at Santarem.

Before Cabral's return, King Manoel, having received no news of the former armada, sent out a noble Galician, named João da Nova, with four vessels. The captains who went with him were, according to one account, Fernão Pacheco, Francisco de Novais, and Misser Vineto, a Florentine; according to another their names were Diogo Barboza, Francisco de Navaes, and Fernão Vinet, a Florentine. A decree was also issued, bearing date the 29th January, 1500 (old style), empowering any merchant who might desire it to send trading ships from Portugal to India, on condition that a quarter of the value of any cargoes brought back should be paid into the Treasury, but which should be otherwise exempt from all other dues and taxes. This decree was to continue in force until the end of January, 1502. It does not, however, appear to have been taken any advantage of. João da Nova set sail from Belem on the 10th of April, 1501, and directed his course first towards the newly-discovered land of Santa Cruz. In his voyage out he discovered the island of Ascension, but which he called the island of Conception, and also another island which he named after himself. The former appears first to have received its name of Ascension from Affonso de Albuquerque, who saw it again in May, 1503, and named it in his journal, probably by mistake, under the latter name, which it has ever since retained. From thence da Nova proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, and,

on the 7th of July, anchored at the watering-place of Agoada de S. Braz (San Bras), beyond that promontory, where he found a letter left by Pero de Ataide in a shoe, after being separated from Cabral in a storm, in which he urged all captains bound for India to go by way of Mombassa, where they would find other letters in charge of one Antonio Fernandes. By this means da Nova became informed of the fact that at Cochin and Cananor he would find two friendly and safe ports where he could take in a cargo. At Quiloa he fell in with Antonio Fernandes, who delivered him Cabral's letter. Proceeding to India he anchored first at Anjediva, and thence went on to Cananor, where he was well received, and arranged to take in goods on his return from Cochin. On the way to Cochin he encountered the fleet of the King of Calicut, and sunk five large vessels and nine paraos. At Cochin he was received with great warmth on account of the victory he had gained over the Raja of Calicut. The factor, however, informed him that the Raja was naturally extremely indignant with Cabral for having carried away his hostages and for departing without bidding him adieu; he had nevertheless treated him and the other Portuguese who were left in his territory in a friendly manner. Being apprehensive lest their enemies the Moors might attempt to massacre them, the Raja had even lodged these men in his own palace, and had provided them with a guard of Nairs to protect them when they went into the town. He also stated that the Moors had persuaded the native merchants to refuse to exchange their pepper for Portuguese merchandise, and that therefore ready-money would be required for all purchases. Da Nova being unprovided for this, returned at once to Cananor, but he found that, owing to the machinations of the Moors, cash was as necessary there as at Cochin. He now quite despaired of providing lading for his vessels, but the Raja of Cochin, when informed of his dilemma, at once became his security for 1,000 hundredweight of pepper,

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A.D. 1501-2.

450 of cinnamon, fifty of ginger, and some bales of cloth.

On entering the port of Cananor da Nova took a ship of Calicut, which he plundered and burnt. On this vessel were found many very valuable jewels, and amongst them some 1,500 costly pearls, which were taken home and presented to Dom Manoel. There were also found on board the vessel three silver astrological navigating instruments, which were quite unknown to the Portuguese astronomers and navigators. The pilot of this vessel was retained in order that he might be instructed in the Portuguese language with a view to his explaining the use of these instruments. The King of Calicut, on hearing of the loss of this ship, and of these valuable instruments —which, it was said, he had caused to be imported from an island called Saponin—equipped a large fleet of 180 vessels to attack the Portuguese. The Raja at once offered da Nova any assistance in his power; this was, however, civilly declined, and all the ordnance at the command of the Portuguese vessels was speedily brought to bear upon the enemy. By this means a number of vessels were sunk, and the remaining Moors were too much discouraged to continue the action. Owing to the generosity of the Raja, the Portuguese ships were soon loaded, and da Nova departed, leaving his European merchandise for disposal in Cananor under the charge of a factor and two clerks. Before sailing he received an embassy from the Zamorin, offering excuses for his previous conduct, and promising to give hostages if he would proceed to Calicut and there load his vessels. To this message da Nova vouchsafed no reply.

After this da Nova set sail for Portugal, and on his homeward voyage he had the good fortune to discover the island which he named St. Helena. This occurred on the 21st May, 1502, and as that day was consecrated to Helena, wife of Constantius Chlorus, and mother of Constantine the Great, he named it after her. This event

is stated by some writers to have been accompanied by the loss of one of the fleet. The mariners, it is said, "drew on shore the weather beaten sides, and all the armory and tackling, building with the timber a chappell in this valley, from thence called Chappell Valley," but the name was subsequently changed to James' Valley. The island was found to be entirely uninhabited by human beings, and the only animals seen there were sea-fowl, seals, sea-lions, and turtle. Its surface was densely covered with trees. The Portuguese viewing the benefit which, in future voyages, might be derived from improving the natural advantages of this place, which lay in the direct track of ships sailing between Europe and India, "stocked it with goats, asses, hogs, and other cattel." This island became afterwards a place of call for the Eastern galleons, on account of the excellent water that was to be obtained there. Da Nova reached Portugal on the 11th September, 1502, and was received by the King with distinguished honour.

The account which Cabral had brought home of the difficulties to be encountered before the Indian trade could be secured, showed that it would be necessary to employ a considerable force for that purpose, and the King accordingly promised to send him again with a much larger fleet, and well equipped, in order to make war upon Calicut in retaliation for the treatment he had there received. For this purpose the King ordered ten large ships to be prepared, into which he placed a large quantity of artillery, munitions, and weapons, together with supplies of everything requisite for the voyage. A not unimportant stimulus to this proceeding was a hope which the King entertained that he might be able to plant the Christian religion in those countries, and that he might enlarge his royal titles by adding to them, as he subsequently did, those of Lord of the Navigation, Conquests, and Trade of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, which titles were afterwards confirmed by the Pope.

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The King had intended to have given the command of this expedition to Cabral, but many were of opinion that he was not the right man for the service, in consequence of his misfortune at sea, and the many vessels of his former fleet that had been lost; and when Dom Vasco da Gama requested that the command might be entrusted to him, in accordance with a patent granted by the King after his first voyage, under which he was to go as captain-major in any fleet that should sail for India, the King readily granted his request, promising to give Cabral the command of another fleet later on.

As soon as the command of the expedition had been made over to Dom Vasco he got ready, besides the above-mentioned ten vessels, five lateen-rigged caravels which he caused to be well equipped, because he hoped to make war with them, and he had the necessary artillery put into them, stowed below in the hold. In addition to these, it was settled that five small vessels should also be prepared, of which the King gave the chief command to Estevão da Gama, a relation of Dom Vasco. The expedition thus consisted of twenty vessels, and Dom Vasco appointed the following as captains,—viz., in the flagship "São Jeronymo," Vicente Sodré, a relation of his; in the "Lionarda," Dom Luis Coutinho; in the "Leitoa," Fernão de Atouguia; in the "Batecabello," Gil Fernandes de Sousa; in the "São Paulo," Alvaro de Ataide; in the "São Miguel," Gil Mattoso. These six ships were the largest, and the others which were smaller were to remain in India should no cargoes be obtainable for them, viz., the "Bretoa," Francisco Marecos; "São Rafael," Diogo Fernandes Correa, who was to be factor at Cochin; the "Vera Cruz," Ruy da Cunha; the "Santa Elena," Pero Affonso de Aguiar. The captains of the caravels were as follows: in the "Santa Martha," João Rodrigues Badarças; in the "Fradeza," João Lopes Perestrello; in the "Salta na palha," Antão Vaz; in the "Estrella," Antonio Fernandes; and in the "Garrida," Pero Rafael. In these fifteen sail

were 800 men-at-arms, and many gentlemen of birth, besides the captains. They also took back with them the ambassadors of Cochin and Cananor.

Dom Vasco was determined to leave in India a fleet and a supply of men to lord it over the Indian seas, and it was fully expected that the expenditure these would incur at sea would be covered by the prizes they would make.

Besides their stipulated rate of pay, each member of the fleet was to be permitted to bring home for himself a limited amount of spices, for the freight of which he was to pay at the rate of one-twentieth of its value, which sum the King dedicated towards the cost of construction of the house of Our Lady of Belem. This twentieth was always given to Belem on the return of the fleet, from 1503 till the year 1522, when Dom João, who had succeeded his father, Dom Manoel, on the throne, abolished it, as the monastery was then nearly completed. In place thereof he ordered that a limited sum should be paid to it each year by the India House on the arrival of the fleets from India.

The fleet, with the exception of five small vessels, under the command of Estevão da Gama, which sailed later, assembled off Belem, where the King went to see it off. According to Gaspar Correa it sailed on the 25th of March, 1502, but, according to Barros and Osorio, it left Belem on the 10th of February, while Manoel de Faria y Sousa omits to give any date. When off Guinea Fernão de Atouguia, captain of the "Leitoa," died, and da Gama appointed Pero Affonso de Aguiar to succeed him, and nominated Pero de Mendoça, an honourable gentleman who accompanied him, captain of the "Santa Elena" Leaving Guinea, Dom Vasco made the coast of Brazil, and ran along as far as Cape Santo Agostinho, whence he crossed over to the Cape of Good Hope, and shortly after doubling the Cape met with a storm which lasted six days, and separated the only two ships and three caravels remaining with the admiral; but he was afterwards joined

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by another ship and two small vessels. At Cape Corrientes another storm was encountered, which again separated the vessels, and drove the "Santa Elena" on the banks off Sofala, where she was lost, but the crew and goods were saved. Da Gama then went to Mozambique, where the other vessels of the fleet joined him, they having received instructions to assemble there in the event of the ships becoming separated. Here he was well received, and the Sheikh not only sent him presents of fresh food, but asked pardon for the reception da Gama had received there on the occasion of his former visit. The admiral received him with much honour, and sent him away again with a present. Here a caravel was constructed from materials which had been brought out. It was completed and launched in twelve days, and named the "Pomposa," João Serrão being appointed its captain. In the meanwhile Pero Affonso de Aguiar went to Sofala with two caravels, where he traded and entered into a treaty with its King. He then returned to Mozambique, but as Vasco da Gama had already left that port he proceeded to Melinde, where he expected to join him.

Before leaving Mozambique da Gama installed Gonzalo Baixo there as factor, with ten men for his service, and goods for buying stuffs for Sofala, where he was to go and barter them, or send them thither by João Serrão in the new caravel, which he left there for that purpose, with thirty men, two heavy pieces and some small artillery. He furnished him also with detailed instructions as to what he was to do if Pero Affonso succeeded in establishing a trade at Sofala; otherwise they were all to follow him to India. On his way Dom Vasco called in at Quiloa, and by means of threats made the King of that place tributary to the King of Portugal. After remaining there for six days, having received a present for the King of Portugal, Vasco da Gama left with his fleet; but at the last moment a curious difficulty arose. Many of the women of this city were very beautiful, and by reason

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of the jealousy of the Moors they were kept shut up and were generally ill-treated. For this reason many fled from their homes whilst the Portuguese ships were there, and went on board, where they were taken in secretly and kept in strict concealment. On being spoken to on the subject they refused to return, and desired to become Christians, with the view of escaping from their former treatment. Upon this coming to the ears of Vasco da Gama he ordered all the married women to be put on shore, and threatened that if they were not well treated he would, on his return, avenge them. Certain of the Moors refused to take back their wives, so these were returned to the ships, and, with the unmarried ones amongst them, accompanied the expedition to India.

Vasco da Gama proceeded next to Melinde, where he was most cordially received by the King of that place, and stayed there for three days, during which His Majesty made several visits to the fleet, and sent great quantities of fresh meat and vegetables for the crews. He also gave rich presents for the King and Queen of Portugal, whilst Vasco da Gama likewise gave him suitable gifts, and after the mutual exchange of many courtesies the expedition set sail again on 18th August, 1502. The following day they fell in with the five ships under Estevão da Gama, which had sailed two months later than the rest. The captains of the other vessels of this fleet were Vasco Fernandes Tinoco, Ruy Lourenço Ravasco, Diogo Fernandes Peteira, and João Fernandes de Mello. The combined fleet made together the land of Dabul, where the caravels rigged their lateen sails, mounted their artillery, and then ran along the coast. After passing Anjediva they came upon some pirates' vessels belonging to Timoja, which they chased into the River Onor, and burnt. The next day they reached Baticala, which was a great port for trade, from whence rice, iron, and sugar were transported to all parts of India. Here attempts were made to prevent the Portuguese from landing, but upon their taking the offensive the King sent

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some Moors to offer his submission, which Vasco da Gama accepted on condition that the Turks were prohibited from trading there; that no trade in pepper should be carried on at that port, and that vessels should not be permitted to go thence to Calicut. The King accepting these conditions, offered a tribute of 1,000 loads of rice every year for the Portuguese crews, and 500 loads of better rice for the captains, excusing himself from more, as he was only a tenant of the King of Bisnaga, to whom the country belonged. These terms having been assented to, they were committed to writing and the agreement ratified.

After concluding this business Vasco da Gama set sail for Cananor. On the way thither a large ship of Calicut was espied, which had come from Mecca with a very valuable cargo belonging to the chief merchant at Calicut, who was brother to Coja Casem, the factor of the sea to the King of Calicut. This vessel Dom Vasco took, and after removing all the cargo into Portuguese ships, gave orders that the vessel should be burnt with all the Moors in it. The latter, finding arguments and offer of bribes to be useless, determined to sell their lives as dearly as they could, and accordingly attacked the Portuguese, who were in the ship, removing cargo. With obstinate resistance the Moors fought to the death, but ultimately the owner and crew were killed, and their vessel was sunk.

On arriving at Cananor the factor and several men of that place went and related to Vasco da Gama the great benefits which the King had conferred upon them, and how that the King of Calicut was then engaged in hostilities against him.

Vasco da Gama took an early opportunity of arranging an interview with the King, when the latter received him with great courtesy. Da Gama delivered to His Majesty a letter from the King of Portugal, together with the presents which he had brought out, consisting of six pieces of satin and coloured velvets, a piece of brocade, an arm-chair with cushions of brocade, and a sword of

gold and enamel. This latter was greatly admired by the King, who, in return, delivered to da Gama a necklace and two bracelets, together with ten rings, all of considerable value, as presents for the Queen of Portugal, besides some rich jewels for himself. After this interview da Gama returned in state to his ship.

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One of the instructions given to da Gama before his departure from Lisbon, was that in all ports where he succeeded in establishing trade he should arrange to have the prices of various articles fixed, so as to avoid fluctuations in the markets. By means of the factor and interpreter he obtained here the necessary information as to weights and prices of each article, both for selling and buying, after which he obtained another interview with the King, before whom he laid this matter. His Majesty having expressed himself in favour of this proposal, summoned before him some principal merchants of the country, and also some foreign merchants, with whom the subject was discussed, and a scale of weights and prices was agreed upon and a memorandum to that effect was duly signed, after which da Gama took his leave and retired.

On returning to his ship, da Gama arranged to divide his fleet, and that it should cruise along the coast, making war on all navigators excepting those of Cananor, Cochin, and Quilon, to whom, it was arranged, certificates should be granted by the factor at Cananor to ensure them safe passage. Vicente Sodré was appointed captain-major of one division of the fleet that was to be left behind; Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, who was at Cochin, was appointed factor at Cananor, with Fernão to assist him as Almoxarife, whilst Diogo Fernandes Correa took his place as factor at Cochin. Gomez Ferreira, who had been factor at Cananor, was appointed to the command of a caravel, and Ruy de Mendanha captain of another. Quantities of goods were then sent on shore, which were to be exchanged principally for ginger; a native staff was appointed to assist in the clerical work of the factory, and

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a guard of Nairs, who were each to receive a fixed rate of pay. Also, in order to ensure a good supply of ginger, ten ells of crimson velvet were to be given to the *gazil* for each cargo. Besides ginger, the factor was to procure for the return voyage to Portugal quantities of rice, sugar, honey, butter, oil, cocoa-nuts and dried fish. He was also to make cables of coir and cordage, for which purpose several workmen were put on shore from the fleet.

After taking leave of the King, Vasco da Gama departed, and on reaching Calicut he was much annoyed to find no Moorish ships in the port, as they had all fled on hearing that he was in the neighbourhood.

The King of Calicut, fearing the vengeance of Vasco da Gama, in order to gain time sent a Brahman out to him in a boat, with a white flag as a token of peace. The Brahman was dressed in the habit of a friar, which he assumed in order that he might have a better chance of being listened to. The disguise was, however, at once detected, but da Gama gave him a safe-conduct to go on board his ship, which he accordingly did, and delivered the King's message, which was to the effect that he had arrested twelve Moors, who were principally instrumental in causing him to assume a hostile attitude towards the Portuguese on their first visit to his city; these he was sending to da Gama, together with 20,000 cruzados, which he took from them in payment for the goods which were plundered in the factory. Vasco da Gama fully appreciating the motive which induced the King to send this message, sent back a reply expressing satisfaction that His Majesty recognised the fault that he had committed; stating that he would take what he sent him, but regretting it included so few Moors out of the many who had done the evil; and adding that he would retain the friar until His Majesty's answer should be received. The next day the King sent to say that the Moors had offered 20,000 pardaos more for themselves, if da Gama would accept that sum for their ransom. Instead of

sending any further reply, da Gama drew up the fleet as close in to shore as he safely could, and bombarded the city for an entire day, killing many people and causing great destruction to the city. He then stood out to sea, leaving, however, six vessels well armed, and manned by 200 men to remain before Calicut.

Before leaving, a fleet of two large ships and twenty-two smaller vessels appeared in sight. These were from Coromandel, laden with rice, and, being unable to escape from the Portuguese caravels, they were all captured. After having taken from them all that his ships required and could conveniently dispose of, Dom Vasco ordered his men to cut off the hands and ears and noses of all the crews, and the Brahman who had gone to him disguised as a friar was also similarly treated. This done, their feet were tied together, and in order to prevent them from untieing the cords with their teeth, he ordered his men to strike them on their mouths with staves and knock their teeth down their throats. They were then put on board, to the number of about 800, heaped one on the top of the other, and covered with mats and dry leaves; the sails were then set for the shore and the vessel set on fire. The friar, with all the hands and ears that had been cut off, was sent on shore by himself in a small vessel, which was not fired, with a palm-leaf letter to the King, telling him to have a curry made to eat of what his friar brought him. This act of cruel barbarity caused the greatest indignation amongst the people, more especially amongst the Moors, who combined together to construct a fleet of overwhelming power, with the view of driving the Portuguese from the Indian seas.

When da Gama was about to proceed to Cochin, an Indian boat reached him with a letter from the King of Cananor, complaining that some Moors had laden eight ships in his port, and departed without paying either his duties or for the goods they had taken away, and requesting his assistance in the matter. He accordingly

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directed Vicente Sodré to go thither and see what services he could render. On arrival there he found the Moorish vessels off the city, waiting to sail with the land breeze that would set in at night. Vicente Sodré wished to sink these ships, but refrained from doing so at the request of the King; but he sent and told the principal Moor that unless he at once satisfied the King's claims he would burn all his ships, even if he had to follow them all the way to Mecca for that purpose. Being frightened at this threat, Coja Mehmed Maredr, the principal Moor, a native of Cairo, went ashore, and faithfully settled all claims, taking palm-leaf receipts for the same to show to Vicente Sodré; but as the King had reported some insulting words which the Moor had spoken on leaving the shore, Vicente Sodré made the latter accompany him back in a boat, and when close to the town had him tied to the mast and flogged with a rope's-end until he fainted. Having filled his mouth with dirt, and tied over it a piece of bacon, he sent him back to his ship with his hands tied behind him. The Moors had offered to pay 10,000 pardaos of gold if he would not put dirt in Coja's mouth, but Vicente Sodré had refused, saying, "Money pays for merchandise, and blows for words." Vicente also further threatened that if Coja again spoke ill of the King of Cananor he would seek him to the end of the world, and flay him alive. This satisfaction of his honour greatly pleased the King, who presented Sodré with a thousand pardaos of gold, and also ordered that as long as he remained in his port, or on shore, he should have a gold pardao each day for fowls for his table. This daily table allowance was, for long afterwards, paid to all Portuguese captains when at that port.

Whilst these events were taking place at Cananor, Vasco da Gama proceeded from Calicut to Cochin, where the factor gave a very satisfactory account of the proofs which the King had constantly afforded of his friendliness towards the Portuguese. The King himself also sent a

message of welcome, and the following day Vasco da Gama went ashore and paid his respects in person to His Majesty, when he handed to him a letter from the King of Portugal, and presents consisting of a goblet with a pedestal, and covered by a lid, which contained 2,000 cruzados, also a piece of brocade, and twenty-four pieces of velvets, satins, and coloured damasks, and a chair covered with brocade, and studded with silver nails, with its cushions to match. He also handed the King letters from his young Nair who had remained in Portugal, giving an account of all he had seen in that country. The King advised Sodré to use every expedition in getting his cargo on board, and to keep a sharp look-out at night, as the Zamorin was preparing a great fleet to come and fight with him.

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The Portuguese ships having been taken into the river of Cochin, Vasco da Gama had them heeled over and caulked in great haste, and as each one was finished its cargo was taken on board. Thus they loaded five large ships and six small vessels with spices and drugs, the produce of the country. The freight which they had brought out, and which had been safely deposited in the factory, consisted of cut and branch coral, copper in pigs and sheets, quicksilver, vermilion, rugs, Flanders brass basins, coloured cloths, knives, red barret-caps, mirrors, and coloured silks. Here, as at Cananor, Vasco da Gama also established fixed rates of weights, measures, and prices, with the sanction and concurrence of the King. These standards were to prevail within the Portuguese factory, but outside of that building anyone might make his own terms for buying or selling goods. Vasco da Gama then presented the King with a crown of gold, and a silver-gilt basin and ewer, whilst to the Prince he gave an enamelled collar, ornamented with jewels in the form of a chain, and a round tent with double linings of coloured satin.

Whilst the Portuguese ships were taking in their cargoes, a report of the liberality with which Vasco da

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Gama had treated the King of Cochin, and the profits realized by the latter from trade with the Portuguese, having reached Quilon, the Queen of that place, from whence the pepper sold in Cochin was principally obtained, desiring to secure for her own people the profits which the Cochin merchants now enjoyed, sent a message to da Gama requesting him to send two of his largest ships to that port, which she promised to load for him with pepper on the same terms and conditions as he had already established at Cochin. She also undertook to provide him with a similar quantity each year at the same price as might from time to time prevail at that place. Da Gama received the Queen's messenger with much honour, and, after consulting with his captains on the matter, fearing to run any risk in regard to the recently-established friendship with the King of Cochin, he sent a courteous reply, excusing himself from at once accepting the invitation on the grounds that, owing to recent engagements with the King of Cochin, he could not enter upon this matter without His Majesty's concurrence. He therefore requested her to send her message direct to the King of Cochin, and should he raise no objections, he, Vasco da Gama, would be glad to entertain her proposals.

On receipt of this reply the Queen immediately sent a message, as suggested, to the King of Cochin, with whom she was on friendly terms. His Majesty, however, did not receive the communication with any degree of pleasure, as he foresaw that, should the Portuguese ships go to load pepper at Quilon, his revenues and the trade of his port would be great losers thereby. However, after having consulted with the Portuguese factor on the subject, who had already been cautioned to act warily in his replies, the King, feeling that he could not well refuse the request of the Queen, yet hoping from the replies he had received from the factor that so long as the Portuguese could obtain all the pepper they required from Cochin, they

would not trouble to send ships to Quilon, hi~his real apparently ready acquiescence in the proposal. In ~he municating his assent through his minister to Vasco da Gama, the latter, whilst avoiding all appearance of eagerness in the matter, undertook not to establish a factory at Quilon, but only to send two ships there each year for pepper whenever there should be a scarcity of that article in Cochin, with cargo to exchange for whatever freight they might obtain there. This was, however, not what the King of Cochin had expected or hoped for, but having given his word he was unable to draw back, and dismissed the Queen's messengers with the best grace he could assume under the circumstances.

The Queen, on receipt of a favourable reply from the King, at once dispatched a message to Vasco da Gama requesting him to at once send two ships, as she had already plenty of pepper on hand to load them. This he immediately did, but not without first obtaining sanction from the King of Cochin, which, though unwillingly, he was not now in a position to withhold. The captains of these two ships were Diogo Fernandes Pereira and Francisco Marecos, whilst João de Sa Pereira went with them as factor. On arrival at Quilon the latter went on shore and handed to the Queen a letter from da Gama, accompanied by a present of a handsome mirror, some coral, and a large bottle of orange-flower water, whilst to her ministers he presented thirty scarlet barret-caps and thirty dozen of knives with sheaths. The Queen in return sent as a present to da Gama several silk stuffs of various colours, together with some very fine white stuffs of great width, all being of native manufacture. The greatest haste was made in loading the vessels with spices, and in ten days they had taken on board as much as they could carry, and returned at once to Cochin.

Before the fleet at Cochin had quite finished taking in their cargoes, the King sent for Vasco da Gama, and informed him that he had intelligence from Calicut to the

.. the fleet which was being prepared there against Portuguese was now ready to sail under the command of Coja Casem and Cojambar, the latter of whom was a
2. Moorish eunuch who had recently arrived from Mecca, and had come from the Maldive Islands in a small boat to offer himself to the King of Calicut to take the Portuguese fleet, having left at the Maldives two large ships which he had brought, laden with great wealth, and which he did not care to risk. The King strongly advised da Gama to set sail before the Calicut fleet should arrive to stop him; but he disdained to fly from the enemy, and assured His Majesty that the caravels he had with him were quite able to give a good account of any fleet that might come against him from Calicut; besides which he had arranged to go to Cananor to take in ginger, and he would be wanting in courtesy to the King of that place if he failed to do so. He further urged that the reputation of the Portuguese for bravery would be lost for ever if he thus ran away for fear of the Calicut fleet.

Vasco da Gama having been thus warned of the danger that threatened him, sent a swift caravel to Cananor to summon Vicente Sodré to join him with his fleet, and the King of Cochin at the same time sent some Indian boats along the coast to keep a look-out for the enemy's vessels.

It appears that the King of Calicut had spared no expense in preparing his fleet for the destruction of the Portuguese trade, and intended, as soon as he had routed their fleet, to make war on Cochin, and drive the Portuguese from thence. In order to spy out the condition of the Portuguese fleet, he sent a Brahman with a letter to Vasco da Gama declaring that, although he had prepared a fleet for his destruction, he would order them all to be dismantled if he would agree to terms of peace. Coje Bequi, a Moor of Calicut, who was friendly to the Portuguese, being aware of the intentions of the Zamorin, contrived to send and warn da Gama that the Brahman, whom he was sending under pretext of offering friendship, was in reality but a

spy. Thus, as soon as he arrived, da Gama knew his real errand, and having secured and bound his boatmen, he ordered the Brahman to be tied to the mast of the ship, and to be tortured by holding hot embers to his shins, until, in his agony, he confessed the truth. Da Gama then ordered his lips to be cut off, and ears cut from a dog to be firmly sewn to his head in the place of his own, and in this condition sent him back to the Zamorin.

In the meantime da Gama's fleet had completed its lading, and the factory on shore having been provided with every requisite, and placed under the care of Diogo Fernandes Correa as factor, da Gama, with his captains, took leave of the King, and set sail on their homeward voyage. The laden vessels were in all ten in number, and these stood well out to sea, but Vicente Sodré (who was to remain in the Indian seas for the protection of the factory at Cochin) accompanied the expedition for some distance, and with his caravels and ships ran along the shore with orders to sink everything he fell in with. As they were proceeding in this order, they one morning sighted the Calicut fleet, which was coming along the coast with a light land breeze. The first squadron under Cojambar, consisting of about twenty large ships and some seventy fustas and large sambuks, came on in single file, and extended for a considerable distance. Vicente Sodré ordered the caravels to edge close inshore in a line, and to run under all the sail they could carry, firing as many guns as they could, whilst he, with the ships, remained behind.

Each of the caravels carried thirty men, four heavy guns below, six falconets above, two of which fired astern, and ten swivel guns on the quarter-deck and in the bows. The ships carried six guns below on the deck, two smaller ones on the poop, eight falconets above, and several swivel guns, whilst two smaller pieces, which fired forwards, were placed before the mast. The ships of burden carried a heavier armament.

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As soon as the two fleets met, the caravels discharged all their guns at the Moorish flagship, which led the van, and with the first discharge the mast of the flagship was brought down. Vicente Sodré's caravels continued firing broadsides, and speedily three of the large Moorish ships were sunk. They continued their course, and, having passed the first squadron, they met the second squadron of the enemy, consisting of more than a hundred sail, principally sambuks, commanded by the Moor Coja Casem. Meanwhile Vicente Sodré's vessels went after his caravels and engaged Coja Casem's flagship. The Moorish vessels, not being so heavily armed as those of the Portuguese, the latter did great havoc, and so harassed the Moors that they began to make for the shore to avoid further damage. Upon this, the first squadron returned to their relief; but these were also very severely handled, and as they came to close quarters the Moors jumped overboard to escape. One vessel which was deserted, and captured by the Portuguese, was found to contain a very rich cargo, and a number of women and children, all belonging to Coja Casem, besides several other women belonging to rich Moors. In this vessel was an image of Mahomed, of solid gold and jewels, which Vicente Sodré took, together with some pretty girls, as a present for the Queen; but the rest of the women and merchandise he left to his captains and sailors. After having thus dispersed the Calicut fleet (many of which were sunk and more burnt) Sodré again went after some of the largest of the vessels, and on the approach of his fleet the Moors on board all leaped overboard, and swam for the land. He then took the deserted ships in tow, and when off Calicut he fastened them all together, and, having set them on fire, turned them to drift towards the shore. Vicente Sodré then proceeded with his fleet to Cananor, where he met da Gama, who had already arrived there with his homeward-bound vessels.

Having made all the necessary arrangements with re-

ard to the factory at Cananor, which he left in charge f Gil Fernandes Barbosa, Vasco da Gama obtained permission from the King to land a quantity of cannon there, nd he also supplied the factory with many shot and some owder, all of which was buried so as to keep it out of ght; he also persuaded the King to have a high stone all erected round the factory palisade, with a gate to asten with a key, and that at night he should send to iut the gate, and keep the key. This the King agreed to, nd forthwith had the work executed, thinking that in aking this request da Gama desired that the Portuguese eft in the factory should remain subject to him.

Vicente Sodré was left as captain-major of the sea, ith power over everything by sea and land, and with intructions to cruise along the coast all the summer, doing s much injury as possible to the ships of Calicut, and, if pportunity offered, to endeavour to make prizes among the hips bound for Mecca.

Having made all the necessary arrangements with regard o those that were to remain in India, Vasco da Gama set ail on his homeward voyage on the 28th December, 1502. t Mount Dely he took in wood and water, and, sailing ith a favourable wind, soon reached Melinde. Here he emained only long enough to exchange courtesies with he King, and take in fresh provisions, and thence sailed irect to Lisbon, where he arrived on the 1st of September, 503, with ten ships laden with very great wealth. The King bestowed rewards upon all the captains, and to Dom Vasco da Gama he gave great favours; all his goods were allowed to enter free, and he granted him the anchorge dues of India, besides making him perpetual admiral f its seas, and one of the principal men of his kingdom.

After Dom Vasco da Gama had left Indian waters, the Zamorin of Calicut, being envious of the trade which Trimumpara, the King of Cochin, had entered into with he Portuguese, got together a very large army, with the iew of driving the latter out of Cochin.

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There were several in Trimumpara's Council who endeavoured to persuade him to deliver up the Portuguese whom he had taken under his protection, in order to avoid the threatened war. To this, however, he absolutely refused to listen, preferring to submit to all the anticipated evils of an invasion rather than to commit such a breach of faith. Vicente Sodré arrived at Cochin about that time with his fleet, and was strongly urged by Diogo Fernandes Correa to remain there in order to assist Trimumpara against the threatened invasion. Vicente Sodré, however, urged that his orders were to cruise near the Red Sea and intercept the Arabian ships trading thence with India; and to all the arguments Correa could urge on the subject Sodré turned a deaf ear being influenced, it was believed, either by fear or by the hope of acquiring a rich booty. He then sailed for the Red Sea, and when off the coast of Cambay met with five Arabian ships, laden with valuable cargoes, which he plundered and burnt. Proceeding on his course he touched at the Curia Muria Islands, where he was well received and treated by the inhabitants.

Vicente Sodré resolved to remain here to effect some repairs to Pero de Ataide's ship, which was very leaky, and, notwithstanding the warnings of the natives that where he had cast anchor was both a dangerous and unsuitable place for the purpose, owing to its exposure to the high winds that prevailed at that time of the year, he persisted in carrying out his original intentions. Three of his captains endeavoured to persuade Sodré to listen to the warnings of the natives; but, as he remained obstinate, they removed their ships to another and more protected situation. As had been predicted, a sudden storm did shortly afterwards arise, and both Sodré and his brother were lost, and the remainder of the fleet only escaped with great difficulty.

On the death of Vicente Sodré the remaining captains selected Alvaro de Ataide as their admiral, and it was

determined to return to India at once to give assistance to the King of Cochin. Having arrived at Anjediva the weather became so bad that it was resolved to remain there for the winter, and to proceed to Cochin in the spring.

In the meanwhile Trimumpara raised what troops he could, and made other necessary preparations to resist the impending invasion by the King of Calicut. Besides having a comparatively small army, he was beset by further difficulties, owing to the fact that at this important juncture many of his subjects and tributary chiefs deserted to the Zamorin.

The Zamorin, at the head of a force of 50,000 men, consisting of his own Nairs and the deserters from Cochin, marched to Repelim,* sixteen miles from Cochin, where he arrived on the 31st of March, 1503. At this juncture the Portuguese who were then at Cochin offered to retire to Cananor in order to relieve Trimumpara from the impending danger; but this he would not hear of, and desired that they should remain.

Trimumpara gave the command of his army to Narayan, the heir-apparent of the Cochin State, and sent him with 5,500 men to guard a pass through which it was expected the Zamorin would attempt to advance. On the 2nd April the Calicut army made an attempt on this pass, but were driven back. Next day Narayan was again attacked, but succeeded in holding his position on this and on several subsequent similar attacks. Having thus failed to effect his object by force, the Zamorin contrived to gain over to his interest by means of large bribes the paymaster of the King of Cochin's army, who accordingly neglected, as heretofore, to issue regular daily payments to the troops. Disaffection then soon began to show itself in Trimumpara's army, and numbers deserted. As soon as the forces under Narayan had been thus considerably reduced, the Zamorin's forces made an attack in

* An island city and kingdom between Calicut and Cochin.

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great force upon the pass one night. Narayan made a gallant defence, but being overpowered by numbers he was killed, together with several of his officers; and his troops, finding themselves without a leader, took to flight, being followed for some distance by the enemy.

Trimumpara, upon learning of the defeat and death of Narayan, collected all his forces, and engaged the enemy in a pitched battle; but his small army was soon overcome, whereupon he retired, with his few remaining troops, and the Portuguese under his protection, to the island of Vypin. Again the Zamorin sent to demand the surrender of the Portuguese under his protection, offering in return to cease hostilities and retire from the territories of Cochin. Trimumpara, however, continued faithful in the midst of his dangers and difficulties, and indignantly refused the demand. The Zamorin, being greatly enraged at this, ordered the city of Cochin to be burnt, and he then went to besiege Vypin. This island, however, possessed many natural facilities for defence, and the small force which the King of Cochin had been able to take with him proved more than a match for the Zamorin's superior numbers. After several unsuccessful attempts to capture the island, as the winter season was now approaching, the Zamorin raised the siege and returned to Cochin, which he fortified with a ditch and rampart; and, having left a strong body of troops there, he departed for Calicut, intending to renew the attack after the Onam festival in August.

On the defeat of Narayan many more desertions took place from Trimumpara's army, and amongst these deserters were two Italians who had, by Dom Manoel's permission, accompanied Dom Vasco da Gama to India in his second voyage.

Whilst these events were happening in India and elsewhere, preparations were being made at Lisbon for the dispatch of another expedition to India. King Dom Manoel fully recognized the fact that, so long as the

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Zamorin sided with the Moors in their hostility to the Portuguese, the affairs of the latter in India could not well be placed on a firm footing; he therefore determined to send out another expedition to build a fortress in Cochin, for the shelter of the people and the storage of merchandise. Accordingly, nine ships were prepared, to which three commands were appointed, each consisting of three ships. The first was given to Affonso de Albuquerque, the second to Francisco de Albuquerque, his cousin, and the third to Antonio de Saldanha. The two former were to proceed to India and return with cargoes, and the last had orders to cruise off the mouth of the Red Sea against the ships of Mecca. Affonso de Albuquerque set out on the 6th of April, 1503, and had as his captains, Pero Vaz da Veiga and Duarte Pacheco Pereira, surnamed the Famous. Francisco de Albuquerque sailed on the 14th of April, accompanied by Nicolau Coelho and Fernão Martins de Almada; and Antonio de Saldanha had with him Ruy Lourenço Ravasco and Diogo Fernandes Pereira. Francisco de Albuquerque on his way fell in with the surviving four vessels of Sodré's squadron, at Anjediva, as well as with one that had been separated from Dom Vasco da Gama's fleet: he had, however, lost one of his own fleet, which was supposed to have been either sunk or burnt. These together arrived at Cochin some days before they were joined by Affonso de Albuquerque and his three ships. Francisco de Albuquerque having learned at Cananor the critical position of affairs at Cochin, at once pushed on, and arrived there on the 2nd September, 1503, and he was soon afterwards joined at Vypin, by Duarte Pacheco, with his vessel.

As soon as the Calicut garrison that had been left in Cochin saw the arrival of these reinforcements they were struck with terror, and immediately left the city. Francisco de Albuquerque cordially thanked Trimumpara in the name of Dom Manoel for his fidelity, and presented him with the sum of 10,000 ducats. Without loss of

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time Francisco de Albuquerque conducted Trimumpara to Cochin and re-established him in the possession of his kingdom; he then sailed to a neighbouring island whose Prince had revolted from Trimumpara to the Zamorin, and falling unexpectedly upon the people, he killed many of them, burnt some of their towns and villages, and then returned to Cochin.

The next day Francisco de Albuquerque sailed for another island, the inhabitants of which had also proved unfaithful to Trimumpara. The Prince had collected a force of 2,000 for his defence, in addition to which a large number of paraos from Calicut were ready to assist him. Albuquerque ordered Duarte Pacheco to attack this fleet, whilst at the same time Nicolau Coelho, Antonio do Campo, and Pero de Ataide were to engage the land forces. Pacheco succeeded in sinking many of the paraos, and in driving away the remainder of the boats, after having killed a number of their men. On land also the enemy were completely routed at the first onset. The Portuguese then forced their way into the royal palace, and killed the Prince; after which they set fire to the building. In the same evening the expedition returned to Cochin.

Albuquerque sailed the following day against the island of Repelim, the Prince of which place had made preparations for a stout resistance. He had 2,000 Nairs under his command, and these he marched down towards the shore to contest the landing of the Portuguese. A warm engagement ensued, which lasted for some time, but the enemy were at last driven back, and fled for some distance, pursued by the Portuguese. The Prince succeeded in rallying his men on the outskirts of a large town, and drew them up in battle array to dispute the further advance of the invaders. Here the fight was renewed, and a fierce and bloody engagement took place, but the Portuguese arms were at length successful. A great number of the enemy were killed, and many were driven

headlong into the sea. The island was then given up to be plundered by Trimumpâra's soldiery, and the towns and villages were subsequently burnt.

Having by these engagements restored the King of Cochin to his authority, Francisco de Albuquerque thought it a favourable opportunity to press his demands for permission to erect a fort as a protection for the Portuguese factory, and which would also serve as a defence to the King against any further attempt on the part of the Zamorin.

Trimumpara was now easily persuaded to comply with this request, as by his own acknowledgment he owed his life, his crown, and protection from his enemies entirely to the Portuguese. He not only sanctioned the construction of a fort, but even offered to undertake the work at his own expense. A convenient spot was forthwith selected, on an elevated situation commanding a narrow arm of the sea, and the foundation was laid on the 27th September, 1503. The King supplied a number of hands for the work, at which also all the Portuguese laboured, without distinction, in order to expedite its completion. Four days after the commencement of the fort Affonso de Albuquerque arrived at Cochin, bringing a further number of labourers for the work, which was speedily brought to a completion. As there existed no facilities for making an erection of stone, a stronghold was constructed of large palisades, filled in with earth, in the shape of a square, with flanking bastions at the corners, mounted with ordnance. The walls were made of double rows of cocoa-nut tree stems, securely fastened together, with earth rammed firmly between, and it was further protected by a wet ditch. This was the first fortress erected by the Portuguese in India. It was christened "Manoel," after the reigning King of Portugal.

After this, Albuquerque and the rest of the commanders, together with some of Trimumpara's soldiers, went to attack some towns belonging to the Prince of Repelim,

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situated near the banks of a river, about twenty miles distant from Cochin. This force proceeded up the river in their long boats, and taking the enemy by surprise, killed a large number of them, and made great devastation in their lands. The report of this attack soon spread, and the whole country rose in arms to expel the invaders, whilst above 6,000 Nairs hastened to the assistance of their countrymen. These attacked the Portuguese with so much fury that they forced them to retreat, and drove them back to the river; the latter, however, retired in good order, and succeeded in reaching their boats. In this retreat Duarte Pacheco had a narrow escape of being cut off, and would probably have been taken, or killed, had not Albuquerque gone to his aid. The whole expedition succeeded in getting back to Cochin with the loss of only eight men wounded, but not one killed. Many of the enemy were slain, seven of their paraos were taken, and fifteen burnt.

The following night another expedition set out in their long boats to destroy some other villages belonging to the Prince of Repelim. Affonso de Albuquerque went in advance of the rest with a party of his men; but the enemy, who lay in ambuscade, falling upon him with great fury, killed two of his men and wounded twenty. Affonso had to defend himself against the enemy till break of day, when Francisco de Albuquerque went with a force to his assistance, whereupon the enemy gave way and finally fled, followed by the Portuguese, who slew a number of them and burnt several villages.

The same day the Portuguese sailed for the island of Cambalam, where they killed over 700 men; thence they advanced into the territories of the Zamorin, where they laid waste the lands, and killed a number of the inhabitants. A force of 6,000 men gathered to attack the Portuguese and drive them out of the country; but these were ultimately repulsed, though not without great difficulty. About the same time Duarte Pacheco defeated

and drove off thirty-four paraos, which had been sent from Calicut to intercept the ships trading to Cochin.

The Zamorin and the Moors next resorted to other tactics. The Portuguese came for pepper and spices, and if unable to procure these they might perhaps leave the coast. The utmost exertions were therefore made to prevent them from getting a lading for their ships. Albuquerque sent Pacheco into the interior to procure pepper, but what he got after great exertions and fighting sufficed only to load one ship. Albuquerque had, soon after his arrival at Cochin, sent two vessels to Quilon to load pepper, and as soon as the fortress was completed, news having reached him that thirty ships had recently left Calicut bound for Coromandel, he hastened his departure for that place. At this time the heir to the throne was a minor, and the Queen Dowager governed as Regent. She generally lived in the interior of the country, and appointed a Council of leading men to manage the affairs of the State at Quilon. These men had been bribed by the Zamorin to oppose the establishment of the Portuguese in that place, but on the arrival of Albuquerque they were too much afraid of him to offer any resistance; gave him a hearty reception in the name of the Queen Regent, and permitted him to establish a factory there.

On this coming to the knowledge of the Zamorin he used every endeavour to induce the Queen to drive out the Portuguese from her dominions; she, however, replied that not only had the people of Quilon received no insult or injury from the Portuguese, but the latter were believed to be men of their word, and that, unless they were to act otherwise, it would not be possible to depart from what had already been agreed upon with them. One great cause of the success of Affonso de Albuquerque at Quilon was that here there were no Moors, or other foreigners with whom the Portuguese were likely to come into serious competition in the matter of trade.

Whilst Albuquerque was taking in cargo at Quilon the

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thirty ships from Calicut, with nine from elsewhere, hove in sight, and he immediately slipped his cables and went out to fight them. They, however, made for the harbour, where Albuquerque would have burnt them, but for the request of the principal men there that they might not be interfered with whilst in that port. Here the Calicut ships remained until the Portuguese vessels sailed, which they did on the 12th of January, 1504, after Albuquerque had renewed the treaty of peace with the governors of the place. Antonio de Sá remained behind as factor, with twenty-six men, and Padre Fr. Rodrigo consented to stay there to educate the people in the Catholic religion. There was already a church in the place called "Our Lady of Mercy," and many native Christians. In this church were three altars, on which stood three crosses, and one of these Albuquerque took away with him, to prove to the King that there were Christians in that land. Duarte Pacheco, with his ship and two caravels, with 100 men, were left behind for the assistance of the government in case of necessity.

On leaving Quilon, on 12th January, 1504, the Portuguese fleet went to Cochin to meet Francisco de Albuquerque; but the latter had gone to Calicut, where he concluded a short-lived treaty with the Zamorin. The conditions demanded by Albuquerque were: (1) 900 caddies of pepper to be paid to the Portuguese as compensation for past injuries; (2) the Moors to be required to give up their trade from Calicut, with Arabia, and Egypt; (3) permanent reconciliation to be concluded between the Zamorin and Cochin; and (4) the two Italian deserters to be delivered up. These terms, all except the last, were agreed to by the Zamorin, to the rage and indignation of the Moors, some of whom thereupon left Calicut. The treaty was, however, of but short duration, because of the capture by the Portuguese of a boat belonging to Calicut, laden with pepper intended for Cranganor. This was held by the Zamorin to be a violation of the recent treaty, and

as his remonstrance on the subject was treated with contempt, he resolved to renew hostilities against the Portuguese by both land and sea. Albuquerque having been joined by his cousin at Calicut, the two set out together for Cananor; but, as Francisco de Albuquerque delayed very much in taking in his cargo there, Affonso de Albuquerque sailed without him on 25th January, notwithstanding that Dom Manoel had ordered that they should keep together, and, having taken a Moorish pilot on board, he steered straight for Mozambique. On the way thence he put in at S. Braz for water, where he found a letter, sealed up and wrapped in a piece of waxed cloth, fastened upon a post, which stated that Antonio de Saldanha and a taforea (a large boat used in India for transport and carriage of horses), with a ship from Setubal, had arrived there in the month of October. Affonso de Albuquerque doubled the Cape on the 1st May, and as his ship was in a very leaky condition he put in at the Cape Verde Islands to refit. Having stayed here three days repairing the ships and taking in water, he started again for Portugal, and reached Lisbon at the end of July, 1504. He was received with great honour by the King, to whom he brought forty pounds of pearls and 400 pounds of seed pearl, a very large diamond, and two horses—one a Persian and the other an Arab—which were greatly esteemed, as they were the first of the kind that had been brought to Portugal. Francisco de Albuquerque sailed from Cananor with his ships on 5th February, and was lost on the way home, with the other two ships under his command, without anyone ever knowing where or how they were lost.

Antonio de Saldanha, who commanded the fleet destined to cruise off the mouth of the Red Sea, lost one of his vessels, commanded by Diogo Fernandes Pereira, before reaching the island of St. Thomas. Here he anchored for a time. Before reaching the Cape he endeavoured to land at another place, where he was met with opposition by the

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natives. To this he gave the name of *Aguada del Saldanha*, since known as *Saldanha Bay*. After leaving here, another vessel, commanded by Ruy Lourenço, was parted from him in a storm, by which also Saldanha was driven up to Mozambique, whence he held his course to Quiloa, where he took some small prizes. At Melinde he was joined again by Ruy Lourenço. Thence he proceeded to Zanzibar, where he took twenty small vessels. The King of that place attempted to capture Saldanha's ship, but the attack was repulsed, and some of his boats were captured. The King then appeared on the shore with an army of 4,000 men; but at the first volley his son was killed, and he then concluded a peace, in accordance with the terms of which he agreed to pay annually 100 mericales of gold as tribute to the King of Portugal. After this Saldanha visited Melinde, near which place Ruy Lourenço took two ships and three zambucos, wherein were twelve magistrates of the city of Brava, who submitted that city to Portugal with a yearly tribute of 500 mericales. After obliging the King of Mombassa to enter into an agreement with him, Saldanha proceeded onwards. Having passed Cape Guardafui he burnt a ship laden with frankincense, and forced another ashore that was carrying pilgrims to Mecca, after which the two vessels proceeded to India.

No sooner had Affonso de Albuquerque sailed from India than the Zamorin of Calicut formed a combination with other kings and lords of Malabar, including those of Tanur, Bespur, Cotugan and Corin, besides others of lesser note and power, to drive the Portuguese from Cochin, for which purpose they collected a large fleet, well armed with cannon, and a numerous land force, the latter being under the command of Naubea Darim, the nephew and heir of the Zamorin, and by Elancol, the lord of Repelim.

The force collected by the Zamorin is stated to have amounted altogether to 50,000 men, in which number were included 4,000 who formed the crews of 280 paraos, and other vessels, who were to attack Cochin by sea whilst

the rest of the forces assaulted it by land. These together had with them 382 cannon. The King of Cochin was greatly alarmed at these formidable preparations against him, and, but for the encouragement of Duarte Pacheco, he would have made no attempt at any resistance.

The command of the defence was given to Pacheco, who had with him, for this purpose, only a little over 100 Portuguese and 300 Malabarese troops. With this handful of men he boldly went forth to dispute the passage of the ford against the hordes of the Zamorin, leaving the King with his forces to guard the city of Cochin.

The first steps taken by Pacheco were to place sentries at all available passes, to prevent anyone from leaving the island, and, having disposed of his available forces to the best of his ability for the protection of the island, he determined to assume the offensive, and accordingly sent small parties across the river, which made marauding expeditions into the territories of Repelim and the adjoining country, where several villages were burnt and many of the peaceful inhabitants killed. As soon as the Zamorin learned of these incursions, he marched forward with his army toward Repelim. At the same time the Arabians in Cochin attempted to aid the attack by fomenting a revolt within the city; but this was frustrated by the vigilance of Pacheco.

The Zamorin advanced with his army towards Cambalam, near which place there was a practicable ford to the island of Cochin. This ford Pacheco prepared to defend, for which purpose he brought up what vessels he had available. In the largest ship, which was amply provided with cannon, firearms, and all sorts of warlike stores, he placed five men under the command of Diogo Pereira, with orders to defend the city and fort from all attacks of the enemy. He placed thirty-five men in the fort under the command of Ferdinão Correa; twenty-six

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men in one of the caravels under Pero Raphael, and, as the other caravel was being repaired, he fitted out two small vessels, one of which he placed in command of Diogo Petrez with twenty-three troops, and the other he reserved for himself with twenty-two men. To support this handful of men Trimumpara had only remaining with him a force of some 5,000 soldiers, as the remainder of his army had deserted to the Zamorin; of these he gave 500 men to Pacheco to assist in the defence of the ford.

As the Zamorin's forces had not reached the ford by the time Pacheco had posted his vessels to defend it, the latter sailed with a small body of men to the harbour of Repelim, and engaged a body of archers, who attempted to prevent them from landing. These, however, after a fight of some hours, were driven back, and Pacheco thereupon burnt the town and carried off with him a large herd of oxen.

On the following day the Zamorin arrived with his whole army, to support which he had also fitted out a fleet of 160 ships, including seventy-six paraos which, at the suggestion of the two Milanese deserters, had been covered with sacks filled with cotton, as a defence against cannon-balls. These men had constructed for the Zamorin several cannons of brass, and had designed besides some other warlike engines; at their instance also twenty paraos linked together with chains were sent in advance of the rest of the fleet. The commanders of these paraos had orders to attack the caravel, and to endeavour to seize her with their grappling-hooks as quickly as possible. Pacheco adopted a somewhat similar plan, and by connecting three of his vessels together by chains and stationing them across the stream he effectually barred the passage of the river.

At the first attack by the enemy, the 500 men whom Trimumpara had sent to aid in the defence deserted, leaving Pacheco with only his 111 men to resist the attack. A fierce engagement ensued, and after a stout resistance by the Portuguese for some hours, a shot from a heavy gun

broke the chain that connected the leading paraos, and caused four of them to retreat; the others, however, advanced, but ultimately eight were sunk and thirteen others were forced to retire, whereupon the attack from that quarter began to flag. At this juncture, however, the Prince of Repelim, who had held his forces in reserve, advanced to the attack, and, at the same time, the Zamorin attempted to force the passage of the ford with the main body of his army. The engagement was stubborn and long, but in the end the Zamorin's troops failed in their attempt and retired, having lost no less than 1,030 men, whilst amongst the Portuguese several had been wounded, but none killed.

After this victory the Portuguese at once set to work to repair their ships with all expedition, and they also refitted the other caravel. The Zamorin, acting on the advice of the soothsayers, did not at once renew the engagement; but Pacheco, being determined to give him no rest, crossed over to Cambalam, where he ravaged the country, burnt the villages, killed many of the inhabitants, and carried away a considerable amount of booty.

In the meantime the Zamorin, having received reinforcements from Calicut of 200 ships of war, eighty smaller vessels, and 15,000 men, sent one of his officers with seventy paraos to attack the ship that had been left to defend the city of Cochin, with the view of drawing away some of the Portuguese from the ford, and so dividing their forces. Immediately on hearing of this, Pacheco sailed to Cochin with one of the caravels and one of the smaller vessels, and immediately he came within sight of Cochin, the enemy's vessels sailed away for Repelim as quickly as possible, whereupon Pacheco, instead of following them, returned with all haste to his former position.

On arrival at Cambalam, Pacheco found the Portuguese position in extreme danger. The caravel left there had been vigorously attacked and was riddled with holes, her rigging was demolished, and the protective sacks of cotton

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had been torn from her sides, whilst the smaller vessels were in an almost equally precarious state. The enemy were pressing the attack by both land and water, when Pacheco unexpectedly arrived with his two vessels, and attacked them in the rear. The battle waged furiously for some time, but at length the forces of the Zamorin began to give way, and ultimately took to flight after having lost seventy-nine of their paraos and 290 men.

The Zamorin was greatly enraged at this second defeat, and at once made preparations to renew the attack. Pacheco ordered the men under him to keep themselves as much as possible out of sight, and to observe a strict silence until he should give orders to the contrary. The enemy, supposing that the Portuguese were now mostly exhausted or wounded, and unable to offer further resistance, advanced again to the attack, shouting, and in great hurry and disorder; whereupon, at a given signal, Pacheco's men rushed on deck, and with great noise attacked their assailants briskly with their cannon and other weapons. They speedily sank several of their paraos, scattered others, and committed great execution amongst the enemy, who speedily broke and retired. The Prince of Repelim rallied the men and led them again to the attack, but they were afraid to approach the Portuguese closely; whereupon the Zamorin sent Naubea Darim with orders to at once force the passage of the ford and fall upon the Portuguese. He made the attempt, but his men met with such a warm reception that they were speedily routed, and put to flight with a loss of sixty paraos and over 600 men.

Being again frustrated in his attempts against Cochin, the Zamorin now withdrew. Pacheco followed and attacked his fleet for some distance as they retired, and afterwards crossed over and burnt several villages, killing many of their inhabitants.

The Zamorin would probably have refrained from again renewing the attack but for the advice of the Prince of

Repelim, of certain Arabians who were in his Council, and of the two Milanese. These pointed out the loss of reputation he would sustain by acknowledging a defeat, and suggested that another attempt to cross to the island of Cochin should be made by the fords of Palignard and Palurt.

Being informed of the Zamorin's intention, Pacheco set out for Palignard with 200 of the King of Cochin's soldiers and a few Portuguese. Here he was met by a body of the enemy, which he defeated, taking fifty prisoners, and killing most of the rest. He then sailed for Palurt, about two miles distant, where he learned that the Zamorin intended to endeavour to force the pass at Palignard the following day; Pacheco thereupon left some of his officers and the largest ships at Palurt, and returned in haste with his smaller vessels to Palignard, having first taken the precaution to have the trees opposite the ford at Palurt cut down, to prevent them from serving as a protection to the enemy.

Pacheco observed that the fords at Palurt and Palignard could not be passed at the same time, for whereas at high water the latter could not be passed on foot, it was not deep enough for the smallest vessels, whilst that at Palurt could only be passed by ships at high water; so that when the former could be crossed on foot, the latter had not sufficient depth for ships, nor was it sufficiently shallow to be forded.

This discovery greatly facilitated the defence of those places; a few men were stationed at each, and arrangements made that at a given signal those from the one ford should hurry to the assistance of the others. Early the following morning the Prince of Cochin went to the assistance of Pacheco with 600 men. The first attack of the enemy was made at Palurt, where at break of day they began to attack the Portuguese ships with their cannon. A fleet of about 250 vessels was also seen approaching, but before these could arrive Pacheco crossed over with a small

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party, attacked the enemy's position, and succeeded in driving them off, when, having spiked their guns, he again retired to his ships.

The enemy's vessels soon after arrived and began to attack the Portuguese ships, but after a long artillery duel their paraos were driven off and many of them sunk. The Prince of Repelim then made two unsuccessful attempts to cross the ford, being on each occasion forced to retire with the loss of many men.

Being repulsed at Palurt, the Zamorin and Naubea Darim went with a large force to Palignard. The attempt to cross this ford was led by Naubea Darim in person, but he was twice forced to retreat with considerable loss, and soon after his second failure a plague broke out in the enemy's camp, which put a stop for a time to further hostile operations on the part of the Zamorin.

Pacheco took advantage of this respite to repair his vessels, to furnish them with fresh supplies of arms and ammunition, and to make all necessary preparations. Amongst other means of defence he had a number of stakes cut, the ends of which were sharpened and hardened in the fire. These were driven deep into the mud at low water, so that they could not easily be drawn out, with the view of rendering the ford impassable on foot.

In due course the Zamorin again advanced his army to the attack. His artillery consisted of thirty brass cannon, which was sent in advance of the main body of the army, guarded by 4,000 picked men. The first line of the main army consisted of 12,000 men, under the comand of Naubea Darim; next came the Prince of Repelim with a similar number, and the Zamorin brought up the rear with 15,000 troops. To oppose this overwhelming force Pacheco had only two vessels with forty Portuguese, and the 200 men sent by the King of Cochin, who were stationed in a place of great natural strength on shore, defended by a rampart. These latter, however, deserted as soon as the attack was first commenced.

The enemy having placed their cannon opposite to the Portuguese ships, endeavoured to oblige them to leave their station at the ford. Pacheco made, at first, no reply to their attack, but after awhile he drew his vessels nearer to the shore and commenced a vigorous attack upon the enemy with all his guns, which were pointed with so much judgment that he soon obliged them to seek shelter in some neighbouring woods. Naubea Darim now advanced with his troops, and made an attempt to force the passage of the ford, but was held in check by the fire of the Portuguese guns. The Zamorin came up to his support with the rest of his army, and a most persistent effort was made to cross; the Zamorin personally encouraging his men until a shot from one of the Portuguese vessels killed two officers by his side. He then retired a little, but the men were urged forward by their officers with the points of their swords. Upon entering the ford, however, they came upon the pointed stakes, which wounded them in their feet and caused many to fall down.

When the advanced party of the enemy were thus thrown into confusion, the men in front being unable to advance on account of the stakes, or to retire by reason of those in the rear pressing upon them, the Portuguese poured in ceaseless broadsides from their vessels, and so held them in check until the tide began again to flow, and ~~the ford~~ became impassable by reason of the depth of water. The Zamorin again had a narrow escape for his life, and at last withdrew his forces. This engagement lasted from break of day until nine o'clock, and it is alleged the Zamorin lost here more men and ships than in any previous encounter with the Portuguese; whilst of the latter, although many were wounded, not one of them was killed.

As soon as the enemy had retired, the King of Cochin came to congratulate Pacheco upon his success. The latter at once gave orders for suitable refreshments to be provided for his men after their recent exertions, and then

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looked to the repair and re-equipment of his vessels, so as to be prepared in case of a future emergency.

The Zamorin was exceedingly indignant at the failure of his numerous forces to defeat the few Portuguese that were opposed to them. The Prince of Repelim, however, in order to appease him, endeavoured to accomplish by treachery what had in vain been attempted by force; and to this end he bribed certain men in Cochin to poison the water and food supplied to the Portuguese. Pacheco having been informed of this, ordered fresh wells to be dug every day, and also that none of his soldiers were to buy any food without first making the vendor eat some of it.

Failing in these attempts, the Prince of Repelim next determined to convey a detachment of men by water at night to Cochin, to set fire to the city, and then to fall upon the inhabitants. This project was, however, also frustrated by the vigilance of Pacheco, who, not content with maintaining his own position, made frequent inroads into the enemy's country, where he did a considerable amount of damage.

In retaliation for these constant attacks, the Zamorin equipped a fleet to ravage the coast of Cochin, but in several engagements with the Portuguese vessels these suffered many defeats, whilst some of the enemy's paraos were captured. At length the Zamorin determined to make another attack upon the Portuguese, to which end he brought an army of 30,000 men, in addition to a large number commanded by the Prince of Repelim, and a fleet consisting of 100 large ships, 110 paraos and eighty pinnaces, in addition to eight turrets constructed upon paraos, and a large float of timber, pitched and bound with tow, which it was intended to set on fire and send down upon the Portuguese vessels.

Pacheco having been informed of these preparations by the enemy, protected his vessels by means of a number of masts eighty feet in length, with which he

made large floats, and anchored them at a distance from his ships' prows, so as to prevent the too near approach of the enemy's castles. As the land forces of the enemy approached, Pacheco set out for the island of Arraul, where he attacked and killed some of their advance parties, and then retired to his ships.

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At daybreak the enemy's fleet appeared in sight; the timber float was set on fire and sent down the river towards the Portuguese vessels, but the masts anchored in the stream effectually kept it off from doing any damage. The engagement then became general, and the Portuguese were on the point of being overpowered by the enemy when a shot from one of their big guns brought down their largest turret; soon afterwards a second turret was similarly destroyed, and many of the enemy's paraos were sunk.

An attempt was at the same time made by the land forces of the Zamorin to cross the ford, which was opposed by Christopher Jusart and Simão Andrade in two small ships, aided by some paraos, and a native force of 1,000 men, commanded by the Prince of Cochin. The engagement was most fierce, and lasted from break of day till the evening, during the whole of which time the Zamorin's large army was not only effectually kept in check, but large numbers of them were killed and many of their ships destroyed.

In the evening, the tide setting in very strong, brought that day's engagement to a close.

The Zamorin now despairing of success, would have retired his forces altogether, but was persuaded by some of his people to make one more effort to attain his object. He accordingly again attacked the Portuguese; but his army and navy being now disheartened by repeated defeats, made but a feeble attempt, and were easily routed. The Zamorin thereupon withdrew, and returned to Calicut, thus bringing to an end this war, which had lasted for five months, during which it is alleged that the army

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of Calicut lost about 19,000 men, together with a considerable number of their ships. A peace was subsequently concluded between the King of Cochin and the Zamorin.

A report having been spread, before the conclusion of this war, that all the Portuguese in Cochin had been killed, those in Cananor and Quilon were placed in considerable danger of their lives. In consequence of this, as soon as he could safely leave Cochin, Duarte Pacheco went to Quilon, where he found that the Arabians had killed one Portuguese, and that the Arabian ships were loaded in the harbour whilst those of Dom Manoel were empty. Pacheco thereupon made a strong remonstrance to the leading men of the city, and demanded a strict adherence to the articles of their treaty, wherein it was expressly mentioned that no ship would be allowed to take in spices until the Portuguese should have received their lading. These men replied that the breach of treaty in this respect was not due to any preference shown by them to the Arabians, but to the importunity of the latter, backed as that was by their power and wealth. They accordingly authorised Pacheco to unload the Arabian vessels and fill his own with their cargoes, which he accordingly did, paying the Arabians the full value of the goods thus taken. He then sailed away from Quilon, and cruising along the coasts of India, took and plundered several ships, and then returned to Cochin.

Dom Vasco da Gama having impressed upon King Manoel how necessary it was to increase the Portuguese forces in India, in 1504 His Majesty fitted out a fleet of thirteen of the largest ships that had hitherto been built in Portugal, and gave the command of them to Lopo Soarez de Algabaria, who went out accompanied by a force of 1,200 men. His captains were Pero de Mendoça, Leonel Coutinho, Tristão da Silva, Lopo Mendes de Vasconsellos, Lopo de Abreu da Ilha, Philipe de Castro, Pedro Affonso de Aguiar, Vasco de Silveira, Manoel Telles

Barreto, Affonso Lopez da Costa, Vasco Carvalho Pero Dinis de Setuval. This expedition left Lisbo 22nd April, 1504.

On his way out, Lopo Soarez heard both at Mozambique and at Melinde of the invasion of Cochin by the Zamorin, whereupon he made all haste with his journey. The first land of India which he touched at was Anjediva, where he found Antonio de Saldanha and Ruy Lourenço refitting preparatory to a cruise off the coast of Cambay against the Moorish ships from Mecca; he also heard here of the defeat of the Zamorin's army, and of the valiant conduct of Pacheco, and that there were then at Calicut several Portuguese prisoners who had been detained there ever since Cabral was in India. Lopo Soarez ordered Saldanha and Lourenço to accompany him, and, having called in at Cananor, the whole fleet appeared before Calicut, when a demand was at once sent on shore for the surrender of the Portuguese prisoners and of the two Milanese: the Zamorin was then absent, but the chief men, whilst refusing to give up the Milanese, expressed themselves quite willing to liberate the Portuguese captives. This compromise Soarez refused to accept, and he thereupon bombarded the city for two days. Having laid a great part of it in ruins and killed some 300 of its inhabitants, he proceeded to Cochin on 14th September, where he arrived just as Pacheco returned there from Quilon.

The King of Cochin having complained of certain damage he had received from Cranganor, which place had been fortified by the Zamorin, and that the latter was preparing another force against Cochin, Lopo Soarez went up the river with twenty vessels, and having defeated an army commanded by Naubea Darim, he burnt the town and all the vessels he found there. The Portuguese spared the houses, shops, and churches of Christians, but they looted those of the Jews and Moors. Lopo Soarez left Manoel Tellez Barreto with four ships for the protection of Cochin, taking Duarte Pacheco away with him.

only other notable incident connected with Lopo .ez's stay on the coast was his destruction of a large ɔorish fleet at Pantalayini Kollam. It had assembled there to take back to Arabia and Egypt a large number of Moors, who were leaving the country disheartened at the trade losses caused to them by the Portuguese. It was a crushing blow, for it is said Soarez captured seventeen vessels and slew 2,000 men. The Zamorin, too, felt the weight of it, for he had hitherto relied on the Moors for assistance, and it was by their aid chiefly he obtained a pre-eminence on the coast. Soarez sailed from India in the beginning of January, and arrived at Lisbon on 20th July, 1506, with thirteen vessels laden with riches, three of which had belonged to the previous year's fleet. Of his own fleet he lost Pero de Mendoça, whose ship, being stranded near S. Braz, was never heard of again, and two other vessels were also lost, of which one was commanded by Fernandes Pereira, who, after taking several prizes off Melinde, discovered the island of Socotra.

On the return of Lopo Soarez, the King paid the highest honours to Duarte Pacheco in recognition of his valour, but he was subsequently imprisoned on charges which were afterwards proved to have been false, and although he was thereupon released and restored to his dignity, he was allowed to end his days in obscure poverty.

CHAPTER V.

Success of the Portuguese affects the Trade of the Moors—Threat by the Soldan of Cairo, who Constructs a Fleet to Attack the Portuguese—Appointment of Dom Francisco de Almeida as First Viceroy of India—Erection of a Fort at Quiloa—Attack on Mombassa — Erection of a Fort at Anjediva and its subsequent Abandonment—Attack on Onor—Erection of a Fort at Cananor—Attack on Quilon—Crowning of the King of Cochin —Cochin Constituted the Seat of Government—Erection of a Fort at Zofala—Attack on Zofala Fort—Combined Attack of the Zamorin and Turks against Cananor—Discovery of Ceylon —Attack on Diu by a Turkish Fleet and Death of Dom Lourenço de Almeida—Mutiny amongst Albuquerque's Captains—Charges against Affonso de Albuquerque—He is Imprisoned by the Viceroy—Release of Albuquerque and his Assumption of the Government.

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THE success of the Portuguese in India had already begun most seriously to affect the trade thence *viâ* the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, which was conducted by the Moors between the cities of Calicut, Cambay, Ormuz, and Aden. From Ormuz, the produce of India was conveyed to Europe up the Persian Gulf to Bussora, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and thence distributed by caravan through Armenia, Trebisond, Tartary, Aleppo, and Damascus, and to the port of Beyrout on the Mediterranean, whence the Venetians, Genoese, and Catalonians conveyed it by ship to their respective countries. From Aden it was conveyed up the Red Sea to Toro or Suez, and thence by caravan to Grand Cairo, and so down the Nile to Alexandria, where it was shipped for Europe. Those interested in these several routes, who were naturally great losers by the Portuguese trade with India, combined to drive the latter out of India, and, in accordance

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with an arrangement to this effect, the Soldan of Cairo gave out that he was about to destroy the holy places of Jerusalem in revenge for the damage done to his trade. This threat was communicated to the Pope, to whose representations on the subject the King of Portugal replied that his intentions in these Eastern discoveries tended to the propagation of the faith, and the extension of the jurisdiction of the see of Rome, and that he would on no account relax in his efforts to destroy the Mohammedan power. By this the Sultan understood that his representation and threats were of no avail, and he accordingly commenced the construction of a fleet to harass the Portuguese trade in India.

This was shortly afterwards followed by more vigorous efforts than before by the Portuguese to consolidate their power in India, and to weaken that of their rivals. To this end King Manoel resolved to bring about the complete overthrow of the Moorish trade by seizing Aden, Ormuz, and Malacca; the first two being the ports through which their Eastern trade reached Europe *viâ* Alexandria and Beyrout respectively, and the last being that at which they exchanged goods with China. He accordingly determined to send out a governor to remain for three years in India, with a sufficient force to protect the Portuguese settlements there. The King first of all intended to confer the appointment upon Tristão da Cunha, but he being taken suddenly ill at the time when he should have started, it was given to Dom Francisco de Almeida, to whom special instructions were issued for the erection of forts at Anjediva, Cananor, Cochin, and Quilon. On 25th March, 1505, Almeida sailed from Lisbon with a fleet of twenty-two ships, eleven of which were to return with merchandise and the rest to remain in India. Besides their crews, the fleet carried 1,500 fighting men.

On the 2nd July the fleet encountered a severe storm, during which the vessels were separated, and one was lost.

Dom Francisco de Almeida arrived at Quiloa with only eight vessels, but was joined by others shortly afterwards. On entering the port he saluted as usual, but his salute was not replied to, whereupon he complained to the King, but as he vouchsafed no apology or reply, Dom Francisco determined to exact satisfaction. He accordingly landed with 500 men, and speedily drove Mir Abraham, the King, who was, however, a usurper, from the island, and crowned in his stead Mahomet Aucomi, a kinsman of Mir Abraham, in recognition of faithful services rendered by him to the Portuguese. He accepted the crown, but requested that his heir might be declared to be the son of the lawful King Alfudail, as the latter had been murdered by the late usurper, thus passing over his own sons whom he conceived to have no just claim to the throne. After this Dom Francisco erected a fort on the island of Quiloa, into which he placed 550 men for its defence, and he also left a caravel and brigantine to cruise there. He left Quiloa on 8th August for Mombassa, where he arrived with thirteen vessels. Before entering the harbour he sent two vessels to sound over the bar, which was commanded by a fort mounting eight guns. These began to fire on the boats, but were soon silenced by the guns from the ships. Two smaller forts were similarly silenced, and the fleet then entered without further resistance. Dom Francisco having sent a message to the King, which was replied to with insolent taunts, he landed with a body of men on 15th August, and speedily drove the enemy out of the city, and possessed himself of the King's palace. Whilst this was proceeding on shore the ships captured and burnt all the native vessels they found in the port. Afterwards the city was burnt to the ground. Some of the vessels that had been separated by the storm now arrived at Mombassa, whereupon Dom Francisco sent two of them before him to India to carry the news of what he had done, and to make the necessary preparations for his arrival. He followed after

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with fourteen ships, and anchored in the bay of Angra de Santa Elena, where he found João Homem, captain of a caravel. Sailing thence the first port he touched in India was Anjediva, which place was reached on 13th September.

The news of the vigorous measures adopted against the Moors at Quiloa and Mombassa having preceded him, the King of Onor and the Moors of Cincatora sent representatives and gifts to Dom Francisco de Almeida to ensure his friendship. At Anjediva he erected a fort, and it is said that in digging the foundations the Portuguese came across stones bearing a cross. This was held as an indication that the place had once been the abode of Christians, but it was probably not then recognised that the cross was originally a heathen emblem. Into this fort Almeida put a captain and eighty men, and left behind a galleon and two brigantines to cruise in the neighbourhood. Whilst this work was going on he sent his son, Dom Lourenço, under plea of a friendly visit, to inspect a fort, of which he had been informed, on the borders of Onor, that had been built by the Prince Sabago, and garrisoned by 800 men.

From Anjediva Dom Francisco went to Onor, but not being well received he burnt the town and a number of ships which he found there. In this enterprise Dom Francisco was wounded by an arrow, and having driven the enemy out of the town, Timoja, the governor of the city, at an interview, excused the King for what had occurred, and in his name offered vassalage to Portugal. Thence Dom Francisco sailed to Cananor, where he arrived on 24th October, and obtained permission from the King to build a fort, which he accordingly did, and called it "S. Angelo." The command of this fort he gave to Lourenço de Brito, with 150 men, and he left there two vessels to defend it and to cruise off the coast. Here he assumed the title of Viceroy. He also received a visit from the Minister of Narasimba Rao, of Vijayanagar, who

then ruled the chief portion of Southern India, who proposed an alliance of marriage between his master's daughter and the King of Portugal's son. CHAP. V. A.D. 1505.

From Cananor Dom Francisco proceeded to Cochin, where he arrived on 1st November. He received the sad intelligence that the factor at Quilon with all his men had been killed by the Moors, whereupon he sent his son, Dom Lourenço, with three ships and three caravels to procure lading at that port, with orders to appear as though unaware of what had occurred there, but in case of any opposition he was to avenge the murder of the Portuguese. The messenger whom Dom Lourenço sent on shore was received with a shower of arrows, and twenty-four ships from Calicut and other places that were in the port prepared for defence. Dom Lourenço attacked the ships with vigour, and having burnt them all he returned to Cochin in time to take part in the ceremony of crowning the King of that place, by Dom Francisco, with a crown of gold set with jewels, which had been brought from Portugal for that purpose. This honour was to have been conferred upon Trimumpara in recognition of the gallantry wherewith he had defended the Portuguese against their enemies, but, as he had now abdicated, his successor, Nambeadan, was crowned in his stead. Six ships were then richly laden, and sent back to Portugal. Dom Francisco established his principal residence at Cochin, thus constituting it, for the time, the seat of Portuguese government in India. In order to secure his position here he strengthened and rebuilt the fort.

Whilst these events were taking place in India, another expedition was consolidating the Portuguese power in Eastern Africa. In order to secure the trade of the gold at Zofala, Dom Manoel had ordered a fort to be built at Quiloa, which, as has already been stated, was carried out by Dom Francisco de Almeida. Another fort had been erected at Mozambique, and a factory established at Melinde. After the departure of Dom Francisco de Almeida,

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Dom Manoel sent out Pedro de Annaya, with six ships, to build a fort at Zofala. Three of the ships were to go on to India and return with lading, whilst the other three were to cruise off the coast of Zofala. Pedro de Annaya experienced no difficulty in obtaining leave to erect a fort at Zofala, whereby the trade at that port was secured; but in granting it the King had hoped that the unhealthiness of the country would speedily oblige the Portuguese to quit it.

The three trading ships sailed towards India, under the command of Pero Barreto, and two of the remaining three were ordered to guard the coast up to Cape Guardafui, the command of which Pedro de Annaya gave to his son Francisco. These two were, however, lost, but their captains managed to escape in the boats. A wooden fort having been constructed at Zofala, the Moors of the place were anxious for its destruction, naturally fearing that it would be the means of interfering with their trade, and they accordingly intrigued with the King's son-in-law, whom they induced to espouse their cause. He experienced no difficulty in persuading the King to expel the Portuguese, and, taking advantage of a time when many of them were sick, he surrounded the fort with 5,000 Cafres, and filled the ditch with faggots. Within the fort were only thirty-five Portuguese capable of bearing arms, but these did such execution with their cannon that they killed immense numbers of the enemy, after which Pedro de Annaya made a sally with some twenty men, and drove the remainder of the assailants from before the fort. In the night Annaya with a few men attacked the town, and entering the palace, the King wounded him in the neck with a scimitar, but was himself immediately slain; he then retired to the fort, which was the following day again attacked by the King's sons and all the Moors of the place, but these were also successfully repulsed with considerable loss. The two sons of the late King shortly fell out about the succession to the throne, but one of

these, named Solyman, having gained the support of Annaya, was crowned by him, and for his own security entered into a strong alliance with, and gave countenance and encouragement to, the Portuguese. We must now return to India.

Seeing that the Portuguese were establishing their position in India, the Zamorin of Calicut sought the aid of the Soldan of Cairo, in conjunction with whom preparations were made with much secrecy for a great naval attack, with the view of driving them from the Eastern seas. A travelling European, however, named Ludovic of Bologna, disguised as a Moslem fakir, visiting Calicut, fell in there with the two Italian deserters in the Zamorin's employ, fraternised with them, and soon ascertained that preparations on a big scale were afoot. He succeeded in escaping to the Cananor fort, and was thence dispatched to Cochin to lay his information before the Viceroy. Dom Francisco thereupon sent his son, Dom Lourenço, with eleven sail to counteract any attempts that might be made to that effect, who, having learned that there was a large fleet in the Roads of Cananor, he proceeded thither on the 16th March, 1506, just in time to intercept an armada of Turks and Moors, which the Zamorin had launched against Cananor. This armada consisted of large vessels, gathered from Ponani, Calicut, Kappatt, Pantalayini Kollam, and Darmapattanam. Lourenço de Almeida steered his ship straight between two vessels carrying Turkish troops, and soon dispersed the enemy, whose armada retreated towards Darmapattanam. The wind falling adverse, however, they were again driven north towards Cananor. They sent a message to Lourenço to say they had not come to fight, and wished to pass to the northward. To this, however, Lourenço would not listen; he again closed with them, and nearly 3,000 Moslems, it is said, fell in the battle, and the ships that survived the attack were scattered in all directions. The Portuguese loss was very slight, and the victory so com-

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A.D. 1506. No sooner had Dom Lourenço given a good account of the enemy at Cananor than the news reached him that the fort at Anjediva was attacked by sixty vessels, commanded by a renegado. These received considerable damage from the well-directed fire from the fort, and when they heard that Dom Lourenço was on his way to its relief, they speedily retired. The Viceroy, however, soon after this, feeling that he had not sufficient forces at his command, decided to give up Anjediva fort, and to concentrate his troops in the Cananor and Cochin forts, which sufficiently protected the trade.

The Moors, seeing that their trade was being cut off by the Portuguese, endeavoured to avoid their vessels by keeping out at sea in their voyages to Sumatra and Malacca, whither they went for spice. Accordingly, they avoided as much as possible the Indian coast, and took a course through the Maldive Islands, bearing away thence south of Ceylon. This coming to the knowledge of the Viceroy, he sent his son from Cochin, with nine ships, to cruise in that direction, and to stop this route also to the Moorish ships. Dom Lourenço sailed from Cochin for the Maldives at the end of 1505, or beginning of 1506; but, as the Portuguese pilots were quite ignorant of the navigation of those parts, they cruised about for eighteen days without discovering the islands, and were driven by the currents towards Ceylon, where, by chance, they ultimately fetched the chief port of that island, called Colombo, which Dom Lourenço entered. Here he found several Moorish vessels, from various parts, loading with cinnamon, and taking in elephants for Cambay. The Moors, fearing Dom Lourenço's vengeance, presented him with 400 bahares of cinnamon. He was well received by the King, with whem he concluded a treaty of friendship and trade, under which His Majesty agreed to pay tribute in cinnamon and elephants to the King of

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Portugal, who, in return, was to protect Ceylon from all enemies.* He then planted a cross, with an inscription recording his arrival at Colombo, and returned to Cochin. Doubt has, by some, been thrown upon the existence of a treaty at that time with any King of Ceylon, since the advantages it is stated to have afforded to the Portuguese for trade in that island were not followed up, no subsequent visit having been paid to the island by Portuguese vessels until 1518, an interval of thirteen years. On his way to Cochin, Dom Lourenço attacked and burnt the town of Biranjam, which belonged to the King of Quilon, in revenge for the death of the Portuguese killed at the latter place.

In 1507 the Zamorin, seeing his power at sea and on land almost gone, in consequence of the damage done to his ships in various ports of India, sent word to Melique Az, lord of Diu, captain of the King of Cambay, complaining of the Portuguese, and asking him to seize any ships carrying pepper and drugs to ports in Cambay, and to make war against the Portuguese in every way, in which he, the Zamorin, undertook to afford every assistance. Melique Az, however, refused to entertain this proposal, being satisfied that the enterprise was a hopeless one, and could only result in damage and loss to his own territory. These negotiations having come to the knowledge of Dom Francisco de Almeida, he fitted out a squadron of ships to take the offensive, the command of which he gave to Dom Lourenço.

Gonçalo Vaz, who was at Cananor with his ship at the time, at once proceeded to join Dom Lourenço's fleet, and

* According to one account, contained in *Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Naçoes Ultramarinas*, published by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, Dom Lourenço further succeeded in obtaining a foothold on the summit of a rock projecting out into the sea, on which he erected a wooden palisade, sufficient to resist any sudden attack, within which he placed João da Silva, as captain, with 200 soldiers, a factor, a scrivener, and a chaplain; he also provided the place with all necessaries, together with four boats for its further protection. This, however, seems improbable, since the island was not again visited by Portuguese vessels for several years afterwards.

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meeting on his way with a ship of Cananor, sailing with a Portuguese* pass, he sunk it with all the Moors sewed up in a sail, for which violation of faith he was subsequently deprived of his command. Dom Lourenço proceeded with his fleet to Chaul, and, when off that port, seven Moorish ships arrived, but, as they stood in without answering his salute, he followed them in his boats, whereupon the crews leapt overboard, hoping to swim ashore. They were, however, closely followed, and many of them were slain; the ships also, which were laden with horses and other goods, were all burnt with their cargoes. Dom Lourenço then proceeded to Dabhol, where he discovered the Calicut fleet a short distance up the river. He was in favour of an immediate engagement, but was overruled by his council who, considering the narrowness of the stream, deemed that it could only be undertaken at great disadvantage and risk. The enterprise was accordingly not attempted, and the fleet left the neighbourhood; but, when it had proceeded about four leagues, the leading vessels espied a ship sailing up a river, and two of them followed until it cast anchor opposite to a town† where there were several other vessels. Seeing the chase, Dom Lourenço sent a galley after them, and the three together began to clear the shore of many natives assembled there; proceeding up the river they burnt all the ships in the harbour, excepting two laden with riches from Ormuz, which they carried away. They also burnt a house on shore that was full of much valuable merchandise. Dom Lourenço then returned to Cochin, where he was coldly received by his father for

* At this time the Portuguese allowed no native vessels to ply on the coast without their passes, signed by the commandants either of Cochin or of Cananor; it was, however, discovered that several Calicut Moors used to carry on their trade under cover of this permission, and the Portuguese captains were not, therefore, very particular as to what vessels they took. The vessel referred to above carried a pass from Lourenço de Brito, which Gonçalo Vaz declared to be a forgery, and accordingly captured the ship.

† This was probably the town of Jeygurh, near the mouth of the Shastree river.

not having attacked the Calicut fleet at Dabhol. He was, however, excused on the ground of his having been influenced in the matter by the council of his captains, but these latter were all deprived of their commands and sent back to Portugal.

It appears that on board the vessel destroyed by Gonçalo Vaz was the nephew of Mammale Marakkar, a rich merchant of Malabar, whose body was washed ashore. The real facts of the case not being known at Cananor, the blame for the destruction of this ship was not unnaturally attributed to Lourenço de Brito, and this was made an excuse by the King of Cananor for breaking with the Portuguese, in which he was greatly encouraged by the Zamorin. De Brito, having discovered his intentions, sent to the Viceroy demanding assistance, and his message was delivered to Dom Francisco at church, whereupon he immediately left, and at once dispatched an expedition for his relief, commanded by Dom Lourenço, but with orders to place himself under de Brito on arriving at his destination. As, however, de Brito was unwilling to take the command whilst Dom Lourenço was there, the latter returned to Cochin. De Brito entrenched himself, and having received intelligence of the intended attack from a nephew of the King of Cananor, who was anxious to gain the friendship of the Portuguese, he was well prepared for it when it was made.

The King of Cananor obtained from the Zamorin twenty-one pieces of cannon, and having entertained the assistance of 40,000 Nairs, he cut off all communication between the town and the fort by a trench, and commenced to besiege the place. Subsequently the attacking force was increased by 20,000 more Nairs who were sent by the Zamorin. De Brito worked hard to complete his defences; and at last, one morning, the besiegers advanced against the fort in twelve columns of 2,000 men each, but were met by such a destructive fire from the Portuguese that they were driven

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back before they reached the walls. The water of the garrison was derived from a well situated a short distance outside the walls, and each time the Portuguese wished to draw water they had to fight for it, until Fernandes, an engineer, hit upon the expedient of mining a passage as far as the well, and so drawing off the supply underground. The Portuguese, after this had been accomplished, made another sally, and filled up the well with earth to hide the device from the enemy. The Moors constructed ramparts of bales of cotton, and against these the ordinary cannon used had but little effect; but the Portuguese planted a large piece of ordnance on their ramparts, and one lucky shot from it sent the cotton-bales flying, and killed no less than twenty-two men. After this no attempt was made to take the fort, and the besiegers hoped to starve out the garrison. The latter were reduced to the greatest straits, and lived on lizards, rats, cats, and other animals. On the 15th August, however, the sea cast up shoals of crabs and prawns, which afforded the garrison some relief, and was looked upon by them as a special intervention by Heaven on their behalf.

A grand final assault on the Portuguese fort was now arranged to take place, both by sea and land, in order to bring the siege to a conclusion before the Onam festival in August. The boats and catamarans were easily driven back by the besieged garrison, but the Nairs gallantly stormed the wall and effected an entrance; so steady, however, was the Portuguese fire that the enemy were soon checked, and they finally retreated. Nearly every one of the little garrison was wounded in that day's fight; and de Brito, to conceal the exhaustion of his resources, kept up a bombardment of the town after the enemy had been repulsed, and destroyed a big mosque in which the Moors had congregated for the Friday service. At this extremity timely succour was at hand, for on 27th August a fleet of eleven ships under Tristão da Cunha arrived from Europe, and their commander, with 300 of

his men, had no difficulty in driving back the besiegers and relieving the place. The King of Cananor then sued for peace, which was granted on terms advantageous to the Portuguese.

The Viceroy accompanied Tristão da Cunha on his return journey as far as Ponani, a town subject to Calicut, where the Moors laded their ships under the shelter of four vessels belonging to the Zamorin, commanded by a Moor named Cutiale. This place was attacked, the people all killed, and the ships in the haven and docks were burnt. In this attack Dom Lourenço was wounded. Though the plunder was of great value, it was all burnt, with the exception of the artillery, which was saved. After this victory the fleet returned to Cananor to take in lading, and Tristão da Cunha set sail for Portugal on 6th December.

The Soldan of Cairo, being deprived of his chief source of revenue by the interference of the Portuguese with the overland trade, fitted out a fleet of twelve ships and 1,500 men, commanded by Mir Hozem, to oppose them in India. On the way he attacked Imbo and killed the Sheikh; he then proceeded to Ioda, which place he also attacked and took a great deal of plunder. Thence he went to Diu to arrange terms with Melique Az for a joint expedition against the Portuguese. This arrangement coming to the knowledge of the Viceroy, he sent Dom Lourenço with eight ships to guard the factories at Cananor and Cochin. Dom Lourenço ran as far as Chaul, where he was well received, and whilst here the Turkish fleet hove in sight at a time when he and his officers were on shore. They immediately hastened to their ships, and made such arrangements to meet the enemy as the shortness of the time permitted. Meanwhile Mir Hozem had already entered the harbour, fully expecting to capture all the Portuguese ships, but these gave him so warm a reception with their guns that he was unable to approach near enough to board them.

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The engagement was hotly carried on by both sides until nightfall, when the respective vessels separated, leaving the issue still indecisive.

The next morning the attack was renewed, and the Portuguese endeavoured to board the enemy's vessels, but only two galleys succeeded in capturing their respective opponents, after having put every man on board to the sword. Dom Lourenço was apparently getting the upper hand, when Melique Az arrived with a large number of small vessels to the assistance of Mir Hozem, whereupon Dom Lourenço sent two galleys and three caravels to hinder their approach, which they succeeded in doing for the time, and the fight continued with great loss on both sides until they were again separated by night.

The Portuguese captains then met in council, and endeavoured to dissuade Dom Lourenço from continuing the contest against such heavy odds; he, however, determined to renew the fight the next morning. Melique Az began the assault, and Dom Lourenço's ship running foul of some stakes in the river-bed, made so much water that she was in danger of sinking. Whilst in this condition a ball broke Dom Lourenço's thigh, whereupon he ordered himself to be set against the main-mast, where he stood encouraging his men, until another ball broke his back. After a vigorous resistance the Moors entered the ship, which soon afterwards sank, and only nineteen of the crew survived, who were taken and sent prisoners to Cambay. After this the rest of the Portuguese fleet went to Cochin, and carried the news of his son's death to the Viceroy.

When Tristão da Cunha, whose arrival in India has been referred to above, sailed from Lisbon on 18th April, 1506, he was accompanied by Affonso de Albuquerque, who went out as chief captain over six ships and 400 men. On starting, the latter received from King Dom Manoel secret instructions that on the expiration of three years he was to be Viceroy and Governor of India, and

Dom Francisco de Almeida was then to return to Portugal. In the meanwhile, as will be related in the next chapter, Affonso de Albuquerque visited the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and succeeded in erecting a fort at Ormuz. Against this, however, several of his captains remonstrated strongly, contending that in so doing he was not serving the interest of the King of Portugal. Their dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the chief captain amounted almost to a mutiny, and three of the dissatisfied captains, Affonso Lopes da Costa, Manoel Telles, and Antonio do Campo, took an opportunity of laying in water and stores and sailing straight to India, without in any way informing Albuquerque of their intentions. On arrival at Cochin they proceeded together to the Viceroy, and laid before him an information against Affonso de Albuquerque with regard to his proceedings at Ormuz. They complained that whereas Dom Manoel had sent them in Albuquerque's company to go with him to Cape Guardafui, and lie in wait there for the ships that went to Mecca laden with spices, Albuquerque had instead made his way to Ormuz, and cruised continually about there, contrary to the advice of them all, carrying on a perfectly unprofitable war; but not content with this, they added, he had began to erect a fortress, although King Dom Manoel had not ordered him to do so; and they, the said captains, when they saw how little this was to the interest of His Majesty, and that he only did it of his own free will, had sent him a remonstrance, which he replied to with very hard words and little courtesy or respect for their position in the service. As he still insisted upon proceeding with the fortress, they sent him a second remonstrance,* which was signed by

* Whereas it is true that His Highness sent us in his company to these parts to construct a fortress in the island of Çocotora, which the Moors had already made, and which we took from them by force of arms; and after completing it, we went to watch the straits of the Red Sea, that no ships should pass to Mecca laden with spices; but since he has taken this city of Ormuz, and made it tributary to the King, our lord, and established in it a great factory with great peace and mutual agreement, without any need of anything else, he, the chief captain, ought not to take upon himself to build a fortress, for it is very little to the interest of the King and loss of his

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Francisco de Tavora, whom they left behind in prison. To this Albuquerque had vouchsafed no reply, but ordered the remonstrance to be placed beneath a gateway of the fortress, which they took to mean that he would

material, and risk of the men and artillery remaining in it, in many respects and reasons which he, the chief captain, will not listen to. Nor yet does he heed a certain section of his instructions which says, that if he can build a fortress, he ought to build it in such a position and manner that it may be securely maintained and defended by the men left behind in it. And he ought to take especial care how far it is to the advantage of the King, our lord, and his estate, to build it thus. And the other reasons, in addition to these, we will lay before His Highness, or his Viceroy of India, if necessary. But he ought to bear in mind that the fortress of Çocotora was all this time standing with the greater part of its men ill, and with supplies for three months [only] counting from the time we left it, and the land contains no more supplies except those which may arrive there from abroad, and that there were yet remaining in it many Moors who certainly will endeavour to tamper with the Christians of the land, and incite them against our people, for these Christians, being angry at being robbed of their cattle against their will, for they live by them (and the Moors had never taken their cattle from them), will be inclined to side with them and keep in favour with them, whereby it may fall out that they will cause much trouble to our people. And this fortress, which he, the chief captain, is building here in Ormuz, cannot be completed so as to contain a guard of men and artillery within five months more; and if he, some time during this month of November, does not quit the place, he will not be able to do so for the whole of this year, for the monsoon, favourable for watching the Straits, will be past, and this would be very prejudicial to the interests of the King, our lord, and the fortress of Çocotora would run a great risk of being lost. Therefore, we do request him, on the part of the King, our lord, and of our lord the Viceroy, that he will set out forthwith to supply the said fortress, according to the instructions given by His Highness, and thereafter enter the Straits of the Red Sea. And we do also request him, on the behalf of the said lord, that he will immediately send from here this ship, "Flor de la mar," to the Lord Viceroy, in order to be renovated and not destroyed, inasmuch as the fleet which then remains is sufficient for the watch over the Strait, and in this ship the merchandise, tribute, and ambassadors can be forwarded, which he intends to send to the King, our lord; for it will be safer for anything to go from India than from here. And much more so, as with the merchandise and money he has received by way of tribute, this year the lading of the ships may be remedied (hitherto deficient), owing to the great failure of everything in India, which would be more to the service of the King, our lord, than to send it all to Portugal. And by João da Nova, he can write of the condition wherein this city of Ormuz is, for his lordship to make such provisions thereupon as shall seem to him most beneficial to the affairs of His Highness; since, in his instructions, since he orders him, that upon gaining possession of any kingdom, or any other thing whatsoever, he is to acquaint him immediately with the fact, that he may thereupon make such provision as shall seem best suited to his interest. But if he, the lord captain, be unwilling to perform all these things contained in this requisition, we hereby protest against all the losses, injuries, and diminutions of the material of our lord the King, and state that we are not liable to any blame, for we make this request in good time, whereby all may yet be made good. And of this, with the reply or without it (if he be unwilling to give a reply), you shall give us the said duplicates, with a similar copy of our reply if it be required.—Signed and sealed by us in the port of the City of Ormuz, on the thirteenth of November in the year one thousand five hundred and seven.

tread it underfoot. These captains requested that their depositions might be taken down, and an investigation into their charges against Albuquerque instituted, after which they asked that they might be sent home to Portugal, with proper credentials, in order that they might lay the matter before the King, and demand from His Majesty reparation for the injuries they had suffered, and for the shares of booty taken from them by Albuquerque without any justification or consideration.

The statements made by the captains appear to have been at once accepted by Dom Francisco,* and he accordingly issued a Commission to try the case, notwithstanding that he had no means of ascertaining the other side of the question. The motives for so readily acting upon an *ex parte* statement are generally supposed to have been of a personal nature, and certainly the action was not creditable to the Viceroy.

Whilst this matter was proceeding, there arrived in India Fernão Soarez and Ruy da Cunha, in company with Jorge de Aguiar, who left Portugal in the year 1508 as chief captain of three vessels, under orders to join the fleet at Cape

*I, D. Francisco Dalmeida, Viceroy of the Indies for the King, my lord, command you, Gonçalo Fernandez, and Francisco Lamprea, public scrivener and judicial in these parts of India, and Pero Vaz, late scrivener of the caravel S. Jorge, and João Saramenho, receiver of the *defuntos*, that you all four open this inquiry (according to the depositions laid before you by Manoel Telez, Affonso Lopez da Costa, and Antonio do Campo) against Affonso de Albuquerque, and prosecute the same by examination in order of certain articles which they will communicate to you; and Gonçalo Fernandez shall conduct the inquiry and the other three of you be scriveners, and the four shall be always present at the taking down of the testimony. And as some of the witnesses are not present, all the testimony shall be taken upon oath before me, and the testimony which they require that is in Cananor shall be sent for and taken down there; and this inquiry shall be conducted in the house of Gonçalo Fernandez, inquisitor, wherein all that is done every day shall remain locked up in a chest with three keys, of which each scrivener shall have one. And you four have now sworn upon oath in my presence, administered to you by Gaspar Pereira, to prosecute this inquiry well and diligently.—Done in Cochim on the twenty-sixth day of the month of May.—Gaspar Pereira drew this up in the year one thousand five hundred and eight.

And furthermore I command that, if the witnesses make any additional statements beyond what is contained in the articles, to the advantage of the complainant's cause, you are to write them down; and if any witness (after having given his testimony) shall return and state that he remembers anything more, you are to write this likewise.

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Guardafui and the coast of Ormuz. On arrival at Cochin Jorge de Aguiar handed to Dom Francisco instructions to the effect that, as his three years of office had expired, he was to hand over the government to Affonso de Albuquerque and return to Portugal. This news created great consternation amongst the three insubordinate captains who had deserted Albuquerque, and they did their best to persuade Dom Francisco not to surrender the reins of government to him.

Acting upon the information he received from these captains, Dom Francisco dispatched letters to Seif-al-din, the King of Ormuz, and to Coje Atar, the governor of that place, repudiating the proceedings of Albuquerque. In the letter to Coje Atar he said regarding him, "I also shall chastise as the King shall appoint, that he may learn that wheresoever he shall receive honour, and give a writing on the King's behalf, he ought not to alter it, for the King of Portugal is not a liar, and it is necessary that his captains should not depart from his commands; but as he has departed from them he shall receive his reward." This letter Coje Atar showed to Albuquerque, and he was thus forewarned of the reception that awaited him in India. Albuquerque arrived, with his fleet, at Cananor in the latter part of November, 1508, when he at once paid off his crews, and delivered them over to Dom Francisco. In doing this he complained that although he had spent two years and eight months at sea, conquering the kingdom of Ormuz, in obedience to orders he had received from the King, he had not once during the whole of that time received any favour or help from the Viceroy.

At the time of the arrival of Affonso de Albuquerque, Dom Francisco was getting up a fleet to go against the Rumes who were at Diu, to avenge his son's death, and he was, therefore, not well pleased at the appearance of his successor, whilst the former was also very much annoyed to find the captains who had deserted him at Ormuz treated by the Viceroy with marked consideration. Thence-

forward great dissensions began to arise between these two men. CHAP. V.

After the lapse of some days Affonso de Albuquerque went to see the Viceroy, and, in the presence of others, requested him to hand his office over to him in accordance with the King's instructions, adding that they were already at the beginning of December, which was the proper time to start for Lisbon, and that he had the ship "Belem," wherein he could make the voyage in great comfort, and six other ships to convoy her. The Viceroy, however, claimed that the period of his government would not expire until the following month, and promised that he would then resign. Albuquerque thereupon retired, and sent his secretary, Antonio de Sintra, to show to the Viceroy the powers and diploma he held from Dom Manoel. After having read these documents, the Viceroy directed de Sintra to fasten them up again, and to keep them in secret until his return from Diu. Antonio de Sintra having delivered his message, Albuquerque sent him back to the Viceroy with the following instructions: "Tell the Viceroy that, since the disposition of the fleet rests with me, as I am Governor of India, he must deliver it over to me that I may go in search of the Rumes." Other messages passed between them, but when Albuquerque found that the Viceroy, who had gained most of the captains on his side, refused to yield, he embarked in the ship "Cirne," and went to Cochin, where he arrived on 14th December. Here he was visited by Gaspar Pereira and other officers of the factory. Some people advised him to at once assume the title of Captain-General of India, but this he declined to do, in order to avoid any party differences. A.D. 1508.

Both the Viceroy and Albuquerque sent communications to King Dom Manoel, each giving his own version of the dispute between them; and the Viceroy sent to Gaspar Pereira, for communication to Albuquerque at Cochin, a statement of the charges he had preferred against him.

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These, together with Albuquerque's replies, were, according to *The Commentaries*, to the following effect:—

The first charge was that he had delayed sending to him to give up his power which the King had given him, through Antonio de Sintra, in Cananor, and making the request to him which he had made in the presence of Fernão Soarez and Ruy da Cunha, captains of the King. Affonso de Albuquerque replied that he did not comprehend why he should be so alarmed at the request, when he so often told him that the King had written to him to return to Portugal, and deliver over the government of India to himself; what was much more astonishing to him was that he should come to Cananor and find him determined not to deliver it over to him as he had done.

The second charge was that he had quitted Socotra without the King's order, and made his way to India, though he had written to him, through Tristão da Cunha, that His Highness ordered him to take great care of the place, and for this reason he had omitted to send any necessary supplies thither. Affonso de Albuquerque answered that on arriving at Cananor he had stated that the reason of his coming was because the weather did not permit any other voyage, for in the months of November and December one could not run from Ormuz to the island of Socotra, as the winds were south-east and the weather very rough; another thing also which forced him to come to India was the quantity of water which the "Rey Grande" and the "Cirne" made, lest they should be lost; and, moreover, the time was now come wherein the King had ordered him to receive the government of India. And since he demanded so strict an account of what he had done, he first ought to have taken an account from the captains who had deserted their posts in the war, and from Manoel Telles, who had carried off the supplies entrusted to him for carriage to the fortress of Socotra in his ship; but these captains he retained in favour before his eyes. And though he desired very often to give an account of himself in Cananor, yet

the Viceroy would never listen to him or look at his instructions, because in them the King commanded him that if no clause in them bore upon a particular state of affairs, in that case he was to do as would be most advantageous to his interest; and if he was not pleased with his coming to India without the King's orders, how could he, on his part, be pleased with the Viceroy's stay in India and unwillingness to deliver up to him the government of it, not caring to follow his orders and instructions? As for the letter he had forwarded to him through Tristão da Cunha, it was to hand, as well as another, wherein he gave him an account of the flight of his captains, begging him to send back ships and men and other captains; wherein, also, he gave him an account of the state in which he then was; to this one never yet had he seen any reply, nor had he assisted him, as he was obliged to do by virtue of his position as Captain-General of the Indies; but, on the contrary, he had seen his (the Viceroy's) letters to the King and Coje Atar, making use of very dishonourable expressions respecting his own person, holding his labours as of little value, extolling the actions of the captains, and stating his good reception of them.

The third charge made against Affonso de Albuquerque was that he had blockaded Ormuz, and prohibited all communications during the period protected by the safeguard which he had himself agreed upon, and Coje Atar had sent the document to demonstrate this fact to him, but he would not return it to him again. To this Affonso de Albuquerque replied that it was true that during this protected period he had surrounded the island of Ormuz, and not permitted anyone to enter or leave the place, for he was obliged to do so for the safety of his own men and his fleet, and to remain there waiting for the succour and aid of the King Dom Manoel, for in the letters which he had found in Ormuz, on his return from Socotra, directed to Coje Atar, he had indeed perceived how much help he was likely to give him. Gaspar Rodriguez, the inter-

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preter, was a true witness to a letter which Coje Atar had shown him, sealed with the arms of the King of Portugal, which was of no other import than to destroy all his labours, and spoke of himself as if he were a corsair, banished from the kingdom. When Coje Atar perceived how little value was set upon him, like a cunning man, he understood how matters lay, and knew how to take advantage of the opportunity, and it was not a thing likely to terrify him that some members of his company were telling him that he had done imprudently to humour him, since the captains who had so deserted him with the complaint that they were not satisfied with the way the war was carried on, and that he had ordered them to fill their freights, had come to be well treated by him; and those who had protected him and accompanied him in all his troubles and fortunes, like very true and faithful cavaliers, had found their prospects unimproved and their cargoes not laden. And if Coje Atar wished to reap the advantage of this armistice, which he (Albuquerque) offered him, he, on his part, as was reasonable to expect, would be insured by Coje Atar; but he would desire that Coje Atar would keep to the arrangement, and he desired him to stop the discharge of arrows, for he was chief captain of the King of Portugal, in whose name the armistice had been entered into.

The fourth charge was that Coje Atar had sent, desiring of him a mutual order and assignation for an interview, and that he would not grant it. Affonso replied that he did not remember whether he had sent it him or not, and even if it were so, it was not right that it should have been given, for the order was for himself, concerning his proper duty according to circumstances, and that he had to give account to the King D. Manoel of what he had done, because he acted under his directions. And above all, he had given him a translation, signed and sealed, and an account of the manner in which his order had been received. Because, if perchance the ships and men sent thither by the King D. Manoel to help him had gone to

seek him according to the orders promulgated when he first left Portugal, they would have known, on arriving at Ormuz, of the events that had taken place there.

The fifth charge was that he had taken a slave away from a Moorish merchant of Ormuz against his will. Affonso de Albuquerque replied that this was not so, but that a caravan of merchants had come from Persia to Ormuz, and a Moor brought in company with him a Christian youth from Ruxia, who, on seeing our ships, fled, and managed to reach them; and the Moor had demanded the surrender of the youth, but he was unwilling to give him up, because he was a Christian, and he would not return with him, but for all that he had not remained in slavery, and it was not likely that such a man as he (Affonso de Albuquerque) was would enslave a youth who had put himself under his protection under the name of a Christian.

And because Gaspar Pereira, besides these statements, told Affonso de Albuquerque other things which the Viceroy had ordered him to say by word of mouth—one of which was that he was to pay him all due to him for the time he was in India—Affonso de Albuquerque replied that he should make answer to the Viceroy that at the court of the King of Portugal, whither both of them were proceeding, there was no place for tricks and artifices to entice him to sell his honour and personal dignity, but that he trusted, with God's help, to perform such services in those parts for the King, our lord, whereby he might merit the favours of other titles more noble than that of Viceroy.

After dispatching the trading ships on their homeward voyage under Fernão Soarez and Ruy da Cunha, both of whom perished on the way, the Viceroy sailed from Cananor towards Diu, in pursuit of Mir Hozem, accompanied by a fleet of nineteen vessels and 1,600 soldiers and sailors, of whom 400 were Malabarese. They went first of all to Anjediva, and from thence proceeded to Dabhol, then a place of great trade and considerable wealth,

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The ships in the harbour fared the same fate as the town. The fleet left Dabhol on the 5th January, 1509, and captured a Turkish galley, in which was a beautiful Hungarian lady, who subsequently married Diogo Pereira of Cochin. Further on, a barque from Guzerat was taken in the river of Bombay, and from it the Portuguese obtained provisions, of which they had then run short. On arrival at Mahim, on the 21st January, the people, terrified at what had taken place at Dabhol, fled from the fort to the mountains, and the fleet was therefore enabled to land for wood and other supplies without opposition. After this the expedition went on to Diu, arriving there on the 2nd February, 1509, where Melique Az and Mir Hozem had prepared a fleet of 200 vessels to resist the expected attack.

The Viceroy held a council with his captains, at which

the plan of attack was fully arranged. Between nine and ten o'clock the next morning the signal was given for entering the port, and a general engagement took place between the Portuguese vessels and those of the enemy. During the fight Mir Hozem was wounded, who, leaving his ship, went ashore to convey the news of the engagement to the King of Cambay. The victory of the Portuguese was complete, and having plundered the enemy's ships and taken from them a rich booty, all were burnt with the exception of four ships and two galleys, which the Viceroy ordered to be preserved. The colours of the Soldan and of Mir Hozem which were captured were sent to Portugal. The Viceroy made no attempt to attack the town, which appeared to be too strong for the limited force then at his disposal.

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After this Melique Az, who had assisted Mir Hozem with his vessels, but had not himself been present at the engagement, sent a messenger to the Viceroy to congratulate him on his victory, hoping, by so doing, to disguise the fact of his having been in any way a party to the engagement, and to save himself from the vengeance of the Portuguese. The Viceroy, knowing the deceitfulness of Melique Az, nevertheless received his messenger courteously, and informed him that the objects of his visit to Diu were, first, to be revenged on the Rumes, which he had now accomplished, and, secondly, to recover the Portuguese who had been taken prisoners when his son was killed. He therefore demanded that these should now be delivered to him, together with all the artillery and munitions belonging to the Rumes that were in the ships in the harbour, and that the ships themselves should be burnt. He also demanded that provisions should be sold to him. All this having been complied with, Dom Francisco retired with his fleet, and on the way back made Nizamaluco, King of Chaul, tributary to the Crown of Portugal. He first demanded of him the payment of 30,000 cruzados at once, and an annual tribute of 10,000

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cruzados, but Nizamaluco was only in a position to give him 2,000 cruzados, and he had therefore to be content with that amount.

The Viceroy next called in at Cananor, where he was received with much honour, and letters against the proceedings of Albuquerque were handed to him. He then set forth again at once, arriving at Cochin in a triumphant manner on the 8th March, 1509, fully determined not to surrender the reins of government, in which resolution he was supported by the captains who had fled from Ormuz, and by others whom these had gained to their side. Upon the earliest opportunity, however, Dom Francisco was again requested by Affonso de Albuquerque to deliver up the government to him, but he evaded doing so, and at a meeting with certain officers shortly afterwards he threatened to "imprison any man, even though he be one of the best in India, who sides with his (Albuquerque's) statements and demands." Notwithstanding this menace, however, Gaspar Pereira, who had been nominated by the King to act as scrivener to Affonso de Albuquerque, had the courage to support his master's claim.

Whilst these differences were going on between the Viceroy and his successor, it appears that no provision had been made at the factory for obtaining pepper for lading. This was brought to the notice of the Viceroy by Gaspar Pereira, who also said that the King of Cochin had refused to deliver any, making the excuse that he had none to give. This was attributed by Jorge Barreto, in the presence of Dom Francisco, to the actions of the friends and supporters of Affonso de Albuquerque. The Viceroy accordingly sent instructions to Albuquerque that he should cease to hold meetings in his house, and he subsequently sent orders that he was not to stir forth out of his house, nor to hold communication with the King of Cochin, nor with his officers. This latter injunction was laid upon Albuquerque in consequence of its having come to the knowledge of Dom Francisco that the King of

Cochin viewed with dismay the differences that then existed amongst the Portuguese, and contemplated sending an ambassador to Portugal to inform Dom Manoel of the manner in which Affonso de Albuquerque was being kept out of his appointment as Governor of India.

At this time Diogo Lopes de Sequeira arrived from Portugal as chief captain of four ships which Dom Manoel had sent out for the discovery of Malacca. In order the more fully to justify the retention of his office, the Viceroy arranged with some of his confidential officers, the chief amongst whom were Jorge Barreto and João da Nova, that they should present him with a requisition urging him not to resign his office, for he was afraid that the King of Cochin, who espoused the cause of Affonso de Albuquerque, would write to the King of Portugal on the subject. As soon as this requisition had been fully signed, a council was summoned, and in the presence of this assembly Jorge Barreto presented it to the Viceroy, and requested him, in the name of all who were there, not to deliver India to Affonso de Albuquerque until Dom Manoel should have been informed of the wickedness and tyrannies he had committed in the kingdom of Ormuz, which were all set out in articles which were also laid before the Viceroy. This document was next shown to the King of Cochin, and, in order to obtain his support, he was informed that Albuquerque was in secret communication with the Zamorin, and intended to establish a factory in Calicut as soon as he should have obtained the government. The King of Cochin, however, refused to have anything to do with the matter, and gave it as his opinion that it was wrong of the Viceroy not to give up the government in accordance with the commands of the King of Portugal.

Several who had taken part in these proceedings became speedily aware of the error they had committed, and sent to ask the forgiveness of Albuquerque, excusing

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themselves on the plea that they had done so simply out of dread of dishonouring the Viceroy. In order to still further strengthen his position, Almeida gave instructions that a general indictment should be drawn up against Albuquerque, and he wrote to Coje Atar requesting that, should he have any complaints to make against that officer, he would send some person to prefer the accusation, promising that he would see full justice done. The indictment having been drawn up, the Viceroy delivered it to Antonio de Sintra to keep until the arrival of the next ships from Portugal. Albuquerque became aware of these proceedings, and knew that the Viceroy was desirous of ensnaring him in some difficulties. To avoid this, therefore, he adopted the precaution of not venturing out of his house, and by the general judiciousness of his actions on the occasion he probably avoided a crisis which could not but have been very detrimental to the interests of Portugal in India. Feeling now ran very high between the partisans of these two men, and João da Nova and Jorge Barreto having reported to the Viceroy certain words used by João de Christus (a brother of the Order of Saint Eloi), from which they, interpreting them to suit their own purpose, alleged that Albuquerque must have resolved upon some such act of treason as to seize the fort of Cochin and put Jorge Barreto to death, the Viceroy ordered João de Christus to be loaded with irons and placed in solitary confinement in a cellar in that fortress. This coming to the knowledge of Affonso de Albuquerque, he proceeded to the Viceroy, and pleaded for the release of the man. At this interview a serious altercation took place between the two, and the Viceroy subsequently gave orders for a strong guard to be placed over the fortress of Cochin, and issued a proclamation to the effect that no one should carry arms, either by night or by day, excepting his own servants, and the captains, and some persons specially licensed to do so. He also ordered the arrest of Gaspar Pereira and Ruy de Aranjo,

who were to be placed in irons and confined in the fortress, and that the houses in which they had lived should be thrown down and razed to the ground.

The enemies of Albuquerque further endeavoured to obtain information from his confessor, Francisco, a friar of the Order of Avis, which should compromise him before the Viceroy; but in this respect they totally failed. They next tried to corrupt Duarte de Sousa, who lived at Albuquerque's table, but with no greater success than with the friar. Being frustrated in these attempts, they next entered into a conspiracy with Antonio do Campo, who was well versed in the Malabarese language, and concocted, with him, a letter from the Prince of Calicut to Affonso de Albuquerque, and his reply thereto, inserting in it many malicious fabrications, with the view of compromising the latter in the eyes of the Viceroy. This correspondence, it was arranged, should fall into the hands of Almeida, who immediately ordered the arrest of Albuquerque. On the same day he was taken on board the vessel of Martim Coelho, who had orders to carry with him only three servants for his attendance, and to deliver him over to Lourenço de Brito, captain of the fortress at Cananor, who was to place him in the tower, and keep a good guard over him. The Viceroy further ordered the houses which Albuquerque had occupied to be thrown down, and took out of them everything that was found there.

These proceedings naturally caused great consternation in the minds of the King of Cochin and of his people. But, besides this indignity offered to Affonso de Albuquerque, the Viceroy further ordered that Ruy de Aranjo and Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco should proceed with Lopez de Sequeira to Malacca, and thence to Portugal, on the ground that they also were implicated in these matters concerning Affonso de Albuquerque.

On the 29th October, 1509, Marshal Dom Fernando Coutinho, a nephew of Albuquerque, arrived at Cananor

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as chief captain of a fleet of fifteen sail, carrying with him instructions to deliver over all the provisions and specie which he carried to Albuquerque as Captain-General of India. He therefore was very much surprised to find him a prisoner, and immediately ordered his release. As his time in India was short, he re-embarked the following morning, and took Albuquerque with him to Cochin, whither he was immediately afterwards followed by Lourenço de Brito. On the following morning the Marshal and Affonso de Albuquerque disembarked, when they were met, on landing, by the Viceroy and all the members of his party. On the morning of Saturday, 4th November, the Marshal visited the Viceroy at the fortress, and endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between him and Albuquerque, but to this the latter would not assent.

Dom Francisco de Almeida realised now that he could no longer retain the office of Viceroy, and he accordingly at once surrendered the government to Albuquerque, and on the following day, 5th November 1509, he retired on board the ship "Garça," in which he sailed for Cananor on 10th November, and with him there went Jorge Barreto, Antonio do Campo, Manoel Telles, and others who had taken prominent part with him against Albuquerque.

The "Garça," with two other ships, left Cananor on 19th November, and made a fair passage to the Cape of Good Hope; but soon after doubling the Cape they put into the bay of Saldanha to take water. Here some of the men went on shore to barter goods with the natives, when a servant of the Viceroy so ill-treated two of them that they knocked out his teeth. Some gentlemen who witnessed this affront persuaded the Viceroy to go ashore to avenge his servant. This he somewhat unwillingly assented to, and taking with him 150 picked men, he pursued the natives for some distance, until they came to a village, where they captured some cattle and children. As they were returning they were attacked by a party of 170 blacks, who came down from the mountain, with such

fury that in a very short space of time they had killed some fifty of the Portuguese, including Francisco de Almeida, who died kneeling on the sand, struck through the throat by a dart. The rest of the Portuguese retreated to their ships, but as soon as the natives had retired they went back to the shore and buried Almeida and those who had fallen with him, and then returned to Lisbon, carrying with them the news of Almeida's death, which was received there with great grief and sorrow.

There can be no doubt but the hostility of Almeida towards Affonso de Albuquerque arose, to a great extent, from a misappreciation of his real character, and the entertainment by him of very different views as to how the administration of Indian affairs should be conducted to those held by Albuquerque. Almeida fully recognised the importance of destroying the Moorish trade in order that the commerce of India should be monopolised by the Portuguese, but he entertained no ambitious designs of territorial aggrandisement, and failed to realise the importance of erecting fortifications of defence against enemies on shore. His views generally were pacific, and his administration, so far as the trade itself was concerned, was fairly successful. His greatest mistake was in receiving the captains who had deserted Albuquerque at Ormuz with favour instead of disgracing them. The fact that he did not himself approve of the reduction of Ormuz was no sufficient justification for honouring those who had been guilty of the grossest breach of discipline. Having, however, made this first false step, it is easy to understand that he should have allowed his judgment to be biassed by those men, and thereby to have formed an entirely erroneous view of Albuquerque's abilities. He constantly referred to Albuquerque as a "fool" and a "madman," and there can be little doubt but that he actually did bring his mind to consider him unfit to administer the affairs of the Indian trade in a manner best calculated to benefit the State. But the manner in

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which he lent himself to a scheme of deception in order, apparently, to justify his refusal to surrender the reins of government to his duly-appointed successor, showed a degree of moral cowardice in his character which would have entirely unfitted him for the position of Viceroy in those more troublous times that occurred in later years.

CHAPTER VI.

Expeditions under Tristão da Cunha and Affonso de Albuquerque—Discovery of Madagascar—Sack of Angoxa—Destruction of Braboa—Capture of the Fortress of Socotra—Establishment of a Portuguese Settlement there—Departure of Albuquerque for Ormuz—Attacks on Kuriyat and Muscat—Subjection of Sohar—Attack on Ormuz—Establishment of a Factory there—Insubordination of certain Captains—Attack on Kalhāt—Arrival of Albuquerque in India—Expeditions under Jorge de Mello Pereira, Jorge de Aguiar, and Dom Fernando Coutinho.

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The year after the departure of Dom Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon, the King sent out another expedition of sixteen ships, the command of which he entrusted to Tristão da Cunha, who was now restored to health, and with him he sent Affonso de Albuquerque. The instructions given to da Cunha were to proceed to the island of Socotra, and there construct a fort, which, while protecting the Christians reported by Diogo Fernandes Peteyra to be inhabiting that island, should also serve as a depôt for the use of the fleets destined to oppose the Egypto-Venetian confederacy and to blockade the Red Sea. On the completion of the fort, da Cunha was to proceed to India with his share of the fleet, leaving Albuquerque with a squadron of six ships and 400 men, to attack Jedda and Aden, and to obstruct the Moorish trade. Albuquerque, as has been already stated, carried with him secret instructions that on the expiration of three years he was to be Governor of India, and the Viceroy, Dom Francisco de Almeida, was to return to Portugal. Tristão da Cunha sailed from Belem with his fleet on the 18th of April, 1506, and Affonso de Albuquerque followed the next day, after having received from the King a flag of white satin, with a crimson-and-white twisted silk fringe, having a cross of Christus in the centre of crimson satin.

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The following is a list of the captains of this expedition, and in some instances the names of their ships are given :—

Tristão da Cunha, in the "Espirito Sancto"; Alvaro Telles Barreto, in the "S. Vincente"; João Gomes de Abreu, in the "Luz"; Leonel Coutinho, in the "Leitoa Nova"; Ruy Pereira, Ruy Dias Pereira, Job Queimado, Alvaro Fernandes, João da Veiga, Tristão Roiz, Tristão Alvares, Affonso de Albuquerque, in the "Cerne"; João da Nova, in the "Flor de la mar"; Francisco de Tavora, in the "Rey Grande"; Manoel Telles Barreto, in the "Rey Pequeno"; Affonso Lopes da Costa, in the "S. Jorge" transport; and Antonio do Campo in the caravel "Espriito Sancto."

The fleet put in at the port of Biziquiche, whence da Cunha sent back the caravel to Lisbon, in which he placed those of his crew who were sick, with news of their safety. After passing the latitude of Ascension they discovered some islands not hitherto known, in the South Atlantic, to which they gave the name of "Tristão da Cunha." Here a violent storm arose, which separated the vessels, but they all met again at Mozambique, except Alvaro Telles and Ruy Pereira. The former had doubled the island of S. Lourenço (Madagascar) by the outer passage, and stood over to Melinde, whence he proceeded to Cape Guardafui, and the latter went into a harbour in the island of S. Lourenço, called Tanana, where he remained some days, getting information about the land, as it was then first discovered, and from thence he went to Mozambique, taking with him two negroes, who accompanied him of their own accord.

As it was now too late in the season to cross over to India, da Cunha determined to remain at Mozambique to refit. Whilst here Ruy Pereira arrived and informed da Cunha of the discovery he had made, whereupon the latter fitted out an expedition to explore this new country, of which he assumed command. After a con-

sultation, da Cunha determined to double by its north point, but as this was against his advice, Albuquerque determined not to have anything to do with the enterprise. On sighting the land, a small zambuco with two Moors was taken, who conducted the Portuguese to a place of the Moors not far off. Here they landed, and having killed several Moors without the slighest provocation or justification, and set the place on fire, they proceeded to Lulangane, which place traded with Melinde and Mombassa in cloths, silver, and gold. On an island in the bay was the residence of the King of the place, whom da Cunha attacked, and having landed, he had all the Moors found there put to the sword. The town was then sacked by the Portuguese, and after staying there three days taking in water and provision, they again embarked, and endeavoured to double the headland, but were unable to do so owing to adverse winds and currents. Da Cunha therefore turned back, and was directed by the two Moors he had taken to a place called Zada, which was the principal place of trade on that coast with Melinde, Mombassa, and Magadoxo. Here the Portuguese landed, whereupon the Cafre inhabitants all fled into the woods.

Affonso de Albuquerque considering all this as mere waste of time, and not in accordance with the object for which the expedition was sent out, remonstrated with da Cunha, contending that the fleet ought at once to proceed to Cape Guardafui to watch for the Moorish ships coming from India laden with spices, and to erect a fort at Socotra. This advice did not harmonise with da Cunha's views, who desired to complete his exploration of the island of S. Lourenço. He therefore placed the majority of the fleet at Albuquerque's disposal, giving him supreme authority over the other captains, and allowed him to proceed on his intended voyage. Albuquerque accordingly went with his vessels at once to Mozambique to refit, where he was joined by the rest of the squadron. After his departure, da Cunha sent three ships round to

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Matatane, where was clove, ginger, and silver. One of these vessels, of which Ruy Pereira was captain, was lost, and only the pilot and seven men were saved whereupon he seems to have given up any further examination of the island and followed Albuquerque to Mozambique. Here they found João da Nova, whose ship, the "Flor de la mar," had sprung a large leak. The cargo had to be removed, and was placed in a merchant ship which da Cunha purchased for the purpose. The "Flor de la mar," after being repaired, was placed under the command of Antonio de Saldanha, and sent back to Portugal. On his way back Saldanha discovered a very favourable watering-place for ships, which he called after his own name. It was here that Dom Francisco de Almeida was killed on his way home from India.

After having repaired his vessels, Tristão da Cunha proceeded with all his remaining ships to Melinde to pay his respects to the King of that place, and to present him with a gift from the King of Portugal. He also offered his services for anything that His Majesty might demand of him. The King of Melinde expressed his great gratitude to the King of Portugal, and requested that, before he left those parts, da Cunha would take vengeance on the Kings of Mombassa and Angoxa, who were his chief enemies. In taking leave of the King, da Cunha promised to execute his demands, and then embarked. Affonso de Albuquerque, before leaving, informed the King that he had with him a fleet to conquer Ormuz and all that coast of Arabia which was not yet known to the Portuguese pilots. His Majesty thereupon ordered him to be furnished with pilots who knew the harbours of Arabia, and the governors accordingly gave him the three principal pilots of the country.

The fleet then proceeded to Angoxa,* the people of

* The city of Angoxa was very large, peopled with Moors who traded with Sofala and the places along that coast. There were no houses of stone and mortar in it except the King's mansions. It was entirely surrounded with many gardens and fruit-trees, which made it very luxuriant; its bay was very good, and afforded capital anchorage; it was situated on the edge of the sea and unfortified. The King was a Moorish merchant who came from abroad, but as he was very rich he had made himself lord of all that land.

which place refused permission for some of the Portuguese crews to go ashore, whereupon da Cunha headed a boat expedition, and having forced a landing, all the people fled with their wives, and as much of their goods as they could carry, into the interior of the country. Thus when the Portuguese arrived in the town they found it deserted, whereupon da Cunha gave permission to the men to sack the city, and then ordered it to be set on fire. So rapid was the spread of the flames that many who were engaged in plundering the houses experienced some difficulty in escaping from the flames.

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After this the Portuguese embarked again, and ran along the coast to the city of Braboa,* where also the natives made a hostile demonstration when a boat from the fleet attempted to land. Da Cunha accordingly determined to chastise the people of the place as he had done at Angoxa; but, when he was preparing to land a force, two old Moors from Calicut, who were then residing at Braboa, so impressed upon the King the power of the Portuguese, and his inability to resist them, that he sent one of his principal governors to make his excuses to da Cunha on account of the people having refused to allow one of his captains to land, and to express his desire to have peace and friendship with the King of Portugal. On delivering his message da Cunha replied that he was chief captain of the King of Portugal, who had sent him with the orders to make stern war against, and destroy all the kings and lords who, unwilling to be friends and tributaries, were established along the coast that was of his conquering. Because the King of Angoxa had not complied with this demand he had destroyed him; and so also he was determined to do with the King of Braboa, unless he was willing to obey the King of Portugal and pay him tribute. On the other

* Braboa was a large city with very good houses of stone and mortar. It was situated on the water's edge with an unprotected anchorage in front, having no harbour. It was peopled with native Moors who traded with Sofala and other places along the coast. Here also ships arrived from Cambay laden with stuffs, sandal-wood, and rosewater, which they exchanged for gold and other products of the country. By means of inland water communication Braboa carried on a large trade with Manamotapa, and many other inland places.

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hand, if willing to become his vassal, he would serve him with his fleet against his enemies, as he had done for the King of Melinde. The King of Braboa replied that to send to him for tribute was not desiring friendship with him, but seeking reasons for quarrelling if he did not grant what was demanded of him, for he had never been tributary to any king, but rather, on the contrary, those of that coast endeavoured to secure his friendship. As this demand was something new he asked for three or four days' delay to enable him to consult with his merchants on this subject. This da Cunha refused to grant, and demanded an answer by the following day. At the expiration of the time of grace, the King's messenger returned, but without any definite reply, whereupon da Cunha, perceiving that the delay was evidently but an attempt to gain time, ordered the messenger to be tied to a stake, and under a threat of throwing him into the sea with a cannon-ball round his neck, extracted from him the fact that at that season of the year a wind arises off Braboa which they call the "*Vara de Coromandel*," which comes so suddenly and so fiercely as to destroy any vessel riding in those roads, and it was in the hope of this speedily breaking upon the fleet that encouraged the King to cause these delays.

Da Cunha, having received this explanation, resolved to attack the city on the morrow, and accordingly before daybreak he made preparations for a landing, expecting to take the place by surprise; but the King, fearing that something had happened to prevent his messenger from bringing back any reply, ordered the beach to be watched all night; so that by the time the Portuguese arrived near the shore a number of Moors had collected to oppose their landing. Their resistance was, however, soon overcome, and many were slain, whereupon the remainder fled to the city closely followed by the Portuguese. At the entrance to the city the Moors made a stand and killed four or five Portuguese, wounding also Antonio de Sá in the face with

an arrow. Others coming up, they entered the city after the fugitives, and many were wounded by women throwing down stones upon them from the terraces. The Moors made a stand in a large square containing a mosque, but they were attacked so vigorously that they soon turned their backs and fled out of the city, followed by their women laden with household goods. These the Portuguese came up with, took from them what they carried, and killed many.

Da Cunha now recalled his men, and returning to the square he attacked the mosque, killing all who had taken refuge there, and in entering it was wounded in the leg by an arrow. After this he first received knighthood at the hand of Affonso de Albuquerque, and he then knighted his son Nuno da Cunha and many other Fidalgos. Da Cunha then proceeded to the King's palace, from which he took much money and many valuable and rich things, which he divided among the captains and noble persons of the fleet. Then, having summoned his men to re-embark, he had the city set on fire in four different parts.

It had been the intention of da Cunha to have next proceeded to Magadoxo and attack that place, but being advised by his pilots that the season was now too far advanced, and that if he delayed much longer he would be unable to double the shallows of "S. Lazarus," he ordered the course to be shaped direct for Socotra, and anchored off Soco, the principal port of that island. Here, to his surprise, he found that the Moors had erected a strong fortress, surrounded with wall and barbican, and with a keep. After a consultation with his captains, da Cunha sent Pero Vaz de Orta, with Gaspar Rodriguez as interpreter, to summon the captain of the fortress to surrender it to the King of Portugal, as otherwise he would take it by force and not leave one Moor alive in it. To this message the captain of the fortress returned a defiant reply, and arrangements were accordingly made to attack the place. The intention had been to have landed near a palm-grove,

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a short distance from the fort, but this being discovered, a stockade had been rapidly constructed there by the Moors. Tristão da Cunha, however, landed there with part of the forces, and Affonso de Albuquerque, with others, gained the shore opposite to the fort. This latter party had a hand-to-hand encounter with the enemy, in which the captain of the fortress and several others were killed, whereupon the remainder retired towards the fort, and some fled to the mountains. The Portuguese then began an attack on the fort, in which Affonso de Albuquerque was struck on the helmet with a large piece of stone, and fell to the ground much hurt. He, however, did not lose consciousness, and was soon up again directing the men under him. The entrance-gate having been battered in, several Portuguese went in that way, whilst others gained entrance by scaling the walls, whereupon the Moors gathered together at the tower gate.

In the meanwhile Tristão da Cunha had overcome the resistance offered to his landing, and chased the Moors who had opposed him up to near the fortress; but when they saw that place surrounded by Albuquerque's force, and that they were thus cut off from entering, they fled to the mountains for escape. The united forces now pressed an attack on the tower, in which some twenty-five Moors had taken refuge. They being so few in number, da Cunha offered them safe conduct if they would retire peaceably; but this they declined, and the attack was continued until after several hours' fighting the tower was entered, and all the Moors therein were put to the sword, with the exception of one man who surrendered and was made prisoner. On the morning of the next day da Cunha went, with all the men, in procession to a neighbouring mosque, and as it was to be the principal church, he named it "Our Lady of the Victory," wherein Fr. Antonio do Loureiro, of the Order of S. Francis, said mass.

The next act of Tristão da Cunha was to issue a verbal proclamation to the Christians of the island, inviting them

to return to Soco. This they gladly did, with many expressions of gratitude to da Cunha for liberating them from the thraldom of the Moors.

Great quantities of stone and mortar having been collected, da Cunha next set to work to build a fortress, which was finished in a very short time, and when it was completed he named it "S. Michael," and appointed Dom Affonso de Noronha to the command of it. As the time for his departure for India was now drawing near, da Cunha handed over to Affonso de Albuquerque six ships, with men, supplies, artillery, and all other necessaries for the protection of those parts, and with instructions to provide the fortress with all it might require. Tristão da Cunha then sailed to India with four ships on 10th August, 1507, and having taken in cargoes there he returned to Portugal.

Affonso de Albuquerque first turned his attention to the internal administration of the island. He divided the palm-groves which the Moors had there amongst the native Christians, and those which had belonged to the mosque he now gave to the churches. Having done this, he sailed on the 10th of August, 1507, accompanied by Francisco de Tavora, of the "Rey Grande," João da Nova, Manoel Telles Barreto, Affonso Lopes da Costa, of the "Taforea," and Antonio do Campo. Affonso de Albuquerque had, no doubt, at once perceived the uselessness of Socotra for the purpose intended, and was well aware that his flotilla was too small for him to attempt the capture of Aden. He therefore thought fit, after the departure of Tristão da Cunha, to deviate somewhat from his instructions, and sailed away to the north-east, intent upon the capture of Ormuz, then the chief emporium of commerce in the Persian Gulf, and which, by giving him the entire command of the Persian Gulf route, would be of greater service to his King than the temporary blockade of the Red Sea and the bombardment of Jedda. The fleet accordingly left Soco on the 10th of August, and passed the Curia Muria Islands on the 14th, where they had a

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narrow escape from shipwreck, owing to the haze being very thick and the pilots slightly out of their reckonings. They, however, proceeded onwards with great caution, and having arrived near Ras-el-Had, they saw three Moorish fishing-boats, which they chased but did not capture. The fleet then anchored off Ras-el-Had, in which port they found thirty or forty fishing-ships from Ormuz, Kalhāt, and other places on the coast; these they burnt. They then set sail again, and on the way burnt some zambucos they found in a river. Proceeding onwards, they cast anchor opposite the city of Kalhāt, which lies between Ras-el-Had and Muscat. At this time Kalhāt was an important centre of trade, and a great entrepôt of shipping from India; it was a dependency of the King of Ormuz. The chief people expressed themselves friendly to the Portuguese, and permitted them to purchase provisions for the fleet; they also expressed their willingness to become tributary to Portugal, even should the King of Ormuz refuse to do so himself. Here Albuquerque took in supplies for his fleet, all of which he insisted upon paying for, although they were offered by the *gazil* as a free gift. Discovering a ship of Aden in the port, he ordered it to be seized, but at the request of the *gazil*, or governor, he permitted it afterwards to be ransomed. Leaving here on the 22nd August, the fleet proceeded, keeping in sight of land, past Icce, until they came to Kuriyat, where they cast anchor some little distance from the shore. After a consultation with his captains, Albuquerque determined to destroy this place. The Moors here refused to hold any communications with the Portuguese, and greeted their approach to the shore with hostile gestures. They had already erected a stockade in front of the place, which was fully manned with archers, and provided with four large mortars; and lower down was another stockade, in form like a bastion. Seeing all these preparations for defence, Albuquerque ordered the falconets that were in his boat to be fired on them, and

then retired to the ships. The Moors returned the fire from their mortars. During the night Albuquerque sent a body of men, who fortified themselves on a small island near the shore. The next morning Albuquerque landed with a body of men, and making a vigorous attack upon the stockade, captured it without much loss, killing all the Moors—men, women, and children—whom he found there. He then fortified himself in the stockade, whilst provisions were collected for the fleet, and he ordered his flag to be set up on the dome of the mosque, and ten men to be placed there to watch the surrounding country. As soon as the supplies were collected, and as much spoil as they could carry away, he ordered the place to be set on fire, and the whole city, including the mosque, was burnt to the ground. He ordered, also, that they should cut off the ears and noses of the Moors who were captured there, and then sent them away to Ormuz to bear witness to their disgrace. In this place they captured twenty-five pieces of artillery, and a great quantity of bows, arrows, lances, and other arms; and thirty-eight ships, great and small, were burnt.

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From Kuriyat Albuquerque went to Muscat, then the principal port on that coast. On anchoring before the place two noble Moors waited upon him as a deputation from the rulers of the city, and implored him to do the place no injury, as they were willing to be the vassals of the King of Portugal; but, as they came provided with no written credentials, Albuquerque dismissed them without any definite reply, and gave them permission to see him again on the subject on the morrow. An examination of the place showed that a heavily-armed stockade had already been erected for its defence. On the next day the two Moors returned to treat for peace; they agreed to become vassals of the King of Portugal, and to pay to him the dues they had hitherto paid to the King of Ormuz; they also agreed on that occasion to provide the fleet with all the supplies they required, but they declined

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to keep it provisioned so long as it should remain at Ormuz, as Albuquerque had demanded. At this reply Albuquerque was greatly enraged, and he so frightened the envoys by his anger that they ultimately conceded all his demands. The next day supplies were sent to the fleet in great quantities, but the following day no more were sent on board. This, it was speedily ascertained, was due to the fact that during the night a reinforcement of 10,000 men had arrived in the town from the interior, and the Moors thought they were now in a position to defy the Portuguese, and they accordingly assumed a hostile demeanour towards them. Albuquerque thereupon ordered two of his ships to stand in nearer to the shore and to bombard the town, intending to attack it the next morning.

The attack was made before daylight, two parties landing simultaneously at opposite ends of the stockade, one led by Albuquerque himself and the other by Francisco de Tavora and Affonso Lopes da Costa. The Moors resisted the attack with great obstinacy, but had ultimately to yield before the persistent assaults of the Portuguese. The Moors then retired into the town, and the two companies of the Portuguese having united, they formed into one battalion, and marching to the attack, fell on the Moors so fiercely that they were speedily driven out of the town. They then pursued them to some distance beyond, killing all men, women, and children they came up with. Upon returning to the town Albuquerque put to the sword all he found there, irrespective of sex or age, without giving any quarter. Having secured himself against a sudden attack by fortifying himself in the Moors' stockade, he gave permission to his men to sack the town. After this a Moor arrived with a white flag, and asked Albuquerque not to burn the town, which request he agreed to, provided they sent him 10,000 *xerafins* of gold before noon next day. This not being forthcoming at the appointed hour he had the place set

on fire, together with the mosque and all the shipping in the harbour. Some men and women who had been taken prisoners were set at liberty, after having their ears and noses cut off, and the Portuguese then returned to their ships.

The next place reached was Sohar, one of the wealthiest and most important places of trade on that coast, which contained a large fortress requiring more than a thousand persons for its defence. This town submitted unreservedly to the Portuguese, and hoisted the royal flag on its citadel. Before leaving, the Alcaide requested that as the fortress had now submitted to the King of Portugal, Albuquerque would provide the necessary funds for the payment of the garrison. To this he readily assented, and granted the tribute which they should pay as vassals for that purpose. Thence the fleet proceeded to Khau-Fakán, where the inhabitants made not only no sign of submission, but paraded foot and horse troops along the shore. Albuquerque therefore determined to attack them on the following morning. Accordingly at early dawn the boats set out from the fleet, and as soon as they approached the shore they began to fire the mortars they had with them, whereupon the Moors deserted the beach and gathered together into the town. The Portuguese then landed, and having entered the town engaged in a hand-to-hand fight with the Moors, who speedily took to flight and escaped into the neighbouring mountains. The town was then pillaged and burnt, and the prisoners were treated in the usually barbarous manner of having their noses and ears cut off.

Having laid in supplies of water and provisions the fleet proceeded to Ormuz, and anchored in front of the town, each captain, according to orders, holding his men prepared for any emergency. The King of Ormuz having been warned of the approach of the Portuguese fleet, he was fully prepared for an attack, and had collected in the harbour several large vessels, one of 1,000 tons, called the "Meri,"

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belonging to the King of Cambay, with many men and guns; another belonging to the Prince of Cambay, of 600 tons, also well appointed for attack or defence, besides about 200 galleons and a number of terradas, or shore boats, full of small guns and archers. Besides all this there were also some 15,000 or 20,000 armed men on shore. Albuquerque had already been informed of these preparations by a pilot he had taken on board at Khau-Fakán. Before this stupendous armament Albuquerque's small fleet must have presented anything but an imposing appearance.

The captains were rather overawed by the magnitude of the force opposed to them, but, inspired by the determination of Albuquerque, they agreed to fight if necessary. At their suggestion a message was, however, first sent to the King of Ormuz, enquiring whether there was to be peace or war between them, in reply to which the King enquired by Coje Abrahem, his messenger, why Albuquerque had come to his port, and what he wanted. To this Albuquerque answered that his King had sent him to serve the King of Ormuz with his fleet, and that, if the latter would become his vassal and pay him tribute, he would make peace with him and serve him; but if otherwise, Albuquerque threatened that he would destroy the whole fleet then at Ormuz, and take the city by force of arms. The peremptory manner in which this rejoinder was couched was much objected to by the captains, who besought Albuquerque to arrange matters amicably, but to no effect. On receiving this message, the King of Ormuz summoned a council, when Coje Atar, the principal governor of the city, recommended him to protract negotiations with the Portuguese as much as possible until the arrival of the fleet and soldiers sent for from the mainland, which were expected in the course of the next day. The King, therefore, sent Coje Abrahem to express his pleasure at the proposed treaty

of peace; but he desired first to know why Albuquerque had destroyed all his cities along the coast, and had killed all the people he found in them, since if he had received any insults from the rulers of those places it was from him that he ought to have sought redress, instead of destroying them; and as for the tribute he had sent to demand, he would commune with his governors and officers of his revenue, and remit to him the reply they might agree upon. Albuquerque at once concluded that in this reply the King was dissembling, and when he called his captains together to consult with them on the subject they reproached him with having come to Ormuz at all, as this had not been by their advice,* nor of their own will, but that as they were now there it would be desirable to come to some arrangement with the King, which, in view of the overwhelming forces before them, they desired should be concluded peaceably. A suitable response was made to the King, who was urged to conclude matters without further delay; but as negotiations were still further continued, Albuquerque at last sent word that he had now been waiting three days for the King's ultimate reply, and that if this were not received by the following morning he would destroy the fleet and afterwards capture the city by force of arms.

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In the meanwhile the captains, though still disapproving of their leader's action, returned to their ships and made ready for an attack on the morrow, getting their vessels in better position for an assault. The next day, there being no appearance of a satisfactory reply being sent by seven o'clock in the morning, Albuquerque fired

* It is very certain that Albuquerque's captains did not generally support him willingly in these enterprises. When at Muscat João da Nova had desired to leave him and proceed direct to India, but his intentions were discovered and frustrated for the time; several of them, however, did afterwards desert him.

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a broadside, which sent two large ships to the bottom with all their crews, one belonging to the Prince of Cambay and the other to Melique Az of Diu. The fight now became general, and the Moors defended themselves with desperate courage. Albuquerque ran his ship into the "Meri," and killed many of the men on board, and at last the Moors began throwing themselves into the sea to escape the fire from the Portuguese guns; whereupon the captains took to their boats, and rowed about, killing the men in the water. Others boarded the "Meri," and having killed all remaining on board, they turned her guns upon the city. Many other large ships were also taken by the Portuguese, and by three o'clock in the afternoon the King's fleet had been entirely routed and destroyed. Albuquerque then sent detachments, who landed and burnt all the houses in the suburbs and all the ships he found moored to the shore. Seeing the complete defeat of the King's fleet and forces, Coje Atar sent a flag of truce, begging for peace, and offering to deliver up the city to the Portuguese. As, however, Albuquerque had not men enough to take possession of the city, he concluded a treaty with the King, under which he was to pay to the King of Portugal a yearly tribute. Albuquerque first demanded an annual payment of 30,000 xeraphins, which sum, however, the King declared his inability to raise, as the kingdom was quite ruined and impoverished, but begged that he would accept 6,000 xeraphins yearly, and 5,000 towards the expenses of the fleet. The captains were in favour of accepting this offer, but Albuquerque refused to be guided by them, and subsequently reduced his demand to 15,000 xeraphins' annual tribute, and the payment down of 5,000 xeraphins towards the expenses of the fleet. These terms the King ultimately agreed to, and also that the merchandise coming from Portugal to the factory should be free of duty, while that bought by the Portuguese in Ormuz and in its ports should not pay more duty than what the natives of the land paid.

A treaty* was then concluded with the King of Ormuz, bearing date September, 1507, of which two copies were made, the one in gold-leaf, of the size of a sheet of paper, made up like a book, written in Arabic, with letters engraved on it, and its binding of gold with three golden seals hanging appended by chains,—namely, the seals of the King, of Coje Atar, his governor, and of the city. The other was written in Persian, on paper with letters of gold and stops blue. Both these copies were sent by Albuquerque, placed in silver caskets, to King Dom Manoel. Albuquerque then confirmed the King and the governors in their titles to hold the kingdom on behalf of the King of Portugal; and early on Monday morning, the 10th October, 1507, with great ceremony, a white satin flag with a cross of Christus was presented to the King as an emblem of his vassalage. This, after having been carried in state through the streets of the city, was afterwards hoisted over the loftiest tower of the palace.

Peace being now concluded, Albuquerque had an audience with the King at the head of the jetty, which was conducted with much state ceremonial, and as he was embarking, the King gave him a girdle of gold and a dagger ornamented with gold, a horse very richly caparisoned, and two pieces of jewelled brocade; and to each of the captains and fidalgos he gave a piece of silk. After this the Portuguese repeatedly visited the town, which they now could do with safety. Albuquerque next demanded a site whereon to erect a fort, and was offered land for that purpose on either of the islands of Kishm or of Turumbake, or on the mainland at Naband. Having examined all these places, Albuquerque sent to say that he thought the best site would be on the point of Morona, as from thence he

* The original of this treaty has long been missing, and it is believed that no properly authenticated copy of it now exists. There is, however, a version of it given in Castanheda liv. ii., cap. lxiii., but this differs in some details from the particulars given above.

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Whilst this work was in progress, Albuquerque directed Pero Vaz de Orta to open a house in the city, to which he sent various merchandise to begin trade with the Moors, and he gave instructions that all goods should be sold very cheap, so as to gain the goodwill of the people. He also appointed Martim Vaz an inspector, who, with twelve men, was to parade the town and take up any Portuguese who might be misconducting himself in the place. Having arranged all these matters, Albuquerque determined to have all his vessels careened and refitted; but, as he did not feel any confidence in Coje Atar, he gave orders that only one ship should be laid up at a time. Whilst this work was proceeding Reys Nordim informed Albuquerque, on behalf of his King, that there had arrived at Ormuz a captain of Sheikh Ismael to demand the tribute due from him every year, and enquired of him what reply should be sent back. Albuquerque gave answer that as Ormuz now belonged to the King of Portugal, gained by his fleet and his men, his master might know of a certainty that if any tribute should be paid to any other king except the King Dom Manoel, his lord, he would take the government of the kingdom and give it to someone who would not be afraid of Sheikh Ismael. He also sent some cannon-balls, guns, matchlocks, and grenades, with a message that the King

might send all these to the captain of Sheikh Ismael, for that was the sort of money wherewith the King of Portugal had ordered his captains to pay the tribute of that kingdom, that was under his mastery and command. He, for his part, would promise him that, as soon as the fortress was completed, he would enter the Persian Straits and render tributary to the King of Portugal, his master, all the places which the Sheikh Ismael held on that shore, and when he got there they might demand the tribute due from the King of Ormuz; for he would pay it to them in very good money. After this Albuquerque conciliated Reys Nordim, Coje Atar, and the three chief Moors, with whom the King took counsel, with some handsome gifts. At the request of the King he sent some young men on shore to exhibit before him their prowess in shooting; he subsequently gave up the ship "Meri," and also some prisoners taken in the war, together with some of Coje Atar's servants, who had also been captured. A Moorish captain of one of the ships belonging to Ormuz, hearing of this liberality, ventured to ask that his vessel, which had been unloading when the war broke out, but had been taken and armed by Coje Atar, might be restored to him, exhibiting at the same time safe passes which he held from Dom Lourenço. This was also complied with, and a safe pass given him, together with a letter to the Viceroy, giving him an account of what he had done, and the determination he had come to, begging him at once to send reinforcements of men, small vessels, galleys, and munitions of war, and adding that he did not send this dispatch by one of his own ships by reason of the great need he had for them. This letter Albuquerque showed confidentially to Antonio do Campo, who not only informed Coje Atar of its contents, but misrepresented the same to certain captains and fidalgos of the fleet, and so spread a spirit of discontent and insubordination amongst them.

The principal tower of the fortress at Ormuz had by

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January, 1508, been so far completed as to be able to protect itself, and Albuquerque thereupon had a ship laden with all necessary provisions and stores for the relief of the fortress of Socotra, and the rest of the fleet was made ready for the voyage. He then consulted with the captains as to whether it would be best to finish the fortress or to proceed at once to Socotra, and they, being entirely opposed to all that he had done at Ormuz, with only one exception expressed an opinion that it would be more advantageous to the State to proceed at once to Guardafui to intercept the ships coming from India with spices for the Straits than to stay building a fortress, which, as soon as it was left, would be taken by the Moors. Jorge Barreto, however, was of opinion that he ought to ensure the safety of affairs at Ormuz, and complete the fortress. Albuquerque sided in opinion with Jorge Barreto, whereupon the other captains sent him a written remonstrance, which he destroyed and took no notice of. It coming to the knowledge of the captains that Albuquerque had destroyed their remonstrance, they sent him another, which all signed with the exception of João da Nova. This second remonstrance Albuquerque, without even unfolding it, ordered to be placed beneath a stone of the doorway of the tower, which was just then being laid, which on this account came afterwards to be called the "Doorway of the Remonstrance." This contempt for their opinions infuriated the captains, who now not only endeavoured to thwart Albuquerque in all he was doing, but circulated a report that he was constructing the fortress to elevate himself by its means, and make himself lord of the kingdom. They also made the crews of their respective vessels discontented by telling them that Albuquerque had deprived them of their share of the tribute which they were entitled to receive.

When all this insubordination came to the knowledge of Albuquerque, he endeavoured to appease the captains,

and he showed them a copy of the letter he had written to the Viceroy to prove to them that in what they had been informed of its contents by Antonio do Campo they had been deceived. They, however, refused to accept Albuquerque's statements, and asserted that the one he showed them was not the letter they complained of, but that he had written another. Thereupon Albuquerque tore up the letter before them, and told them to write another of their own choice, and he would sign it.

Albuquerque next summoned the masters, pilots, mariners, and gunners, and showed them the instructions he held from the King Dom Manoel; and, with regard to the charge that he had robbed them of their shares of the tribute, he offered to deposit as much as their claims would come to with two responsible men, until the Viceroy should decide the issue of the affair; but they, incited to mutiny by their captains, refused to accept his proposals, and declared that they would neither labour at the works, nor yet fight, so long as he refused to pay them their dues. Albuquerque endeavoured to soothe them by reason and argument, but so involved were they in the mutiny that his words had no effect upon them. In an interview which he had shortly afterwards with Francisco de Tavora, the latter threatened to make his escape from the fleet so soon as it should set sail.

The mutinous spirit of the captains was now such that Albuquerque summoned them all on board his ship, and after remonstrating with them for their insubordination, and urging them to co-operate with him in the work before them, he ordered them to their respective ships, and forbade them to go on shore any more. He suspended Francisco de Tavora from the command of his vessel because he had told him he meant to fly, and he appointed Diniz Fernandes de Mello in his place.

Coje Atar, who had always managed to be kept well

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informed of what was going on in the Portuguese vessels, was immediately advised, by four men who deserted from the fleet, of the rupture that had taken place between Albuquerque and his captains, who also informed him that, on his return from the Straits, Albuquerque intended to establish himself in Ormuz, and break out into opposition with the aid of the fortress, as soon as it should be completed. Coje Atar had already repented of having given permission for the erection of a fortress, and after the information he had received from the deserters he consulted with some of the leading Moors of the place, and, in accordance with the decision then arrived at, he sent word by Pero Vaz de Orta, the factor, to Albuquerque that complaints had reached him from the rulers of the land to the effect that he, Albuquerque, was building the fortress in view that he might rise up in rebellion and destroy Ormuz; and should it be so he would not permit another stone to be put upon it. Albuquerque sent a dignified reply to this charge, and shortly afterwards he went, with all his captains, to the fortress to receive a message which Reys Nordim informed him the King was desirous he should receive in their presence. Reys Nordim, however, never arrived to deliver the message, which Albuquerque subsequently discovered was to the effect that he should get up at once out of the port with his fleet and be gone.

The knowledge that this was the message intended to have been sent greatly enraged Albuquerque, but he clearly perceived that Coje Atar had been acting at the instigation of the mutinous captains. He, however, kept his own counsel in this matter, and sent to Coje Atar demanding the surrender of the four men who had deserted from his ships. He, however, dissembled in the matter, and at the expiration of five days, within which Coje Atar had promised to surrender the men, as he had not done so, and Gaspar Rodriguez, the interpreter, had ascertained that barriers were being erected in the town

on either side of the Portuguese factory, Albuquerque contrived to withdraw the factor and all his men from the city.

At last, after further delays, Albuquerque sent a peremptory message for the immediate delivery of the runaways, as he would not put up with the delay any longer. Another difficulty, however, still awaited him. His captains, who two days previously had advised him to destroy the city should the deserters not be given up, now presented him with a protest against doing anything of the sort, in which they said, "In case of your worship's landing in Ormuz, or at the city, we are determined not to go with you, nor enter into such a war, nor such designs; and that this may be known for certain, and we be not able to deny it hereafter, we all sign our names here, this day, the fifth of the month of January, in the year fifteen hundred and eight." The signatories of this document were João da Nova, Antonio do Campo, Affonso Lopes da Costa, Francisco de Tavora, and Manoel Telles. At an interview which Albuquerque subsequently had with these men, they all adhered to what they had written, with the exception of Francisco de Tavora, who promised to do all that might be required of him; but after he had left them the rest of the captains sent to beg pardon of Albuquerque for what they had so recently said, and promised to obey his commands.

As he still doubted of their sincerity, Albuquerque deprived all the captains of their commands, intending to appoint in their places men on whom he could rely. However, on their again expressing regret, he forgave them, and reinstated them in their ships. The next day all the vessels attacked the city with great fury, but after a bombardment of two days, in which they destroyed many buildings in the city, as the carriages of the larger guns were split in pieces by the firing, Albuquerque withdrew, and blockaded the island all round, thus preventing any supplies or water from entering the city.

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Albuquerque now resolved not to proceed to the Straits of Guardafui, but he sent Manoel Telles thither to succour the fortress of Socotra, and with instructions that, should he meet any vessels coming from Portugal, he was to order them to proceed at once to Ormuz. He was also to bring back all the munitions of war he could find, of which the fleet had then much need. Having discovered that the Moors obtained water from some wells at Turumbake, at the head of the island, Albuquerque sent thither an expedition one night, who, having killed many of the guard that was placed there to protect the wells, and having driven off the rest, filled them with dead bodies, and then returned to the fleet.

The distress at last became so severe in the city that people flocked to the King's palace, and demanded that the four Christians should be given up so as to put a stop to their troubles. Thereupon the King sent to Albuquerque to say he was sorry for all that had taken place, which, he swore, did not originate with himself, and that if he would spare the city further destruction he would do all that was desired of him. To this Albuquerque replied that if the King was desirous of making terms and peace with him he ought, first of all, to order a surrender of the fortress to the King of Portugal, his master, and his men whom he had seized, and all the goods that remained in the factory, and to pay all the expenses incurred; and, when all this had been satisfactorily settled, they could then deliberate in concert, for under any other consideration he would have no communication with him. The King, however, replied that he would not surrender the fortress, but would give him as much money as he wished. Albuquerque, therefore, went on with the war as before. Shortly after this he had a severe altercation with João da Nova, whom he discovered holding intercourse with the enemy, and who besides refused to obey his commands. He therefore ordered a court of enquiry to be held regarding the mutiny that existed

on da Nova's ship, the result of which was that the captain and all the men were found to be so guilty that it was deemed best to forgive them since there was so great necessity for their services; and da Nova, who had been arrested, was accordingly restored to his command.

Upon returning from a successful expedition to Kishm, where the Portuguese obtained supplies and water, a large fleet of ships was discovered from the mast-head of one of their vessels, under weigh opposite the island of Larack. Albuquerque thereupon dispatched Affonso Lopes da Costa, Manoel Telles, and Antonio do Campo to encounter them. This fleet, it was afterwards discovered, consisted of sixty vessels, with 4,000 men, who had been sent at the request of Coje Atar to protect the water supplies round Ormuz. On the approach of the three Portuguese vessels the Moorish ships fled, and, as the former were unable to overtake them, they returned and anchored off Larack. As they did not return to the fleet, Albuquerque sent after them, and it was then discovered that they, having laid in water and provisions, had started off to India, leaving Albuquerque with only three ships before Ormuz. After taking some days to think over his position, Albuquerque decided to raise the siege of Ormuz, and himself proceed to the relief of Socotra. He then arranged that João da Nova, to whom he gave letters to the Viceroy informing him of the manner in which the three captains had deserted him, should also proceed to India as well as Jorge Barreto. But before their departure an enquiry was held concerning the flight of the captains, the results of which he sent home to Dom Manoel, that he might be duly informed of all the circumstances of their desertion.

In a letter to the Viceroy, of the 6th February, 1508, Albuquerque informed him that, in order to quell the mutiny on board the "Flor da la mar," he had been forced to pay the crews of that vessel a portion of the money re-

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ceived as tribute from the King of Ormuz, just as if it were prize-money and not the King's treasure. With regard to Ormuz, he said, "Do not be convinced by anyone that I made peace, or came to any arrangement with Ormuz, as such was not the case. After having completely defeated the enemy, I reinstated the King on condition that he ruled and governed the place in the name, and for the benefit, of King Dom Manoel, and made an annual payment of 15,000 xeraphins tribute; and also on the understanding that the place should be surrendered whenever demanded. It is, therefore, not a question of peace I have arranged with him, but solely and simply a capture I have made by force of arms." In another letter of the 15th February he confirmed the statement that Ormuz would remain loyal to Portugal, and would continue the payment of the annual tribute of 15,000 xeraphins. He also announced his intention of sailing for Socotra and wintering there.

As Albuquerque was about to sail, a message arrived from the King expressing a desire to retain his friendship, but excusing himself from returning the four deserters, as they had now become his brothers. Albuquerque, in reply, declined to make any arrangement with him, and threatened to return shortly and deprive him of the kingdom of Ormuz, finish the fortress, and requite him doubly for all the loss and damage his fleet had received. Albuquerque then departed, accompanied by Francisco de Tavora and João da Nova, towards Socotra, but on reaching Sohar he missed the "Flor da la mar," da Nova's ship, and concluded that he also had deserted, and sailed for India. Entering the Gulf of Aden he captured a Moorish ship from Mecca, richly laden. On arrival at Socotra he found the captain of the fort very ill, and the garrison, for want of provisions, reduced to eating palm-leaves for food. Having relieved the garrison, Albuquerque sent Francisco de Tavora to Melinde for further provisions and stores for the fortress, with instructions to

join him afterwards at Guardafui, whither he himself then proceeded. At the end of April Francisco de Tavora arrived at Guardafui, and brought with him in his company Diogo de Mello and Martim Coelho, whom he found at Melinde, they having recently arrived there from Portugal. On the 15th of May Albuquerque set sail, accompanied by the ships then with him, for Socotra, where he found that the people of the island had risen against the garrison, so he determined to winter there. Having chastised the inhabitants, he forced them into an agreement to send annually to the fortress of S. Miguel a tribute of 600 head of sheep, twenty cows, and forty bags of dates.

Before leaving Socotra it was deemed necessary to cut away the high castles of the "Rey Grande," in order to make her more seaworthy; but this so disgusted Francisco de Tavora that he voluntarily resigned the command of that ship; but when he would be restored to that position again Albuquerque refused to comply with his request, but appointed Diniz Fernandes as captain. Albuquerque sailed from Socotra on the 15th August, and having arrived at Kalhāt he sent to enquire who was the captain of that place, and, finding it was Xarafadin, a servant of Coje Atar, he sent to demand his presence on his ship, but, as he refused to come, Albuquerque landed his forces, and drove the Moors out of the city, but they, seeing how few in number the Portuguese were, returned to attack them, but were again repulsed. Albuquerque then gave the city over to his men to be sacked, after which he burnt the place and all the ships in the harbour. Whilst the town was being sacked 500 Moors returned and forced an entrance through one of the gates; they then divided into two battalions, in order thereby to surround the Portuguese. This movement was, however, speedily detected, and after much hard street-fighting the Moors were again driven out. Having, in a barbarous manner, cut off the ears and noses of all that had been captured, they were set free, and the Portuguese then all returned to their ships.

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Having learnt from a Moor, who had come on board with a present before the attack on Kalhāt, that Ormuz was in straits for want of provisions and water, and that the Rustazes had rebelled against the King, and gone away with all their people on account of the actions of Coje Atar, Albuquerque, after dismissing the Moor with a present, informed his captains of the state of affairs at Ormuz, who were all agreed that he ought to proceed thither at once. The fleet accordingly sailed the next morning, and, having arrived at their destination, so arranged the vessels as to blockade the city and prevent any help or provisions arriving for its relief.

On the approach of the Portuguese fleet Coje Atar had all the non-combatants conducted to the mainland, and sent away all paraos and vessels to prevent them from being burnt.

It was ascertained from a Moor, who was caught one night when fishing, that Coje Atar had constructed two strong bulwarks on his fortress which were armed with several guns, and that every preparation had been made to withstand a long siege. For three days Albuquerque's vessels retained their positions, and held no communication with the shore, but after that time Coje Atar sent him a letter demanding that, in obedience to the Viceroy's orders, he should not make any entry into the kingdom, islands, and lands of Ormuz, and at the same time enclosing for his perusal letters from the Viceroy to the King and to himself respectively, both of which were couched in friendly terms to themselves and in condemnation of Albuquerque's proceedings.

In reply Albuquerque remarked that the letter to himself bore no signature, neither did those said to have been addressed by the Viceroy to the King and to Coje Atar, and he therefore doubted their authenticity. He said, however, that in obedience to the letter and command of the Viceroy he demanded the payment of the tribute now due, and refused to stir thence until it was

paid. Coje Atar, however, declared the inability of the place to pay anything at present, since all trade there had been for the time destroyed; he also argued that the 100,000 xeraphins and upwards which Albuquerque had taken at Kalhāt made a good set-off against the 15,000 xeraphins now claimed, since that place belonged to the King of Ormuz; and he concluded the letter by stating that in Ormuz there was no deficiency in either men, supplies, or arms. To this Albuquerque sent a long reply, justifying his actions, and throwing all the blame of what had occurred on Coje Atar.

After dispatching this letter, Albuquerque sent Gaspar Rodriques, the interpreter, to Coje Atar, to say that if he wished to avoid war the tribute should be paid within eight days, but he, in reply, positively refused to pay tribute, either to him or to anyone else, even if the Viceroy himself were to order him to do so. At the end of eight days, as the tribute was not paid, another message was sent demanding the surrender of the deserters under pain of war if not complied with. To this, however, an evasive reply was returned; but as the Portuguese were not in a position to attack, owing to the leaky condition of their vessels, they again surrounded the island, preventing supplies from arriving, and capturing boats. One boat captured belonged to the Rustazes, which was released, and by it a letter was sent to the captains of the Rustazes offering to make over to them the government of the kingdom of Ormuz if they would assist in driving Coje Atar out of the place. Some delay occurred in sending a reply of this offer, which was, however, ultimately accepted, but by this time Albuquerque had determined to proceed to India, and he therefore postponed any further action in the matter until he should return.

Having been informed that Coje Atar had ordered a fleet to be built at Julfar to burn the Portuguese vessels, and that Sheikh Ismael had sent an expedition to reinforce the

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King of Ormuz, which had already reached Nabond,* and were only waiting for a safe passage to cross over, Albuquerque directed Diogo de Mello to be on the look-out for the arrival of the fleet, and he, together with the other captains, made an attack on the force at Nabond one night, and having driven off the troops after a long hand-to-hand fight, and killed the two captains who were in command, he sacked and burnt the place before returning to the ships. Shortly afterwards Albuquerque sailed for India without holding any further communication with Coje Atar. Sheikh Ismael, being much impressed by the power of the Portuguese, sent ambassadors with the view of making friendly terms with Albuquerque, but on their arrival he had already started for India.

The fleet sailed first to Anjediva, and after remaining there for three days proceeded to Cananor, where Albuquerque found the Viceroy in company with the captains who had deserted him. The events which immediately followed the arrival of Albuquerque in India, until the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida delivered over the government to him, on the 5th of November, 1509, have been related in the preceding chapter, and need not be again enlarged on here. Before giving an account of the stirring events by which Albuquerque distinguished himself as Viceroy of India, it will be necessary, in order to make this history complete, briefly to refer to the expeditions which sailed for India between the departure of Albuquerque from Lisbon and his assumption of the government in succession to Dom Francisco de Almeida.

About the middle of April, 1507, an expedition, consisting of twelve ships, in four captaincies, set out from Lisbon under the command-in-chief of Jorge de Mello Pereira, as follows: Jorge de Mello Pereira, chief captain, in the ship "Belem"; Henrique Nunes de Leão, in "S. Antonio"; Fernão Soares, chief captain; Ruy da Cunha,

* Nabond is three leagues from Ormuz, and was the place whence Ormuz was supplied with water.

in "S. Gabriel"; Gonçalo Carneiro; Filippe de Castro, chief captain; Jorge de Castro, his brother; Vasco Gomes de Abreu, chief captain: Lopo Cabreira; Pero Lourenço, Ruy Gonçalves de Valladares, in "S. Simão" and João Chanoça. Another account gives the names of the captains with a slight variation, thus: Captains Henrique Nunes de Leão, Fillippe de Castro, chief captain; Jorge de Castro, Fernão Soares, chief captain; Ruy da Cunha, Gonçalo Carneiro, Vasco Gomes de Abreu, chief captain; Ruy de Brito Patalim, Ruy de Valladares, Lopo Cabreira, Martim Coelho, and Diogo de Mello. The principal object of this expedition appears to have been the erection of a fortress at Mozambique. All the fleet wintered at that place, and the crew were employed in constructing a stone fort at Sofala, which was named "S. Gabriel," attached to which they added a hospital and church. Very little information regarding this expedition seems to be in existence, but from what is forthcoming it appears that Vasco Gomes de Abreu remained as captain of the fortress, with five of the fleet to act as a guard over the coast of Melinde. In the spring of 1508 Fernão Soares alone went to India during the April monsoon to carry a message to the Viceroy, and Henrique Nunes de Leão returned to Portugal with the lading of the ship "Leitoa," which could not proceed on account of its leaky condition; but according to one authority this vessel was lost at night at the island of Tristão da Cunha.

An expedition appears to have been sent out in April, 1508, consisting of thirteen vessels, under Jorge de Aguiar, which went to the coasts of Ethiopia and Arabia; and another of four vessels, in May, 1509, under the command of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, whose instructions were to discover the island of S. Lourenço (Madagascar), and in the event of its being found [illegible]duce the cloves and drugs mentioned by Tristão da [illegible], he was to load and return to Portugal; but if [illegible]he was to proceed to the discovery of Malacca, and [illegible]nand tribute. Diogo Lopes went to

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S. Lourenço, but finding no spices there, he began his voyage to Malacca, and on the way put into Cochin, owing to stress of weather. The vessels, after repairing and taking in Cochin pilots, resumed their voyage in August, 1509. Diogo Lopes also took with him some slaves who spoke the Malacca tongue, and being favoured with fine weather, reached his destination in safety. On the arrival of this expedition the King sent off to enquire the object of the visit, to which Diogo Lopes replied that he had come for trading purposes, and also in the hope that the King would conclude a treaty with Portugal after the manner of the Kings of Cochin, Cananor, Ceylon, and Melinde. The captains who accompanied de Sequeira in this expedition were Jeronymo Teixeira, in the ship "Santa Clara," Gonçalo de Sousa, and João Nunes. The King of Malacca favourably entertained the proposals made to him, and gave the Portuguese permission to land and trade with his people, whereupon Diogo Lopes sent on shore a merchant named Ruy de Aranjo, with presents for the King, and instructions to obtain from His Majesty some houses as near the water as possible. This request was complied with, and Ruy de Aranjo, accompanied by eight companions, settled themselves there, and carried on a very large trade with the natives.

This naturally raised the jealousy of the Moorish merchants, who took every opportunity of exciting the King's suspicions against the Portuguese, telling him that they always adopted the method of introducing themselves to foreign nations as peaceful merchants, and after a time declared war and made the people vassals. These representations had the desired effect, and the King accordingly made preparations to massacre the Portuguese, for which purpose, about two months after their first arrival at Malacca, he equipped a large fleet behind a w[illegible]es d[illegible]land not far from that town. A night was fixed on [illegible]in; Ruy [illegible]attack on the factory, but the Portuguese had been [illegible]plied w[illegible] their guard by a native woman who was on terms o[illegible]endship with

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one of the men in the place. Having thus warned the factory, she swam to the boats moored off the town, by whom the alarm was conveyed to the Portuguese ships. The attack speedily followed, and those in the factory made a stubborn resistance, but were overpowered and forced to surrender. The Portuguese ships bombarded the town during the night, but perceiving on the morning that the factory had been demolished, Diogo Lopes sent a boat ashore with a flag of truce. The boat was, however, fired on, and returned to the ships, whereupon the fleet set sail and returned to Colombo, whence Diogo Lopes, in one of his ships, returned to Lisbon, and communicated to the King a most glowing account of the riches of Malacca.*

In the same year (1509) Dom Fernando Coutinho, Marshal of Portugal, set sail, with fifteen ships and 3,000 men, on the 12th March, and he carried with him orders that Affonso de Albuquerque was to succeed to the government of India. Amongst those who accompanied him were Francisco de Sá; Leonel Coutinho, son of Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, went in the "Flor da Rosa"; Ruy Freire, son of Nuno Fernandes Freire, in the "Garça"; Jorge da Cunha, in the "Magdalena"; Rodrigo Rabello de Castello-Branco, in the "Santa Clara"; Braz Teixeira, in the "Ferroa"; and Francisco Marecos, in the "S. Francisco." Of all these fifteen ships, that of Francisco Marecos alone did not pass over to India. As has been stated in the preceding chapter, Dom Fernando Coutinho arrived at Cananor, on the 29th October, 1509, whence he carried Affonso de Albuquerque to Cochin, and established him in the government in succession to Dom Francisco de Almeida. The further movements of Dom Fernando Coutinho's fleet will be recorded in the next chapter in connection with the proceedings of Affonso de Albuquerque.

* Ludovico di Barthemy, who visited Malacca about this date, remarked:—"The city of Melacha is on the mainland, and pays tribute to the King of Cini (Siam), who caused this place to be built about eighty years ago, because there is a good port there, which is the principal part of the main ocean. And truly I believe that more ships arrive here than in any other place in the world, and especially there come here all sorts of spices and an immense quantity of other merchandise."—*Hakluyt Society*, Vol. XXXII., p. 223.

CHAPTER VII.

Assumption of Office by Affonso de Albuquerque—Expedition against Calicut—Death of Marshal Dom Fernando Coutinho—Proposed Expedition to the Red Sea, subsequently diverted to an Attack on Goa—Capture of Goa—Ambassador sent to Sheikh Ismael—New Currency for Goa—Attack on Goa by Adil Khan's Forces—Recapture of Goa—Death of Dom Antonio de Noronha—Revolt of Captains against the Execution of Ruy Diaz—Rebellion in the State of Cochin—Second Capture of Goa—Ambassador from the King of Cambay—Letter to the Adil Khan—Defeat of Adil Khan's Troops—Embassy from the Zamorin—Increase of Trade at Goa—Marriage of Portuguese with Native Women at Goa—Proposed Expedition to Malacca.

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On Sunday, the 5th of November, 1509, Affonso de Albuquerque assumed the office of Captain-General and Governor of India, on the departure of the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida. After de Almeida had left Cochin, the Marshal Dom Fernando Coutinho summoned to his house Gaspar Pereira, Secretary of India, and informed him that the King had ordered him, in his instructions, to destroy Calicut before his return to Lisbon, and instructed him to inform Affonso de Albuquerque of the same, and to ascertain from him his views on the subject. Albuquerque expressed himself very well pleased at this intention, for he had become so wearied with the Zamorin that, he said, there was nothing he would undertake with greater pleasure than the destruction of Calicut. All the necessary preliminaries having been arranged, in order to disguise the object of the expedition Albuquerque arranged that it should be given out that he was about to attack Goa, and negotiations were opened with Timoja to give assistance in that enterprise.

The King of Cochin, who had been informed of the real

object of the enterprise, sent two Brahmins to Calicut, to spy out the state of the city and the extent of its army. He also wrote to certain lords of the mountainous country, his vassals and friends, instructing them to commence a war with the Zamorin on the interior frontier country, and so draw off his armies from Calicut. He also supplied Albuquerque with twenty paráos, to be used in disembarking soldiers. The Brahmins who had been sent to spy out the condition of Calicut reported that the Zamorin had gone into the interior of the country to a war which was raging there; that in the city itself there were but few Nairs; that on the jetty they had made some wooden stages, on which were placed six large *bombards*, and that all along the beach many holes had been dug, in order that the men when they landed should fall into them. After a council which was held to consider the matter it was decided to set out on the last day of December.

Just as the fleet was about to sail, Vasco da Silveira arrived from Socotra, and urgently demanded assistance for Duarte de Lemos, who was chief captain on the coast of Arabia, but, under the circumstances, this could not at once be granted. The expedition against Calicut consisted of twenty ships of war, besides paráos carrying 2,000 Portuguese. The following are the names of the captains and fidalgos who accompained the Marshal and Affonso de Albuquerque: Dom Antonio de Noronha, Leonel Coutinho, Manuel Paçanha, Pero Affonso de Aguiar, Ruy Freire, Gomes Freire, Francisco de Sousa Mancyas, Jorge da Cunha, Francisco de Sá, Francisco Corvinel, Fernão Peres de Andrade, Simão de Andrade (his brother), Jorge da Silveira, Manuel de Lacerda, Bastião de Miranda, Antonio da Costa, Duarte de Mello, Francisco Pereira Coutinho, Simão Martins, Gonçalo de Almeida, Gaspar de las Indias, who was the interpreter, and Gaspar Pereira, the secretary.

The expedition left Cochin on the last day of December, 1509, and came to an anchorage in front of the port of

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Calicut on 3rd January, 1510. The Zamorin was at the time absent, as had been reported by the Brahmins, and there were but few troops in the town. On the morning of the 4th January the Portuguese landed, and speedily drove away the Moors from their stockades, capturing six large *bombards*, whereupon the majority of the defenders retired to the city. Notwithstanding the heat, which was then very great, and the fatigue of the soldiers, the Marshal, in opposition to the advice of Affonso de Albuquerque, who recommended that the troops should be allowed some rest before undertaking anything further, insisted upon at once pressing on to the city. On arrival at the mosque he commanded it to be set on fire, and when the Marshal reached the palace of the Zamorin he was too tired to stir any further.

Hitherto but little opposition had been met with, but now the enemy increased in numbers, and threatened to cut off the retreat of the Portuguese. The Marshal made several violent attacks upon them, and on each occasion forced them to retreat; but, although repeatedly warned by Albuquerque to retire, he refused to do so. At last, however, he consented, and ordering Albuquerque to lead the vanguard, he brought up the rear, but before retiring he set fire to the palace. A body of Nairs then attacked the rearguard, and after fighting against superior numbers for some time the Portuguese were put to flight. The Marshal and his lieutenant, Manuel Paçanha, Vasco da Silveira, Leonel Coutinho, Filippe Rodrigues, and some others were killed, whilst Albuquerque received two wounds in the shoulder, and had to be carried down to the ships. But for the timely arrival of Dom Antonio de Noronha and Rodrigo Rabello with reinforcements, the rout would no doubt have been more disastrous, but on seeing these fresh troops arrive the Nairs desisted from the pursuit, and retired.

On the following day the expedition returned to Cochin, but Jorge Botelho and Simão Affonso in their caravels

remained behind, and lay off the port with orders not to allow any ship to sail away from that coast with spices. Upon hearing of this attack on Calicut, the Zamorin broke up his camp and returned to his capital, but did not arrive until some days after the Portuguese had retired, and he was greatly angered at the damage that had been done there. Affonso de Albuquerque being deeply concerned at the loss of the Marshal and the fidalgos who had been slain with him, determined to exact vengeance for their loss, to which end he dispatched Friar Luiz with a letter to the King of Narsinga, with the view of securing his assistance by land, whilst the Portuguese operated by sea, for the destruction of the Zamorin. In return for this assistance Albuquerque promised that the trade in horses from Ormuz should all go to Bhatkal instead of to ports of the King of Deccan; he also asked for a site for a settlement and factory in any place within his ports of Bhatkal and Mangalor. Other important events, however, interfered for a time with this intended renewed expedition against Calicut.

Two days after the departure of Fr. Luiz, two vessels, of the fleet commanded by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, arrived, and with them came Nuno Vaz de Castello-Branco, who related to him all that had taken place at Malacca, and how Diogo Lopes himself had proceeded from Kayan Koulam direct to Portugal.

As soon as Albuquerque had recovered from his wounds he set to work at once to refit all the ships, vessels, and galleys which the Viceroy had left in a dismantled state at the time of his departure for Portugal, and when this had been accomplished he summoned his captains, and informed them that he had determined to go to Socotra and unite with Duarte de Lemos, and thence proceed to the Straits of the Red Sea, in search of the fleet of the Grand Soldan, and in case of not finding it, to proceed to Suez, and attack that place, with the view of destroying the trade of the Turks with India. After this he contemplated going to

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Ormuz, to complete the fort which had been commenced there on the occasion of his previous visit. Accordingly, having provided the fortress of Cochin with men, military requirements, and other stores, together with a fleet of vessels to protect the coast, he set out from thence on 10th February, 1510, with a fleet of twenty-three sail, accompanied by the following captains: Dom Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, Garcia de Sousa, who had come from Malacca, Luis Coutinho, Jorge Togaça, Jeronymo Teixeira, João Nunez, Diogo Fernandes de Béja, Jorge da Silveira, Simão Martins, Fernão Peres de Andrade, Simão de Andrade, his brother, Ayres da Silva, Francisco Pantoja, Duarte de Mello, D. Jeronymo de Lima, Francisco Pereira Coutinho, Francisco de Sousa Mancyas, Manuel da Lacerda, Bernaldim Freire, Jorge da Cunha, Antonio da Costa, and Francisco Corvinel, a Florentine by birth.

Albuquerque made his way towards Anjediva, whence he intended to steer across to Cape Guardafui; but when off Mirjan, Timoja went out to him, and having learned from him the object of his expedition, informed him that a captain of the Grand Soldan, with some Rumes (so-called Roman Turks) who had escaped from the rout inflicted upon them by Dom Francisco de Almeida, had arrived at Goa, and that the Çabaio had made important overtures to this captain to the end that he should settle there. Amongst the Rumes were carpenters and caulkers who had built ships and galleys after the model of those in Portugal. This captain, he said, had written to the Grand Soldan to send him soldiers, because he hoped to establish himself strongly at Goa, and that with his help, from that base of operations, they would cast the Portuguese out of India, in order that the spice trade might again be diverted into its former trade channel *viâ* Mecca and Cairo. Timoja added that the Çabaio, lord of Goa, was dead, that the place was not very strong, and inside the city there were not men sufficient for resisting so great a fleet as that of the Portuguese; that the Adil

Khan, his son, was very young, and, on account of the death of his father, great divisions had arisen amongst the lords of the Deccan, so that the present was an excellent opportunity for taking Goa should he feel disposed to attack it.

After mature consideration it was decided to entertain this project, and, accordingly, on the 25th of February, the fleet sailed, and anchored off the castle of Çintácora, where Timoja met them, having arrived from Onor with thirteen fustas and a numerous body of men. He repeated to Albuquerque the information he had previously given him of the condition of Goa, and remarked that if he wanted to possess himself of that place he had only to go there with his men, and they would yield themselves up to him of their own accord. Timoja further undertook to accompany Albuquerque on the expedition with his fustas by sea, and to send many of his men by land, and he also promised that on the anchoring of the fleet in the harbour of Goa, the governors of the city would immediately order the keys of the fortress to be delivered up without any resistance.

Upon this understanding it was determined to make the attempt. Timoja sent by land 2,000 men, led by one of his cousins and by a Moor who had been a captain of the Çabaio, whose name was Melique Çufecondal, who had fled from Goa out of fear of the Çabaio. As soon as the fleet had dropped anchor, Timoja's men went up by land and fell upon the fortress of Cintácora, situated on the banks of the river separating the kingdom of Onor from that of Goa. In this fortress was an alcaide with a body of men, who took to flight as soon as they beheld the Portuguese fleet, and Timoja's men consequently found the fortress deserted. The fortress was immediately thrown down and dismantled, the buildings set on fire, and the artillery taken out. After this Albuquerque proceeded straight to Goa, and anchored over against the town on the 28th February, 1510.

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Before proceeding up the river Albuquerque, on the following morning, sent his nephew D. Antonio de Noronha in command of some boats to sound the depth of water there. When these had arrived opposite the fortress of Pangim the garrison opened fire upon them, but without effect, as their guns were trained too high. Dom Antonio thereupon landed his men, who rushed the fort with such vigour that they drove out all the Moors, who fled towards the city; having taken out all the guns and munitions of war, he set fire to the place. An earthwork opposite to Pangim was next attacked, but on arrival there it was found to have been deserted. Having removed all the guns, &c., the Portuguese returned to their ships, after setting fire to the buildings in this earthwork.

Early the next day two of the principal Moors of the city arrived in a paráo with a message from the captain and inhabitants of Goa to the Captain-General offering to surrender the city to him and to become vassals of the King of Portugal. Before, however, giving them an answer, Affonso de Albuquerque sent Dom Antonio to reconnoitre the city, to see what means of defence it possessed, and at what places the best means of entry could be effected; and having given him time to effect these objects, Albuquerque sent back the messengers with a reply that on condition of the fortress of Goa being surrendered to him, together with all the Rumes and Turks in the city, who were his mortal enemies, he would assure the inhabitants of their lives and treat them with every consideration. In order to take immediate advantage of his success in this respect, Albuquerque made ready all the boats and small vessels and paráos and set out at once, and, crossing the bar, came up with all his force in front of the fortress, where he found Dom Antonio already at anchor. The Captain of Goa in vain attempted to evade giving up the Rumes and Turks, but as Albuquerque was firm on this point, he fled away from the city the same night, in order to avoid surrendering them, after having

stripped the fortress of everything it contained. The city being thus left unprotected, the inhabitants commenced pillaging all they could lay hands on. News to this effect was speedily communicated to Albuquerque by a native, a relation of Timoja.

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During the night all necessary precautions were taken against a surprise, and the next morning (4th March, 1510) Affonso de Albuquerque, accompanied by his captains, about 1,000 Portuguese, and 200 Malabarese, entered Goa, receiving the keys of the fortress from the governor and principal Moors of the city. Here he found a large quantity of artillery and stores, besides forty ships and sixteen fustas, quantities of merchandise, and some spacious stables containing 160 horses, besides the women and children of the Turks and Rumes, who had been left behind in the flight. He then sent and drove the Turks out of the fortresses of Banda and Condal, which were placed in the possession of Hindus to hold on account of the King of Portugal.

Albuquerque's first care, after having obtained possession of Goa, was to repair and strengthen the fortifications in case Adil Khan should attempt to recover the place. He also erected some storehouses for corn and rice, with the view of victualling from thence the other fortresses and the fleets of India, for he had already contemplated making Goa the capital of Portuguese India. Having summoned Timoja to his presence, Albuquerque told him that since the King of Portugal was now lord of the land, it would not be right that he should get less revenues from it than other former lords; that he ought, therefore, to summon a meeting of all the Hindus, and notify to them that from that time forward they would have to pay to the King, their lord, from the property they had, the tribute which hitherto they had been accustomed to pay to the King and lord of Goa. Timoja agreed to do this; but he was, notwithstanding, disappointed that Albuquerque had determined to retain the place, as he had asked that it

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should be handed over to him in return for his past services to the Portuguese, on payment of an annual tribute of 20,000 pardaos (£1,541 13s. 4d.), in which request he obtained the support of almost all the captains, who were anxious to get away from the place themselves. To this, however, Albuquerque would not assent, holding that Goa ought rather to be fortified and held as the principal seat of Portuguese government in India. He also pointed out that the King of Cochin, in return for his services, which far exceeded those of Timoja, only received from the King of Portugal a yearly sum of 500 cruzados, with which he was perfectly content. Albuquerque therefore made Timoja a present of the revenues of all the lands of Mirjan, and appointed him Chief *Aguazil* of the kingdom of Goa, and captain of all the people of the land. He also gave him two houses, which were subsequently found to contain a large quantity of merchandise, by which he became greatly enriched.

Timoja accepted these gifts, but left somewhat discontented, as he had not received all he desired, and in his retirement collected round him a large number of Hindus who followed him out of Goa. This having been reported to Albuquerque, he summoned Timoja back, and in order to secure his services to the State publicly invested him with a drawn sword, ornamented with silver on the handle, and with a ring, as Chief *Aguazil*, and also farmed out to him the lands of Goa—exclusive of the island—for 100,000 cruzados, he agreeing to pay all persons and expenses necessary for its defence.

Shortly after this, ambassadors arrived at Goa from Sheikh Ismael and from the King of Ormuz, with their respective embassies and suites, and presents for the Çabaio. The former, seeing the position of affairs, proved himself equal to the situation, and, presenting Albuquerque, on behalf of his lord, with the gifts he had brought with him, expressed a desire for an alliance with the King of Portugal. The latter confessed that he had been

sent by Coje Atar to the Çabaio, to request his assistance and co-operation against the Portuguese. On the return of these men, Affonso de Albuquerque sent Ruy Gomes with them with letters to Sheikh Ismael and to the King of Ormuz, but, on his arrival at Ormuz, Coje Atar compassed his death by poison, and the letter to Sheikh Ismael was consequently not delivered.

It appears that the Çabaio, after he had become lord of the kingdom of Goa, doubled all the taxes of the people, and on this being represented to Affonso de Albuquerque he at once ordered them to be reduced, so long as the people remained in subjection to the King of Portugal and to his governors of India, to their former rate when subject to the Hindu dynasties, at which they amounted to 150,000 xeraphins, or £9,375 sterling. As soon as this remission of revenue became known, many Hindus who had fled from Goa returned to their original holdings. Albuquerque also appointed Hindu officers for the government of the country and for the collection of revenue, under the general supervision of certain Portuguese, who were appointed *thanadars* of the several districts. Subsequently, it having been represented to him that the people of the city and the merchants were suffering from a great depression consequent on the want of currency, Albuquerque established a Mint, and gave instruction for the coinage of gold, silver, and copper money, the design for which was on the one side a cross of the Order of Christus, and on the other a sphere, the device of the King D. Manoel. Of copper coinage, the smaller was the *dinheiro*, and the larger, consisting of three *dinheiros*, was called the *leal*. The silver coins consisted of the *Mea Espera*, which was equal to one *vintem*, and the *Espera*, or two *vintems* (40 reis, or 2d. in English currency) equal to one Moorish *bragani*. The gold coin was called the *cruzado*, consisting of 34 *vintems*, equal to 17 Moorish *braganis*, or 2s. 10d. in English currency. By the 12th of March a large quantity of money had been coined, and, following the native

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practice, a procession with flags, trumpets, and kettle-drums paraded the city, proclaiming the new coinage, and scattering quantities of it over the heads of the crowds. The currency of the Çabaio's money was then prohibited in Goa.

Affonso de Albuquerque continued to push on vigorously the repair of the fortress at Goa, having received intelligence that the Adil Khan was on his way to recover that place if possible. Some of the captains, desiring the easier life they would have enjoyed at Cochin, joined in a conspiracy against the Captain-General, which was, however, speedily checked by the arrest of the ringleaders. Albuquerque pressed on with the works of fortification with all the rapidity he could, fearing lest the Adil Khan should come upon him before he was fully prepared to resist him.

Whilst he was thus engaged Albuquerque received a letter from Mandaloy, lord of Condal, informing him that Balogi, lord of Pervaloy, and of the kingdom of Sanguiçar, was in communication with Roçal Khan, a captain of the Çabaio, and with Melique Rabão, lord of Carrapetão, and that all these three had sent their ambassadors to Adil Khan, desiring him to furnish them with men, in order that they might, with that assistance, make a descent on the Portuguese, with a view to the recapture of Goa. He also stated that Balogi was already at Banda with 2,000 men, intending to defend that land on behalf of the Adil Khan. Mandaloy, therefore, earnestly requested that Albuquerque would send him some reinforcements for the defence of his territories on behalf of the Portuguese, to whom he was prepared to surrender them. Albuquerque accordingly sent Jorge da Cunha to his assistance with sixty horsemen and several crossbowmen and musketeers, who was accompanied by one of Timoja's captains with 4,000 native troops. Diogo Fernandes de Béja was also sent with three vessels by sea, with instructions to place himself under Jorge da Cunha as soon as he came up with him.

Jorge da Cunha proceeded with his forces to the island of Divar, where he arrived on 23rd April, with the intention of passing over to the mainland the next morning. But that same evening, a native Canarese brought him intelligence that two of Adil Khan's captains had arrived at Banda and Condal with a numerous body of men, who, it was reported, intended to make an attack on Goa. This news having been communicated to Albuquerque, he ordered Da Cunha to return at once to the city with all the men he had with him. At this juncture Albuquerque received a letter from Bersoré, King of Garsopa, informing him that the Adil Khan had sent a messenger to the King of Narsinga, complaining that certain of his subjects, and more particularly Timoja, had assisted the Portuguese in taking Goa from him, and he accordingly called upon him now to assist him in recovering it. The King of Narsinga had, however, replied that forty years ago the Moors of the Deccan had taken the kingdom of Goa from him, and he was not now sorry to see it in the possession of the King of Portugal, and that his intention was to assist the Portuguese in defending the place. The King of Garsopa also offered to place all the resources of his kingdom at the disposal of Albuquerque against the Adil Khan.

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Albuquerque now expedited preparations to resist an attack. He inspected all the passes of the island, and made the necessary arrangements for the defence of them. In Banestarim he placed Garcia de Sousa with a hundred Portuguese soldiers, six horsemen, and four pieces of artillery, with their respective gunners. He also gave special instructions that everyone who passed over to the mainland should be searched, lest they carried with them any letters of advice from the Moors in Goa to the camp of the Adil Khan. In Old Goa he placed Jorge da Cunha with sixty cavalry, and ordered him to hasten to the defence of the other passes should need arise. At the pass of Angim he stationed Timoja's cousin and Mir Ali, with his own company. At Gondalim he placed Fran-

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cisco Pereira and Francisco de Sousa Mancyas, with 1,000 native soldiers. In the dry pass he left Jorge Fogaça with twenty Portuguese and twenty native soldiers, and in the pass of Agasim, Dom Jeronymo de Lima with forty Portuguese soldiers and a number of natives. At all these passes there were towers, which had been constructed when the Kings of Narsinga were in possession of Goa, and these Albuquerque ordered to be supplied with artillery, powder, and gunners for their defence in case they should be attacked by the Adil Khan's forces. The boats of the ships were also ordered to be kept close at hand to afford refuge in case of necessity. Dom Antonio de Noronha was appointed to the command of a fleet of boats, galleys, paráos, and some small vessels with men and guns, to visit all the passes and render such assistance as might be required.

It was very soon discovered that the "*Shah-i-bandar*" (King of the Port) had dispatched sundry paráos up the river, which it was suspected were in communication with the enemy. That officer was accordingly questioned by Albuquerque, who was of opinion that he was sending the paráos to give a passage to the men under the command of the Adil Khan, and as he was unable to give any satisfactory explanation of his proceedings, Albuquerque ordered his halberdiers to put him to death and to throw his body into the river.

The Adil Khan pitched his camp before Banestarim, and as a mosque and some houses stood in front, which protected them from the fire of the Portuguese, Garcia de Sousa crossed over and destroyed those buildings, setting fire to the mosque, and returning again in safety. In the hope that when Albuquerque became aware of the forces he had at his disposal he would surrender Goa without fighting, the Adil Khan, on the night of 1st of May, sent two messengers to Albuquerque, one of whom was a Portuguese, João Machado by name, who had been sent from Portugal in disgrace in the fleet of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, and had since

taken service under Çabaio, father of the Adil Khan. The object of his present mission was, João. Machado informed Albuquerque, to urge him to surrender Goa to the Adil Khan, in exchange for which the latter would give him another place on the sea-coast wherein to erect a fortress; but, that, if he were unwilling to enter into this arrangement, he was to know that the Adil Khan would on no consideration quit his military position until he had cast him out of the city, for the whole future of the State depended on this issue. João Machado further informed Albuquerque that of his certain knowledge the Moors within the island were ready to revolt and rise against him on the first opportunity, and that letters were daily received by the Adil Khan from them, advising him to force an entrance.

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These terms were, of course, declined; and, in reply, Albuquerque sent back message that he had not taken Goa merely to lose it again, for Goa could only belong to him who had also the dominion of the sea, namely, King Dom Manoël, his lord; but he would be very glad to come to terms of peace with Adil Khan, seeing that hereby not only would the latter increase the stability of his own position, but he also would infuse great terror among the neighbouring States. He also stated if the Adil Khan placed any reliance on his hopes of succour from the Grand Soldan he had greatly erred, for the rout that Dom Francisco de Almeida had inflicted upon the Rumes had been so thorough, that they could not be able to rally to his assistance at that juncture; he advised him therefore that he should raise the siege and take himself off, and surrender Dabhol to the Portuguese, that they might erect a fortress at that place. On these conditions peace should be made, but, if otherwise, he added, it was no use carrying on further negotiations on the subject. When the Adil Khan's ambassadors had returned to the camp, João Baldres, who had been sent there as hostage, returned, and informed Albuquerque that the enemy were preparing rafts and fascines

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in order to pass over to the island; but that the Turks, whose wives and families were in Goa, were unwilling that the Adil Khan should make any agreement with him, for they were all prepared to die or become again lords of Goa.

Acting on the information given him by João Machado, Albuquerque consulted with Timoja with regard to the position of the Moors within the city, and he advised that both they and the Hindu inhabitants as well should be collected together in the fortress. It was determined to act on this suggestion, and accordingly Timoja, who was the governor of the place, was requested to set the example by first sending his wife and children to the fortress, as he would then be in a better position to command the others to do the same. Timoja complied with this request, though not without some reluctance; but since he had originated the idea he could not well refuse. The next day, in obedience to a proclamation that was issued on the subject, the other Moors and Hindus did the same. The women and children of the Turks who were engaged in the camp with the Adil Khan were next collected together, and Albuquerque then sent word to the camp that unless, within the space of six days, those men returned to the city, he would sell their wives and children into slavery, and they themselves should lose all their property. This Albuquerque did, as he had given the Turks assurance of safety when he entered Goa; he had, however, not done so to the Rumes, who were similarly employed in the camp of the Adil Khan, so he ordered that their wives and children should be at once taken for slaves. This he did more particularly to emphasise the hatred which the Portuguese had to the people of the Soldan of Cairo, in view that none of the rulers of India might thereafter harbour them in their ports and villages.

Albuquerque then ordered a strong stockade to be erected between the city and Banestarim, so as to keep the Moors of the city from forcing their way through the lines of that place. Thus the Portuguese remained

besieged in Goa for about a month, during which time many attempts were made by the enemy to cross over into the island, but they were each time successfully repulsed.

The Adil Khan had collected the greater part of his troops opposite to the pass of Agasim, and it was therefore expected that the principal attack would be made at this point. Albuquerque was incessant in his visits to every part of the island to see that all things were ready for every emergency, and to encourage his captains. Whilst on his tour of inspection on one occasion he met with some Moors, who informed him that Melique Çufecondal (a Moor, who had been a captain of the Çabaio) had entered into an understanding with the Adil Khan, to the effect that the latter should attack all the passes of the island in the rafts and paráos, while the former was to rise up with all his men and put Jorge da Cunha and his companions to death, and then overrun all the stockades and get everything into their own hands. Having informed da Cunha of this plot against his life, Albuquerque carried Melique Çufecondal unsuspectingly with him to Goa and secured his person, placing him in charge of Gaspar de Paivo, the chief *alcaide* of the fortress.

On the night of Friday, the 17th May, 1510, when it was very dark and a heavy sea running, 300 Turks succeeded in crossing at the pass of Agasim on rafts, and returned without having been discovered. Thereupon a larger force of 700 was sent across, but as the day was now beginning to dawn, they were discovered, and a few well-directed shots from Dom Antonio de Noronha's ships broke the rafts to pieces, and the Turks were then all put to the sword with the exception of three who succeeded in escaping. While the Portuguese were engaged on this slaughter, another body of Turks, to the number of 2,000, crossed without being perceived until they had gained the island. Menaique, one of Timoja's captains, was the first to discover them, and

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he attacked them with 200 native peons, but as he received no proper support, he was obliged to retire after killing several of the enemy. Timoja's men, who had been placed at the pass, no sooner saw the Turks than they went and united with them, and then all ran together in one body to Banestarim, where Garcia de Sousa held his position. Having stormed the stockade and captured a great gun that was in it, as well as some smaller cannon, they killed Duarte de Sousa and four or five men, and set fire to the stockades. When Garcia de Sousa perceived that he had no chance of resisting the Turks, he withdrew into a paráo that was ready at hand, and retired to Goa. Then Francisco de Sousa Mancyas and Francisco Pereira Coutinho, who were on guard over the pass of Gondolim, retired from the tower at the approach of the Turks, leaving four guns behind them, and took refuge in a boat at some stairs, and also retreated into the city. When Jorge da Cunha saw that the Portuguese had all been put to the rout, and that the Turks had forced an entrance into the island at several places, he also withdrew with his mounted men, and retired within the walls, losing three horsemen during the retreat.

The Turks soon forced their way into the city, whereupon Albuquerque with a body of his men fell upon them, and put to the sword every one of them he found in the streets, without giving quarter to any. He shortly afterwards espied Timoja retreating in the face of overwhelming numbers, and by means of another gallant charge he gave them a check, and thus enabled Timoja to retire in safety. The enemy now came on in such numbers that Albuquerque was forced to retreat into the fortress. He then sent an expedition to set fire to the dockyards and magazines, and the next day the Adil Khan entered the city with the bulk of his army.

In the present extremity Albuquerque was, as usual, not properly supported by his captains. He was in favour of

defending the fortress and sending to Cochin for further assistance, in which opinion he was only supported by Dom Antonio de Noronha and Gaspar de Paiva; but all the rest of the captains thought that they ought to withdraw to the ships at once. For some days he temporised with them, but at length the captains all assembled one day, by preconcerted arrangement, and told him he must withdraw, because there was no longer any use in further waiting, and that if he were unwilling to do so they were determined to retire and leave him. Whilst affairs were in this critical condition for the Portuguese, João Machado arrived at night, and informed Albuquerque that it would be impossible for him to defend the fortress, as the Adil Khan had a large number of men and many military appliances ready to attack it. He at last, unwillingly, came to the conclusion that the only reasonable course for him now to adopt was to retire to his ships, but before doing so he ordered Gaspar de Paiva to proceed to the fortress and direct his men to cut off the heads of Melique Çufecondal and of 150 principal Moors of the city, to hamstring all the horses that were in the stables, and to set fire to the arsenals. Albuquerque then ordered the captains to remove all the guns in the place and to retire to their ships, taking with them all the women and children from the fortress. He himself waited until the last, and embarked just before daybreak on the morning of the 20th of May, 1510. The fleet then set sail, but cast anchor opposite the castle of Pangim. Adil Khan, fearing that an attempt would be made to capture Pangim, sent João Machado to treat with Albuquerque for peace; not from any desire to that effect, but to gain time so that he might garrison and provision the castle of Pangim.

The captains were now anxious to get away from the place, although this was in opposition to the opinions of the pilots and masters, who declared at that season it would be dangerous to cross the bar. The captains, how-

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ever, refused to be convinced, and so, yielding to their importunities, Albuquerque at last decided to venture one vessel, and ordered Fernão Peres to take the "S. João" and proceed in her to Anjediva in order to bring back supplies to the rest of the fleet. The vessel, however, grounded in the attempt to cross the bar, and, being old, immediately went to pieces; but the crew, guns, and all the fittings were saved. The captains then became convinced of the soundness of the advice offered by the pilots and masters.

The position of the Portuguese was now very trying, owing to the hardships they had to endure on board ship. Their difficulties were, however, shortly increased owing to their vessels being attacked from the castle of Pangim, and in one day they were struck by fifty large cannon-balls. Albuquerque thereupon determined to attack the castle, and accordingly landed his forces on a Friday, before day-break, on the 14th of June, and at a preconcerted signal the fortress was attacked from several points at once. The defenders were found half-asleep, and before they could rally to defend themselves they were utterly routed, and driven out of the castle, whereupon they were met by another body of the Portuguese, who completed their discomfiture. The fortress was then stripped of its cannon, which were carried away to the ships, together with great numbers of small arms.

Albuquerque having learned that the Adil Khan had built a fleet of twenty-five sail of paráos, fustas, and watch-boats, fully prepared for the purpose of setting fire to the Portuguese shipping, he sent an expedition in boats to reconnoitre the city and see if this report were true. They soon met the vessels, several of which came out to attack them, but the Portuguese drove them back, and chased them until they returned to the docks. Having cleared the shore of people by their guns, Dom Antonio de Noronha, who was of the party, attempted to launch a Portuguese galliot that had been

left on the stocks when they retired from Goa; but not being properly supported by his companions the Moors returned and attacked him, in which encounter he was seriously wounded by an arrow in the knee. He thereupon retired to his boat, and was carried back to his ship, where, after lingering in great pain for several days, inflammation set in, of which he died on the 8th of July, at the early age of twenty-four years. He was buried at the foot of a tree, and when Goa was recaptured his remains were removed to the principal church. Soon after this the Adil Khan sent a messenger with the view of arranging terms of peace, but with no results. Subsequently he sent Mustafa Khan on a similar mission, who, on hostages being landed, proceeded on board Albuquerque's ship, and endeavoured to arrange a peace on the basis of handing over Çintácora, with its lands and revenues, to the Portuguese instead of Goa. This, however, Albuquerque declined. Mustafa Khan then said that the Turks would consent to the surrender of Goa if he would give up Timoja to the Adil Khan. This proposal Albuquerque resented with great indignation, and, in dismissing him, sent back word to the Adil Khan that before the summer should pass away he, Albuquerque, would be taking his rest again in the palace of Goa, and that he hoped to make Timoja a very great lord of the kingdom of Deccan.

The Portuguese fleet being yet unable to cross the bar, the vessels all rode at anchor in the Goa river, and the crews were reduced to great suffering owing to the want of proper provisions. Whilst here, one Ruy Diaz, a man-at-arms, was discovered to have been making secret visits to the apartments of the Moorish women who had been taken prisoners in Goa, and Albuquerque accordingly ordered an investigation to be made into the affair. The charge having been proved, Albuquerque ordered him to be hanged in the ship "Flor da Rosa"; but, whilst this execution was being carried out, certain captains who were opposed to the sentence came on board, and Francisco

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de Sá cut the rope with his sword, and drew Ruy Diaz into the ship. There occurred then a great tumult on the whole fleet, and Albuquerque went in a boat with fifty armed men, and having seized Fernão Peres, Simão de Andrade and Jorge Fogaça, who protested before him against the execution of the sentence on Ruy Diaz, he sent them on board his ship, where they were taken below and loaded with irons. He then at once gave the necessary orders for hanging Ruy Diaz. Afterwards an investigation into the circumstances of this revolt against his authority having been held, Francisco de Sá was found to be deeply involved, and he was put in irons below deck along with the others.

When this affair had blown over, and the excitement which it had caused had subsided, Albuquerque determined to make another attempt to send vessels away for supplies, of which he was now very much in want, and to convey the sick men of his crews to Cochin. An attempt was accordingly made by four vessels, of which Dom João de Lima was chief captain, but they were still unable to get out of the river, owing to the high wind that was blowing and the insufficiency of water over the bar. They remained, therefore, at anchor close to the bank, waiting for a favourable opportunity to prosecute their voyage. Owing to the persistent desires of the captains that the rest of the fleet should also leave Goa, Albuquerque set sail about the 21st July, and anchored near the bar, where they found Dom João de Lima and Timoja still waiting.

Seeing that the fleet had left Goa, the Adil Khan sent some troops round to harass the vessels as they lay at anchor. Having mounted a large gun in position in a high wood on the side near to Bardes, they sent four cannon-balls into the side of the "Flor de la mar," whilst some of the other ships were badly hit, and several men killed. The fleet therefore returned to its former anchorage. Albuquerque desired to remain before Goa, in the hope that an early opportunity might arise to

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enable him to recapture the place; his captains were, however, so importunate that he should leave, that he was at last forced to yield to their representations, and accordingly on the 16th day of August orders were given to cross the bar, and the entire Portuguese fleet sailed away for Anjediva. On the way they met with the fleet of Diogo Mendes de Vasconcellos, consisting of four vessels, which had sailed from Lisbon on the 12th of March, bound for Malacca, and Francisco Marrecos, captain of the "Bretam," one of the vessels belonging to the fleet of Dom Fernando Coutinho, who had wintered in Mozambique. The combined fleets reached Anjediva on the 17th August. On the 19th the fleet anchored off Onor, where Timoja had already arrived, and, on his going out to visit Albuquerque, Diogo Mendes delivered to him a letter from Dom Manoel, at which he was much pleased. The fleet then proceeded to Cananor, and anchored off that town on 26th August. Whilst here news reached Albuquerque that the Rumes had set out from Suez with an enormous fleet to reinforce Goa, and he therefore determined to detain Diogo Mendes' vessels with him, and not to let them proceed to Malacca for the present.

At Cananor, Albuquerque had a friendly interview with the King, and shortly afterwards Duarte de Lemos arrived there with four ships from the coast of Arabia. In reply to a request that he would remain and assist in the recapture of Goa, Duarte de Lemos assented, but at the same time pressed upon Albuquerque the consideration that the chief security of India lay in guarding the Straits of Mecca, which had never yet been properly effected, owing to the want of a sufficiently large fleet there for the purpose. Whilst at Cananor an ambassador arrived from the King of Cambay to Albuquerque desiring a treaty of peace and alliance with the King of Portugal. He complained that the Portugue[illegible] had captured a ship belonging to his lord and master, [illegible]d requested that orders might be given for its restoration. He also said that the King had under his

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protection a few Portuguese* who had been wrecked in a ship which had run ashore on the coast in one of his ports, and he would immediately send them on to him. Albuquerque dismissed the ambassador with a favourable reply, and promised, as soon as he should have recaptured Goa, to visit the King of Cambay, and settle the terms of an alliance. He then dispatched Simão Martins, with three vessels, to cruise about in the neighbourhood of Mount Dely, on the look-out for the Rumes' fleet, and he sent Garcia de Sousa, with three other vessels, to cruise in the neighbourhood of the Luccadive Islands, with a similar object.

On the 8th September Lourenço Moreno arrived at Cananor with three ships, and Albuquerque at once sent him to conclude a treaty with the rulers of Bhatkal, who had expressed a desire of friendship with Portugal. He also sent by him a letter to Timoja, at Onor, requesting his assistance, as well as that of the King of Garsopa, in a contemplated renewed attack on Goa.

On the 16th September Gonçalo de Sequeira arrived at Cananor with seven ships, making, with the others that had recently arrived, no less than fourteen ships, in which were about 1,500 Portuguese, and constituting a very acceptable addition to the forces at the disposal of Affonso de Albuquerque for his intended attack on Goa. Information also having been received from Timoja that the lords of the kingdom of Deccan had risen in rebellion against the Adil Khan, and that he had left Goa with all his army to subdue them, the opportunity seemed most favourable for carrying out the enterprise. Before the expedition set out for Goa, however, a demand arrived from the King of Cochin for assistance, in consequence of

* These were some of the crew who had sailed out from Socotra in the ship "Santa Cruz," commanded by Dom Affonso de Noronha, Albuquerque's nephew. This vessel was caught in a storm whilst crossing the Persian Gulf, and was driven on some shallows near Nabond, where she was wrecked. Dom Affonso and five or six others endeavoured to reach the shore by swimming, but were all drowned; whereas those who remained in the ship were saved.

a rebellion which, at the instance of the King of Calicut, had broken out in his kingdom, and Affonso de Albuquerque immediately went to his relief, reaching Cochin on the 26th day of September. The arrival of Albuquerque, in support of the King of Cochin, at once put an end to the rebellion, for the King's cousin, who had risen against him, no sooner heard that Albuquerque had sent assistance than he quitted the island of Vypin, where he had established himself, and departed.

Albuquerque then summoned a council of his captains, and laid before them his proposals for retaking Goa. He argued that if they did not succeed in taking Goa, and if the league that had been entered into between the Adil Khan and the Kings of Cambay and Calicut flourished any longer in expectation of obtaining the assistance of the Grand Soldan, it would be a very doubtful point whether the King of Portugal could retain India. The project was opposed by several of the captains, whereupon Albuquerque informed them that, as he had already determined to carry it out, those who objected to take part in it might remain behind. He then returned to Cananor, where he found Lourenço Moreno, who had arrived two days before, and reported that at Bhatkal the rulers had quite altered their minds as to the conclusion of a treaty with the Portuguese, declaring that they could do nothing without first of all finding out whether the King of Narsinga, their lord, approved of it. With regard to Timoja and the King of Garsopa, he reported that they were making preparations to co-operate in the Goa expedition.

Before starting on this enterprise Albuquerque wrote to Dom Manoel, from Cananor, under date the 17th October, 1510, pointing out to His Majesty the great importance of Goa as regards the safety of India, and expressed an opinion that without holding possession of it the Eastern dominions of Portugal could scarcely be maintained. In the first place, he observed, the European car-

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penters, fitters, and artisans, after one year's sojourn in these hot regions became no longer men, whereas the natives of Goa were splendid shipbuilders and workmen; secondly, Goa, with its large number of ships, would ever be a source of danger to the Portuguese Indian possessions, since it was in the hands of the Turks, who were always ready to embark on warlike undertakings, and were, therefore, an everlasting menace to the Portuguese trading ships when making for the island of Anjediva. Goa, he remarked, was situated on several islands, was immensely wealthy, and possessed a grand harbour, which afforded shelter to shipping from whatever quarter the wind might be blowing. Once in possession of Goa, Albuquerque expressed the opinion that the kingdom of Daquem* would be thrown into such a state of confusion that its conquest and subjugation would become a matter of the greatest ease, since the King of those territories had divided them into several provinces, under the government of captains—mostly Turks and Persians—who were for ever fighting and disputing amongst themselves. Now, therefore, he thought was a favourable opportunity for the enterprise, and he strongly urged His Majesty to sanction, out of the Royal privy purse, a sufficient sum to meet the expenses of capturing the town and of erecting a strong fortress there.

A fleet had already been prepared at Cananor of twenty-three vessels, with everything ready for the voyage, and containing about 2,000 Portuguese. The captains† who accompanied Albuquerque in this expedition were as follows: Manoel de Lacerda, Fernão Peres de Andrade, Simão de Andrade his brother, Bastião de Miranda, Affonso Pessoa, Ruy de Brito Patalim, Diogo Fernandes de Béja, Jorge Nunez de Leão, Francisco Pereira Pestana, Dom João de Lima, Dom Jeronymo de Lima his brother,

* Probably the kingdom of the Deccan.

† This list, which is taken from *The Commentaries* of Affonso de Albuquerque, differs somewhat from that given by Gaspar Correa.

Manoel da Cunha, Duarte de Mello, Pero de Afonseca, Gaspar de Paiva, Simão Martins, Francisco Pantoja, Antonio de Mattos, Diogo Mendes de Vasconcellos, who was going to Malacca, and Diniz Cerniche, Balthasar da Silva, and Pero Coresma, who were to accompany him.

This fleet proceeded first to Onor, to take in fresh supplies and water. Whilst there, the King of Garsopa and Timoja had an interview with Albuquerque, and informed him that the Adil Khan had in Goa three captains with about 4,000 men, consisting of Turks, Rumes, and Coraçones,* with certain peons of Balaghat, who were archers, besides about an equal number of native Moors. They also said that the Adil Khan was at that moment engaged in a war with the *gazils* of the kingdom of Deccan, who had wrested from him a large part of his lands, and that he was now so far advanced into the interior of the country that it would be impossible for him to return to the relief of Goa. They also said that they were ready, with all their people, to assist him by land in the present expedition.

From Onor, Albuquerque proceeded to Anjediva, where he remained for eleven days in a state of some indecision as to his further movements, for he was there advised not to place any reliance upon the promised offers of the King of Garsopa and of Timoja, because they were in fear lest things should not turn out well for them, and they did not wish to stand in worse relations with the Adil Khan than they then did.

At last the fleet set out from Anjediva and proceeded to Goa, where most of the ships cast anchor off the bar; but Manoel da Cunha, with six ships, was sent to Agasim, and to the land of Saste, to co-operate with the army of Timoja, which would have to approach by that direction. As soon as da Cunha reached the pass of Banestarim and of Agasim he fired a gun, and then remained quietly in the river for the army to arrive.

* Inhabitants of the Khorassan.

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Albuquerque then held a council of war, whereat a unanimous opinion was expressed in favour of making an immediate attack on Goa, without waiting for the promised aid from the King of Garsopa and from Timoja. Thereupon Manoel da Cunha was summoned back to rejoin the fleet, and, on his arrival, all the vessels weighed anchor and passed up the river, and reached a pass within shot of the city, where the Turks had sunk three Malabar ships laden with stones in order to impede the further passage of the ships. Instead, however, of effecting this object, the force of the water that ran down was so great that it had scoured out two channels, each deeper than the one that had been blocked up. The small vessels at once passed up the river, taking up a position opposite to the fortress, and early the next morning the larger ships followed and anchored near to them. Albuquerque then sent out boat expeditions to reconnoitre the fortress, and they also captured a Moor, from whom they gained some information as to the state of defence of the fortress inside. The information which he thus obtained caused him to hesitate very much as to the advisability of attacking the place without further assistance, and he remained thus in a state of hesitation before the place for three days. His mind was, however, at once made up when he saw the Turks constructing some strong stockades of timber, filled in with earth, and protected by ditches full of water, in which they placed some large pieces of artillery. He determined to make an attack forthwith upon the stockades and to destroy them; and he hoped that, as soon as these were overcome, the Portuguese would be able to get into the fortress with the enemy pell-mell as they retired.

All hope of assistance from the King of Garsopa and from Timoja having now been abandoned, Albuquerque determined to make the attack on the following morning (the 25th November) before daybreak. For this purpose he divided his forces into three companies. In one company were Manoel da Cunha, Manoel de Lacerda,

Dom João de Lima, Dom Jeronymo de Lima, Gaspar de Paiva, Gaspar Cão, Fernão Feyo, Pero de Afonseca, and many others. These were to go and attack the stockades near the fortress. In the second company were Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos, Baltasar da Silva, Diniz Cerniche, Pero Coresma, Ruy de Brito Patalim, and Jorge Nunes de Leão, with many other soldiers, who were to attack the stockades on the sides near the ships. The third company was led by Affonso de Albuquerque himself, who, with the remainder of the captains and forces, arranged to take the stockades in flank.

The attack was duly delivered, according to the above arrangements, soon after daybreak. The Turks defended themselves for a long time, but, as soon as they found themselves taken in flank by Albuquerque's company, they began to retire from the stockades, whereupon the men of the other companies having got inside these defences, followed them up, killing and wounding all they could get at, entered the city with the enemy, and pursued them up to the gates of the fortress, when a severe hand-to-hand fight was carried on for some time, without either appearing to get any advantage. Some mounted Turks, however, who were stationed within the fortress, came up and put the Portuguese to the rout. At this moment Diogo Mendes arrived with his company, and being thus reinforced, the Portuguese fell upon the enemy with such determination that they in turn gave way, and all together entered pell-mell into the fortress. About 500 Turks, including 100 mounted men with their captain, now rallied, and turning back fought with such vigour that the Portuguese were unable to make them yield. At this juncture Albuquerque brought up his company, and thus reinforced the Portuguese got the better of their assailants, of whom they killed a large number, including two chief captains out of three whom the Adil Khan had there, and the remainder retreated. The Portuguese then mounted the

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horses of those they had slain, and followed after the enemy, who, without making further resistance, turned their backs and fled out of the gate of the fortress, whilst others threw themselves down from the walls in order to escape.

As soon as the fortress had been thus captured Albuquerque ordered the gates that led to the city to be closed, and a good watch to be kept over them, to prevent the Portuguese from following the Moors, or scattering themselves to plunder the city. The Turks in their flight made their way to Banestarim, and they were so excited by fear that, without waiting for any boat to ferry them over, they swam across the river, and in this attempt many men and horses were drowned.

Having commanded the captains to take up their positions and guard the fortress, Albuquerque gave permission to the soldiers to sack the city, and free right to keep everything they took. In it were captured 100 large guns and a large quantity of smaller artillery, 200 horses, and many supplies and munitions of war. After the place had been pillaged, Albuquerque directed the captains to reconnoitre the whole of the island, and to put to the sword all the Moors, men, women, and children, whom they found, and to give no quarter to any of them; for he was determined to leave no seed of this race throughout the whole of the island. Accordingly, for the space of four days this work of carnage was carried on. The Hindus also, who had been deprived of their lands by the Turks, when they heard of the fall of Goa, descended from the neighbouring hills, whither they had fled, and cut off the Moors' retreat through the passes, as they were flying from the Portuguese, and having taken from them everything they carried, they put them all to the sword. Albuquerque also ordered that a certain mosque should be filled with some Moors, whom the Hindus had taken prisoners, and then set on fire. In this body of people was a renegade

Christian who had deserted to the Adil Khan when Goa was taken for the first time. CHAP. VII.

In giving an account of this important enterprise to King Dom Manoel, Albuquerque wrote as follows, under date, Goa, 22nd December, 1510:— A.D. 1510.

"The letter I wrote to your Majesty about the capture of Goa was dispatched the same afternoon, as I determined to send a ship to Cananor to overtake the vessels which were loading there, and instruct them to call here on their way in order to show the natives how great was the power of your Majesty's fleet.

"In the capture of Goa the Turks lost over 300 men, and the road between Banastery and Gomdaly was covered with the bodies of those who were wounded and died in their attempt to escape. Many were also drowned whilst crossing the river. I afterwards burnt the city in which for four days the carnage was fearful, as no quarter was given to anyone. The agricultural labourers and the Brahmins were spared, but of the Moors killed the number was at least 6,000. It was indeed a great deed, and well carried out.

"Some of the principal natives, from whom the Turks had taken their territories, becoming aware that Goa had been captured, came to my assistance, and by taking possession of all the roads leading from the city, cut off all escape for the enemy, put them all to the sword, giving no quarter.

"My determination now is to prevent any Moor entering Goa, to leave a sufficient force of men and ships in the place, then with another fleet visit the Red Sea and Ormuz.

"The ships which the Moors were building are being completed and launched. I have plenty of iron and nails, &c., and a great number of carpenters, artisans, and labourers, so that any number of vessels your Majesty may desire can be built here.

"We captured several Moorish women, whom I have

CHAP. VII. married to several men who are desirous of settling here.

A.D. 1510. "I send your Majesty a sample of their guns and Turkish artillery cast here, a native saddle which was sent me by the King of Onor. I am sending a messenger with some horses and news of the capture of Goa to the King of Narsynga, in order to see if I can induce him to attack the Turks and desire our friendship.

"I dispatched Diogo Fernandes with 300 men in the galleys and 'paráos' to Bamda (a castle five leagues to the north of Goa), where the Turks still remained in force, and drove them out towards Condall (another part of Goa), from whence I hope soon to expel them, and then nothing more will remain to be done, as the whole territory from Cintagola (Çintácora) to Goa is now your Majesty's. I beg your Majesty to bear in mind that Goa is a grand place, and in the event of India being lost, it can easily be reconquered if we hold such a key as Goa."

Albuquerque, having determined now to make Goa the principal seat of the Government of India, at once set to work to put it into a proper state of defence, for which purpose he ordered a great quantity of cement to be prepared, and threw down the sepulchres of the Moors to provide stone for the fortifications, which were carried out with the greatest possible dispatch, lest the Adil Khan should return before they had been completed. As the palace of the Çabaio was a work of great beauty, Albuquerque would not destroy it, but had it enclosed within the new lines of fortification he was constructing.

As soon as the King of Cambay heard of the capture of Goa, he not only released the prisoners he had taken when Dom Affonso de Noronha was lost on his coast, but he also sent an ambassador to Albuquerque to treat for peace, and offered to surrender Diu to him for the site of a Portuguese fortress. Mirocem, captain of the fleet of the Grand Soldan, who was then in Cambay awaiting the relief for which he had sent to Cairo, in order to refit his forces at

Goa, no sooner learned of Albuquerque's success than he gave up all hopes of bringing his mission to a favourable termination, and he therefore returned to Jedda, and proceeded thence to Suez, where he found the fleet in progress of preparation; but as soon as he communicated the news of the fall of Goa, further operations to that end were suspended.

In dismissing the ambassador from the King of Cambay, Albuquerque directed him to reply that on the completion of the fortress at Goa he would go to visit the King and arrange terms of peace. And as he was desirous of sounding the wishes of the Adil Khan, relative to an alliance, he dispatched to him the following letter:—

"Very honourable and good Cavalier Milohau! The great Affonso de Albuquerque, Captain-General of India, and of the Kingdom and Lordship of Ormuz and of the Kingdom and Lordship of Goa, for the very high and very powerful Dom Manoel, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, on this side and on that of the sea; in Africa, Lord of Guiné, and of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and of India, I send you my greeting. You must well know how the Çabaio, your father, used to take the ships of Malabar out of the ports and harbours of the King, my Lord; wherefore it was that I was constrained to go against Goa, and take the city, and there it is that I am occupied in building a very strong fortress. I wish most sincerely that your father had been living, that he might know me to be a man of my word. Out of regard for him, I shall ever be your friend, and I will assist you against the King of Deccan, and against your enemies; and I will cause all the horses that arrive here to be carried to your stations and your marts, in order that you may have possession of them. Fain would I that the merchants of your land would come with white stuffs, and all manner of merchandise to this port, and take to yours in exchange merchandise of the sea and of the land, and horses, and I will give them a

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safe conduct. If you wish for my friendship, let your messengers come to me with your communications, and I will send you others on my part who shall convey to you my communications. If you will perform this which I write unto you, by my aid shall you be able to gain possession of much land, and become a great Lord among the Moors. Be desirous of performing this, for thus it shall be well with you, and you shall have great power; and for all that the Çabaio, your father, be dead, I will be your father, and bring you up like a son. Let your messenger bring back immediately to me a reply, and let the merchants of the land come under safe conduct to Goa; and as for the merchants who bring merchandise, and come under your letters of safe conduct, signed by your hand, I will be responsible for their safety."

As soon as the Nequibares, who were on the mainland, perceived that Albuquerque had established himself in Goa, they requested permission to be allowed to come over and reside there. These being the principal men and captains of the Hindus, Albuquerque gladly assented to their request, and assigned to them houses and lands, according to each man's station on the mainland. After this, news reached him that Malique Aye, a captain of the Adil Khan, had arrived with a large body of men at Condal and at Bandá, with the intention of forcing an entrance into the island of Goa; he therefore dispatched Diogo Fernandes de Béja with some vessels to the river of Bandá, to dispute the passage with Malique Aye. Here Diogo Fernandes gave Malique Aye a severe defeat, who thereupon retired in the direction of Divar, in order to cross over into Goa in that direction. There, however, he was confronted by a Portuguese force, led by Gaspar de Paiva, by whom also he suffered an ignominious defeat, and was forced to retire, and he accordingly retreated to Diocalim, where he entrenched himself. Thereupon Albuquerque himself went after him with 1,000 Portuguese and 2,000 native troops; these he divided into four battalions, and stationed them

in certain passes, placing most of them in ambush, and then sent one company of Hindus forward to endeavour to draw Malique Aye into the trap he had set for him; but he, being apparently suspicious of the plot, refused to move from his stockade. Malique Aye shortly afterwards sent a messenger with the view of arranging terms of peace, but, as he produced no authority from the Adil Khan, Albuquerque refused to receive him.

The King of Onor, who had usurped the kingdom from his brother Merlão, now endeavoured to conclude an alliance with the Portuguese; but his brother, the rightful heir to the crown, having also applied to Albuquerque to assist him in regaining his lawful possessions, accompanied by promises to submit himself to the King of Portugal, if successful, Albuquerque accepted his offer, and sent an envoy to accompany him to Goa. On his arrival he was received with every honour, and had conferred upon him the government of Goa, farming the lands of that place to him in consideration of a yearly tribute of 40,000 pardaos (about £3,000).

The fortress of Goa having by this time been completed so far as to be able to withstand all the power of the Adil Khan, Albuquerque sent Diogo Fernandes de Béja, with three ships, to dismantle the fortress of Socotra. Having accomplished this, de Béja proceeded to Ormuz, and received from Coje Atar the tribute that had then accrued due to the King of Portugal. This was duly paid, and Diogo Fernandes returned to India in time to assist in the defence of Goa, against the forces of the Adil Khan.

As soon as the Zamorin heard of the success of Albuquerque at Goa, he also sent ambassadors to solicit his friendship, and to offer him a site within his kingdom for the construction of a fortress. Albuquerque gladly accepted this overture, and sent the ambassadors back in a fusta with Simão Rangel, whom he entrusted with the carrying out of this business, with instructions that he was to accept no other site for the fortress but at Calicut, in front of the

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King's own landing stage. This, however, the Zamorin refused to grant, and limited his offer to a site at Chaul; and as Simão Rangel had no authority to accept this, he returned to Goa without having come to any agreement in the matter. In giving an account to Albuquerque of what had taken place in this affair, Simão Rangel expressed a doubt whether the Zamorin was sincere even in offering a site at Chaul. At this time Albuquerque was engaged in preparing for an expedition to the Red Sea, which, however, he subsequently abandoned for a voyage to Malacca, and he therefore allowed this matter to remain an open one until his return.

As soon as the fortress at Goa was on the point of completion, Albuquerque dispatched several captains along the coast, with orders to compel all the ships they met with to go into that port. This he did for two reasons; firstly, that he might benefit the harbour and repeople the city, and that the caravans of Narsinga and of the kingdom of the Deccan, with their merchandise, might come there in search of horses, as they used to do of old; and secondly, that he might ruin the harbour of Bhatkal, which had become the principal seat of trade with Ormuz. In the city itself every encouragement and facility were afforded to trade, so that vessels soon began to arrive there from Ormuz and various other ports. The factors were also instructed always to have ready in the factory plenty of pepper, cloves, and ginger, and every other merchandise that the merchants were likely to require; and in the clearing-papers which they delivered with the cargoes whenever the merchants desired to set sail, it was to be set forth that the ships were to be bound for Ormuz, and to no other port; and this was done with the view of destroying the commerce of the Red Sea.

In consequence of the liberty which the Moors enjoyed of loading their ships with spices at Goa, many merchants settled there. In order also to afford further commercial facilities, Albuquerque again established a Mint, and coined

silver, gold, and copper coinage as before (see p. 191), and he commanded that all the Moorish money should be brought to the Mint to be stamped with the dies of the King of Portugal.

On his return for the recapture of Goa, Albuquerque brought with him the women he had carried away when the Portuguese were driven out of the place. As soon as affairs had become tolerably settled again at that port, he had them converted to Christianity and married them to Portuguese men. No less than 450 of his men were thus married in Goa, and others who desired to follow their example were so numerous that Albuquerque had great difficulty in granting their requests. The marriage of Portuguese men to native women had already been sanctioned by Dom Manoel, but this privilege was only to be conceded to men of proved character and who had rendered good services. Albuquerque, however, extended the permission to marry far beyond what he was authorised to do, and he took care that the women so married were the daughters of the principal men of the land. This he did partly in the hope of inducing them to become Christians. To those who were married Albuquerque allotted lands, houses, and cattle, so as to give them a start in life, and all the landed property which had been in possession of the Moorish mosques and Hindu pagodas he gave to the principal church of the city, which he dedicated to "*Santa Catherina.*" Albuquerque experienced much opposition in thus establishing himself in Goa, and more particularly in consequence of his giving so many permissions to marry. This opposition came principally from Lourenço Moreno, the factor of Cochin, and Antonio Real, the chief *alcaide*, who no doubt saw in thus developing Goa the probability of a diminution in the importance of Cochin and of their own positions, and they went so far as to write to Dom Manoel on the subject.

Albuquerque appointed Rodrigo Rabello as captain of the fortress of Goa, with a force of 400 soldiers and

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eighty mounted men, and he saw that the place was amply provided with artillery, munitions, and stores. He also appointed Duarte de Mello to be chief captain of the sea, with four ships and three galleys, under order to cruise along the coast and provide the city with whatever was required.

As soon as the fortress of Goa was quite complete, Diogo Mendes asked permission to proceed to Malacca, in accordance with his original instructions from the King Dom Manoel. But Albuquerque having been informed by a letter he had received from Ruy de Aranjo that it would not be safe to navigate those parts, except with such a powerful fleet as would carry everything before it, explained to him that it would be impossible to open up trade with Malacca otherwise than by force; that "this could not be effected by four rotten ships and two rusty swords," and that at the present moment he was not in a position to afford him assistance. He therefore refused to give him permission to depart, but promised, as soon as affairs in India became a little more settled, to give him the necessary reinforcements. Diogo Mendes and his captains were not pleased at this result, and determined notwithstanding to proceed at once to Malacca. They accordingly crossed the bar at night and set sail; but in the morning Albuquerque sent two galleys after them with orders to bring them back, or to sink the vessels should Diogo Mendes refuse to return. This he refused to do until three shots had been fired at his ship, the third one of which brought down his mainyard. On the return of these vessels Albuquerque sent Diogo Mendes under arrest to the keep of the castle, and the other captains, pilots, and masters were put into chains and condemned to solitary confinement. Diogo Mendes, Diniz Cerniche, and Pero Coresma were subsequently sent back to Portugal in disgrace, and others were imprisoned in their ships.

Although King Dom Manoel had often urged Albuquerque to proceed to the Straits of the Red Sea, and erect

a fortress at Aden, he had hitherto been prevented from so doing, but now determined to go there for that purpose. He accordingly started with his entire fleet, but on arriving at the shoals of Padua he found that he could not get beyond them as the season was already so far advanced. He accordingly put back to Goa, and after giving some final instructions to Rodrigo Rabello, he went to Cananor, and having furnished a reinforcement to the fortress there he proceeded to Cochin, determined to go on thence to Malacca to chastise the Malays for the treason they had practised on Diogo Lopes de Sequeira.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of the Forts in India—Visit of the Portuguese Fleet to Pacem—Arrival of the Fleet before Malacca—Negotiations with the King—Opposition by the Moors and Guzeratis to a Peace with the Portuguese—Attack on Malacca—Destruction of Part of the City—Second Attack on Malacca—The City Sacked—Death of the King of Malacca—Attempted Revolution in Malacca—Execution of Utemutaraja, the ringleader—Embassies from the Kings of Campar and Java—Settlement of Malacca—Portuguese Embassy to the Pope—Wreck of Albuquerque's Vessel—Return of Albuquerque to India—Preparations for an Expedition against Mecca.

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Before leaving Cananor for the recapture of Goa, Albuquerque wrote to King Dom Manoel, under date the 19th October, 1510, as follows: "I have just received intelligence from Malacca that Bendara, the governor, has been murdered by order of the King, for what reason it is not known. I am sending eight ships there under the command of Diogo Mendes as being a person in whom I have the greatest possible confidence, and Ruy de Aranjo as factor. If your Majesty is desirous of obtaining riches, I would most strongly point out the uselessness of sending any more ships to these waters, as the supply of vessels here is ample. What we require here is a large assortment of arms, ammunition, and warlike materials. I would strongly impress upon your Majesty the absolute necessity of sending 500 foot-lances and 200 pikes for the defence of each of your Majesty's fortresses, as I have never seen such a lamentable state of affairs as exist here. The forts are practically without arms."

It will have been seen from what is stated in the foregoing chapter that the above arrangement was not at the time carried out, and that circumstances caused an alteration in the project then contemplated.

As soon as Albuquerque reached Cochin, from Goa, on his way to Malacca, the King visited him on board his ship and endeavoured to dissuade him from prosecuting his contemplated voyage, urging that the affairs of Goa were still in so critical a state that it required him personally to control them; and, further, that the Zamorin was in such a state of disaffection that he would probably break out into open treason directly he heard of the departure of Albuquerque from India. This advice was, however, given at the instigation of two Moors of Cochin who had dispatched some vessels to Malacca, which, they feared, might be captured by the Portuguese ships; and, further, lest if Malacca were taken they should lose the richest part of their commerce. The arguments advanced, however, did not cause Albuquerque to deviate from his purpose. Having reinforced Manoel de Lacerda with two large, and four small ships, men and ammunition, Albuquerque left Cochin with a fleet of eighteen sailing vessels, three of which were galleys. After passing Ceylon they experienced a heavy storm, in which one of the galleys foundered, but the captain and crew were all saved. After this the fleet continued on its course and anchored in the harbour of Pedir, on the northern coast of Sumatra, with five Guzerat vessels that had been captured on the voyage. Here he found João Viegas and eight Christians of Ruy de Aranjo's company who had escaped from Malacca, and these related how the King of that place had endeavoured to force them to become Mohammedans, and had ordered some of them to be tied hand and foot and to be circumcised. João Viegas further related that a Moor of Malacca, whose name was Naodabegea, and who was then with the King of Pacem, had been the chief instigator in the conspiracy against Diogo Lopes de Sequeira.

On receiving this information Albuquerque immediately proceeded to Pacem, and demanded of the King that the Moor should be given up. The latter, however, under the pretext of searching for him, dispatched him at once to

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Malacca to warn the King of that place of the approach of Albuquerque, and then sent back a reply that he must have fled the country, as he could nowhere be found. The Portuguese fleet then left for Malacca, and, on the way, caught sight of a *pangajaoa*,* to which they gave chase and captured after a stubborn fight, in which the captain was slain, who, it was afterwards discovered, was Naodabegea, who was on his way to warn the King of Malacca of the approach of the Portuguese. Further on they gave chase to two large junks, both of which they captured, and on board of one was the King of Pacem, who was on his way to the King of Java to ask his assistance against one of his governors who had risen in rebellion against him. He now proposed that Albuquerque should undertake this enterprise and restore him to his estate, in which case he volunteered to become a vassal to the King of Portugal, and pay him tribute. Albuquerque, in reply, told him that being now engaged on an expedition to Malacca he could not at once take that matter in hand, but that on his return to India he would replace him in the possession of his kingdom. The King of Pacem then went on board Albuquerque's ship and accompanied the expedition to Malacca.

The fleet arrived before Malacca about the middle of June, 1511, and saluted the town, whereupon the King sent expressing his desire to be at peace with the Portuguese, and stating that his bendará, who had been the cause of the attack on Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, had been put to death by his orders. Albuquerque, pretending to believe this story, begged the King to cause those of the Portuguese who were still alive to be delivered up, and that the goods which had been seized might be paid for out of the property of the bendará. He, in reply, asked that Albuquerque should first conclude a peace with him, and that then he would send back the Christians and give satisfaction for all that had been taken. Albuquerque,

* A kind of rowing-boat used in India.

however, demanded that full restitution should be made before the conclusion of a peace, otherwise he would attack Malacca. The King continued to negotiate for peace, evidently for the purpose of gaining time, since he was simultaneously erecting stockades for the defence of the city.

Albuquerque was desirous, if possible, to avoid warlike measures, but the Moors and Guzeratis in the city were anxious, if possible, to prevent the King from making peace with the Portuguese, and persuaded him that they would never dare to attack the place. Albuquerque being now weary of the deceptions practised upon him by the King of Malacca, sent a peremptory demand for the immediate surrender of the Portuguese whom he held prisoners, and restitution of the stolen property, threatening, in case of refusal, to destroy him and deprive him of his city. As this demand was not complied with, at the end of six days Albuquerque sent ten boats, with armed men in them, who set fire to some huts on the shores as well as to some Guzerati ships, whereupon the King at once sent back Ruy de Aranjo and his companions, and asked for terms of peace. This, however, was only a subterfuge, for all the while he was hastening his preparations for defence.

At this time there were five Chinese junks in the harbour at Malacca, and the captains of these, being very indignant with the King for the robbery and tyranny he had exercised on them in respect of their merchandise, offered their services to Albuquerque to assist him against the Malays. With many thanks he declined their offer, and permitted them to depart. In return they promised that should Malacca fall into the hands of the Portuguese, every year more than 100 junks would go there with great quantity of merchandise; they, however, warned Albuquerque to be careful how he attacked the city, telling him that there were in it more than 20,000 fighting men. He, in reply, expressed his determination

CHAP. VIII. to make the attempt, and induced the Chinese to stay and see with what spirit his men would storm the place.

A.D. 1511. Albuquerque determined to deliver the assault without further delay. Accordingly, two hours before daybreak, on the morning of the 25th July, 1511, the Portuguese forces assembled for disembarkation. It was determined to first attack the bridge spanning the river that runs through the middle of the town, so as to obtain a position from which they might advance in either or both directions. To this end the force was divided into two battalions: Dom João de Lima, Gaspar de Paiva, Fernão Peres de Andrade, Bastião de Miranda, Fernão Gomes de Lemos, Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, and Jeronymo Teixeira, with other fidalgos and soldiers of the fleet, disembarked on the side of the mosque; whilst Albuquerque, with Duarte da Silva, Jorge Nunes de Leão, Simão de Abreu, Pero de Alpoym, Dinis Fernandes de Mello, Simão Martins, Simão Affonso, and Nuno Vaz de Castello-Branco, with all the rest of the armed forces, disembarked on the city side. The attack was duly made and the bridge carried, whereupon the Portuguese had to stand an artillery fire from the stockades; but as soon as the first fury of the discharge was over orders were given to storm the stockades, which each battalion did on its respective side of the bridge. The Portuguese on the mosque side of the river drove back the Moors opposed to them, whereupon the King of Malacca came up with reinforcements and several elephants, and compelled the Moors to return to the stockades which they had deserted. The Portuguese then making a fresh charge, again drove them back, and obtained possession of the mosque. Albuquerque, with his men on the opposite side of the bridge, maintained a severe struggle for some time, but at last succeeded in forcing the stockades, whereupon they killed many Moors, and put the rest to flight. A reinforcement of 700 Javanese troops was then sent up to their relief, but before they could arrive Albuquerque dispatched a body

of men to oppose them, who fell upon the Moors before they arrived at the stockades with such impetuosity that they turned and fled; at the same time some of the captains from the other side of the bridge crossed over and attacked them in front, driving many into the sea, and putting them all to death.

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Dom João de Lima, seeing that the King was retiring by a side path up the hill, went in pursuit of him. The King and his son, who were mounted upon elephants, when they saw they were pursued, turned back again with 2,000 men, and were awaited by the Portuguese at the head of a street, who attacked the elephants with their lances. These, being wounded, turned tail, and charging into the midst of the Moors entirely routed them. The elephant on which the King was riding, being wounded, seized its driver with its trunk and dashed him to pieces. The King, who was also wounded, slid off the animal's back, and not being recognised in the melée, escaped on foot with his son and the King of Pahang, his son-in-law.

After pursuing the Moors through the streets and killing many of them, Albuquerque retired again to the bridge, and having erected stockades on either side of the river, armed with artillery, he had both parts of the city set on fire, whereby a great portion of it was consumed, including the royal palace, which contained many things of great value, besides an immense quantity of merchandise. All this had been accomplished by the early afternoon, and as soon as the sun went down Albuquerque withdrew his men to the ships.

The King the next morning sent to ask Albuquerque why he had attacked the place, and what more he wanted. To this he replied that unless his Majesty became a vassal of the King of Portugal he would burn the whole city. The King sent evasive answers so as to gain time, and immediately gave orders for the stockades to be reconstructed, in a stronger manner than before, and armed

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with double the quantity of artillery. The bridge was also strongly fortified, and every preparation made to resist a second attack by the Portuguese.

Very little, if anything, had been gained by the previous attack, and as Albuquerque had no means for building a fortress, even if he should succeed in establishing himself in Malacca, he was now in a state of great uncertainty as to what should be his next movement, for he felt that if he retired and left Malacca in the power of the Moors the trade of India would be lost to the Portuguese. Whilst Albuquerque was making arrangements for a second attack on the place, the Malays many times sent fire ships among his vessels with the view of burning them, but owing to the precautions adopted, and the constant watch kept on board the Portuguese ships, they escaped that danger.

The Chinese captains now desired to depart, as the season of their monsoon had arrived. Albuquerque, therefore, furnished them with supplies and a few presents, and took advantage of the opportunity to send Duarte Fernandes with them to Siam with a letter to the King of that country desiring peace and friendship with him.

Before any renewal of the assault on Malacca, a serious dissension arose amongst the captains, the majority of whom were adverse altogether to any attempt being made to erect a fortress. Albuquerque, therefore, called them together, and in a long speech explained his view of the matter, which was that if they were only to take Malacca out of the hands of the Moors, Cairo and Mecca would be entirely ruined, and Venice would then be able to obtain no spiceries except what her merchants might buy in Portugal. As to the expenses of maintaining the place, he argued that the taxes of the land would supply ample funds for the administration of the city, whilst the greater security that would be enjoyed under Portuguese rule would undoubtedly result in a vastly-increased commerce. The majority of the captains were induced to

accept Albuquerque's view of the question, and it was thereupon decided to make another attack on the place.

Accordingly, a second assault was given, and, in the first instance, the bridge was assaulted from a lofty junk, which overtopped it, from the round top of the mainmast of which the Portuguese were able to attack the defenders in perfect safety, without being themselves exposed to their shot and darts. The Moors soon deserted the bridge in some confusion, and retired to the stockades, whereupon Albuquerque landed his men and fell upon them, and, after some severe fighting, succeeded in driving them out. Albuquerque then established himself on the bridge, and dispatched two companies, with orders that one of them should occupy the mosque, and the other take up a position at the entrance of a street leading to the bridge. The latter position was occupied without serious difficulty; but the mosque, in which was the King with a large body of men and elephants, was defended with much greater obstinacy. These were, however, at length driven out, and they fled away chased by the Portuguese, who were themselves followed by large bodies of Moors. When Albuquerque saw that his men were thus taken in rear, he went with a company to their relief, and, the two parties having joined, fought their way back. The mosque and stockades were then occupied by the Portuguese forces, and Albuquerque proceeded to fortify the bridge, sending, whilst so engaged, four large barques up the river, with great *bombards*, to drive away the enemy from either side. When night fell, the Portuguese settled themselves within their fortifications on the bridge, keeping watch against a surprise, and Albuquerque ordered the barques in the river and the ships opposite the town to keep up a constant bombardment all night. This went on for a period of ten days, during which numbers of Moors were killed, and they could not walk about the streets without fear of death.

The city was thus reduced to a state of great destitution

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and want, and at the expiration of these ten days some of the people began to send to Albuquerque to beg for mercy. The first who thus surrendered were people from Pegu. These he received kindly, giving them permission to depart for their own country, and to take with them all their property, whilst he also granted a similar privilege to all the merchants who came from countries to the east of Cape Comorin.

As soon as the Moors had been fairly driven out of Malacca, Albuquerque gave permission for the city to be sacked, but ordered that nothing belonging to Ninachatu (a Hindu who had shown kindness to de Aranjo and his companions during their captivity) should be touched. After the city had been looted, Albuquerque gave safe-conduct passes to certain merchants who applied for the same, but ordered that all the Malays and Moors who might be met with should be put to death. An immense number of the latter—men, women, and children—were thus slain, and there were captured 3,000 pieces of artillery, 2,000 of which were of bronze, and one very large gun which the King of Calicut had sent to the King of Malacca, besides an immense quantity of smaller weapons. In this second assault of the city, which took place in August, 1511, a number of Portuguese were wounded, and the most fatal cases were those caused by poisoned darts expelled from blow-tubes. Amongst other things taken were six large bronze lions, which Albuquerque intended for his own tomb, and many other miscellaneous articles which he purposed sending home to King Dom Manoel; but these were all lost in the "Flor de la mar" on the voyage back to India.

Albuquerque next adopted measures for restoring order within the city, and to this end he appointed Ninachatu governor of the Quilins and Chetins, and made Utemutaraja the principal chief of the Moors. The people then began to settle down quietly, and merchants by degrees returned to the city. As, however, Albuquerque did

not feel entire confidence in these men, he desired, if possible, to get the King himself into his power. His Majesty had retired to some little distance from the city, and dispatched a messenger to the island of Linga to demand assistance from the King of that place, who was subject to him, for the recovery of Malacca; he, however, was too much afraid of incurring the vengeance of Albuquerque to comply with that request.

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The King of Malacca then fled to the kingdom of Pahang, where he dispatched Tuão Nacem Mudaliar as an ambassador to the Emperor of China, begging for assistance to enable him to recover his city. Mudaliar proceeded to Pekin and had an audience of the Emperor, who, however, excused himself from complying with the request of the King of Malacca on the ground that he was then engaged in a war with the Tartars. But it has been alleged that his real motive in refusing was on account of the bad treatment the Chinese merchants had received in Malacca from the Malays, and the kindness that had been shown by Albuquerque to those he had found in that port, coupled with the desire to extend the commerce of his land. Mudaliar died on his way home, and the King of Malacca did not long survive the loss of his principal city.

After the death of the King, many of the principal men of the country who had accompanied him in his exile returned to Malacca, and several of them were permitted to take up their residence there. Albuquerque then sent out a body of Javanese to scour the surrounding country, who brought in 1,500 slaves who had belonged to the King. These he retained, according to the custom of the country, and made them work upon the erection of a fortress, the greater part of the stones used for that purpose being taken from the ancient sepulchres of former Kings, and from the mosques that were demolished for that purpose. A very strong fortress was in due course erected, which Albuquerque called "*A famosa*," that is "*The famous*." He ordered the names of all the

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principal men who had been engaged in this enterprise to be inscribed on a large stone slab, but as these showed great jealousy of one another, and did not desire that one name should take precedence over the others, Albuquerque gave orders that the stone should be set up over the gateway with the inscribed names turned to the wall, and on the back of the slab he had written the words "Lapidem quam reprobaverunt ædificatores" (Psalm cxviii., 22). Besides the fortress, Albuquerque erected a church within the city which he dedicated to "Our Lady of the Annunciation."

As soon as trade began to revive, great inconvenience was felt from the want of a currency. Albuquerque suppressed the coinage of the Moors in Malacca, and after consultation with the principal men and leading merchants of the city, he gave orders that a new pewter coinage should be struck. Out of two *caixes* (*cash*) of the King of Malacca was struck a coin with the sphere of King Dom Manoel, to which was given the name of *dinheiro*, and another of greater size, which was worth ten *dinheiros*, was called *soldo*, and others, which weighed ten *soldos*, were termed *bastardos*. The mines of pewter in the kingdom were made direct crown property of the King of Portugal. A gold coin was also struck, of the value of a thousand *reis*, which was named *catholico*, and a siver coin of the same value, which was termed *malaqueses*. In order to put an entire stop to the circulation of the native money, a house was established for the Mint, and orders were given that everyone who possessed any coin of the King of Malacca should convey it thither without delay under pain of death. As soon as a sufficient quantity of new money had been coined a procession passed through the city consisting of the principal governors of the city, mounted on elephants, richly caparisoned, one of whom, from time to time, made a proclamation of the change of currency, and after each announcement quantities of gold, silver, and pewter coin were scattered amongst the people who crowded the streets.

In the general administration of the affairs of the city, Albuquerque showed a great preference to the Hindus over the Moors, and this, not unnaturally, gave great offence to Utemutaraja, who shortly placed himself in communication with King Alavadim (who had succeeded to the kingdom after the death of his father King Mahamet) with the view of a combined rising against the Portuguese. Letters which passed between these two fell fortunately into the hands of Albuquerque, who thus became aware of the treachery of this man. He, however, kept his own counsel on the subject, and, if anything, showed him, openly, more favour and consideration than before, so as to disguise from him the fact that he was aware of his double-dealing. Emboldened by the supposed impunity of his actions, he gave opportunity to the Moors, who lived in his district of Dupe, to make use of their own coinage in preference to that issued from the Portuguese Mint. He also dealt treacherously with the Moorish merchants, who made complaints to Albuquerque that small bands of his men were continually going about the country robbing those who had returned to Malacca upon the faith of the safeguard he had held out to them. And, further, he had even given orders to seize all the slaves of the King, of his mandarins, and of the merchants, whilst he took possession, on his own account, of certain estates in the interior of the country which had been deserted by the governors of Malacca when they accompanied the King in his flight. Utemutaraja also intercepted all the cargoes of rice that arrived, which he appropriated to himself, and refused to part with to the merchants, insomuch that an actual scarcity of provisions was occasioned thereby. All these things having been reported to Albuquerque, he made a representation on the subject to Utemutaraja, but affected at the same time to believe that he must surely have been misinformed. Utemutaraja took no notice of these complaints, but from that time began to erect strong stockades, surrounded by ditches,

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in Dupe, and several representations were made to Albuquerque of the danger there would be in his leaving for India whilst Utemutaraja continued to maintain his position and influence in Malacca.

Albuquerque being thus warned of the conspiracy in which Utemutaraja was engaged with the King Alavadim, determined to seize him, together with his son, son-in-law, and grandson; but, whenever he summoned them to his presence, for the alleged purpose of taking counsel with them, they made excuses for not obeying the summons. When, however, Albuquerque was about to depart for India, he made that a reason for summoning all the principal people of the place, at which meeting Utemutaraja and his relatives attended. As soon as they were assembled within the fortress, their arms were taken from them, and Albuquerque then ordered the charges against Utemutaraja to be read out to him. Some of these he confessed, others he endeavoured to explain away, whilst some, he said, had been trumped up against him by the Hindus.

Albuquerque then ordered that these men (four in number) should be placed in confinement and a guard placed over them, also that the stockades which had been erected by Utemutaraja should be thrown down and the ditches filled in. The chief magistrate of the place was then instructed to make a judicial investigation into the charges against these men, and to see that full restitution were made of everything that should prove to have been obtained by robbery. The prisoners having been found guilty, they were duly executed on a high scaffold that had been erected for the purpose in the sight of the whole town.

Whilst these events were taking place at Malacca, Duarte Fernandes had proceeded in the Chinese junks to Siam. Here he was very well received by the King, who had already heard of the prowess of Albuquerque, and was therefore greatly pleased at receiving an ambassador from

him. At his interview with the King, Duarte Fernandes presented him with a letter from Albuquerque and also with a sword he had sent as a present, at which his Majesty was very much pleased, and he gave orders that Duarte Fernandes should be shown all over the city and be treated with every honour. When Duarte Fernandes left Siam the King sent back with him an ambassador to Albuquerque, bearing a letter to King Dom Manoel, a ruby ring, and a crown and sword of gold. In the letter to Dom Manoel, the King of Siam expressed his pleasure at having received a messenger from His Majesty and with the declaration of friendship. He offered his kingdom and person for the service of the King of Portugal, and supplies and men and merchandise for his country. When dispatching the ambassador of the King of Siam back to his country, Albuquerque gave him a gift for himself, as well as many offerings to be presented to the King of Siam in the name of the King of Portugal. He also sent with him Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo as ambassador, with instructions to inform His Majesty how he had captured Malacca, and to express a hope that the ships and people of Siam would trade with that place.

After this the King of Campar, who was also a son-in-law of the late King of Malacca, sent a messenger to Albuquerque, accompanied by a present, offering to become a vassal of the King of Portugal. Albuquerque, in reply, thanked him for his desire to serve the King of Portugal, and he also sent him presents in return, and offered him men and a fleet whenever he might require them. An ambassador had also arrived from the King of Java, who had been greatly opposed to the King of Malacca, on account of the various tyrannies which were continually practised upon his subjects whenever they went there. On his return Albuquerque sent with him to the King of Java, besides other presents, one of the elephants that had been captured in Malàcca. At this time also three *pangajaoas* (large rowing-boats) arrived from the kingdom

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of Menamcabo, at the southern point of Sumatra, with a sum of gold, which they desired to exchange with the Portuguese for some Indian cloths.

Having sent back all these messengers, Albuquerque determined to dispatch an expedition to explore the Moluccas and other islands of the eastern archipelago, and to this end fitted out three ships, which he placed under the command of Antonio de Abreu, and with him Francisco Serrão and Simão Affonso. With these he also sent a junk laden with various kinds of merchandise. The orders given to Antonio de Abreu were that he was on no account to take any prizes or to go on board any vessel whatever, nor to allow any of his men to go ashore; that in all the harbours and at all the islands at which he might touch he was to give presents to the kings and lords of the country; that he was not to interfere with any ships of Malacca, or of the other ports (whether they belonged to Moors or to Hindus), which he might meet with in any of those islands, but rather show them favour, and give them as much assistance as possible; that he was to imitate the manner of trade adopted by other ships, observing all the customs of the respective countries; and, whatever might happen, not one of the captains was to go on land, but only the factor and scrivener with two or three to accompany them. This expedition set out in November, 1511.

Malacca being now restored to a state of peace and quietness, the merchants of that city began to prosecute again their trading voyages, and to arrange their commercial undertakings in such a manner that, in a very short space of time, the brisk trade which was carried on there began to be very celebrated. And on account of the facilities afforded to commerce, vessels began to arrive there from various parts, all of which were enabled to leave again with good return cargoes.

Matters having been thus successfully settled in Malacca, and the fortress completed, Albuquerque began to pre-

pare for a return voyage to India. Before starting, however, having taken counsel with his captains, he appointed Ruy de Brito Patalim captain of the fortress, Fernão Peres de Andrade chief captain of the sea, and Lopo de Azevedo vice-captain. In the event of anything happening to Ruy de Brito, Fernão Peres de Andrade was to succeed him. The fortress was well supplied with artillery, and 300 men were left as a garrison, besides 200 to man the ships. In addition to the vessels Albuquerque left behind for the defence of the port, he gave orders that Antonio de Abreu was to remain there on his return from the Moluccas. Ruy de Aranjo was appointed factor and chief *alcaide*, and João Jorge and Francisco Cardoso *almoxarifes*. Albuquerque also appointed as governors of the land Ninachatu, a Hindu; Regorage, a Moor; and Tuão Colascar, a Javanese.

Seeing that Albuquerque was set upon returning to India, the merchants of the country earnestly entreated him not to leave. They volunteered that, if he had decided upon that course owing to want of funds, they would supply him with as much gold, silver, and merchandise as he had need of, if he would only remain until the affairs of the city should have become more settled. Albuquerque explained that circumstances rendered it necessary that he should now go to India, but he promised that he would quickly return to visit them, and that in the meanwhile, for the security of the city, he would leave the fortress so provided with artillery and Portuguese cavaliers that it would be perfectly safe against any Power in the world. The merchants replied that when he was in Malacca his name alone was sufficient for its defence and maintenance for a hundred years, and they therefore repeated their request that he would not leave them. Albuquerque again assured them of the necessity for his departure, since the fortress of Goa had yet to be completed, and he was unaware how affairs had gone there since his departure.

Albuquerque lost no time in acquainting King Dom Manoel of how he had taken Malacca, and added it to the

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Portuguese dominions. The King, on receipt of this welcome intelligence, wrote to inform the Pope Leo X. of the victories gained by the Portuguese arms in that part of the world.

This concurrence of great and prosperous events induced the Pope to direct the celebration of a public thanksgiving in Rome, which was accordingly observed with extraordinary pomp and splendid processions to the churches of S. Maria del Popolo and S. Agostino, in which the Pontiff appeared in person, thus giving additional dignity to the ceremony. At the same time he ordered Camillo Portio, one of the canons of S. Peter's, at Rome, to pronounce, in the pontifical chapel, a Latin oration in praise of the character and actions of the King of Portugal. This mutual interchange of civility and respect between the King of Portugal and the Pontiff was, however, rendered much more conspicuous by a splendid embassy from the Portuguese monarch, which soon afterwards arrived at Rome. The chief ambassador on this occasion was the celebrated Tristão da Cunha, who had himself held a principal command in the expedition to the East, and had acquired great honour by his conduct and courage in its prosecution. He was accompanied by Jaco Pacheco and Giovanni de Faria, professors of the law, of great eminence and authority. Three sons of Cunha, with many others of his relatives and friends, accompanied the procession, which was met at the gates of the city by a select body of cardinals and prelates, who conducted the strangers to the palaces appointed for their residence. But the respectability of the envoys was of less importance in the eyes of the populace than the singular and magnificent presents for the Pope by which they were accompanied. Among these were an elephant of extraordinary size, two leopards, a panther, and other uncommon animals. Several Persian horses, richly caparisoned, appeared also in the train, mounted by natives of the same country dressed in their proper habits. To these was added a profusion of articles

of inestimable value : pontifical vestments, adorned with gold and jewels, vases, and other implements for the celebration of sacred rites, and a covering for the altar of the most exquisite workmanship. A herald, bearing the arms of the Portuguese sovereign, led the procession. On their arrival at the pontifical palace, where the Pope stood at the window to see them pass, the elephant stopped, and, kneeling before his Holiness, bowed himself thrice to the ground. A large vessel was here provided and filled with water, which the elephant drew up into his trunk and showered down again upon the adjacent multitudes, dispersing no small portion of it among the more polite spectators at the windows, to the great entertainment of the Pontiff.

Six days afterwards the ambassadors were admitted to a public audience, on which occasion the procession was repeated. The Pope, surrounded by the cardinals and prelates of the Church, and attended by the ambassadors of foreign States and all the officers of his court, was addressed in a Latin oration by Pacheco, at the conclusion of which Leo replied to him in the same language, highly commending the King for his devotion to the Holy See. Of this opportunity the Pontiff also availed himself to recommend the maintenance of peace among the States of Europe, and the union of their arms against the Turks. On the following day the presents from the King were brought into the conservatory of the gardens adjoining the pontifical palace, where, on the introduction of animals proper for that purpose, the wild beasts displayed their agility in taking, and their ferocity in devouring, their prey. The Portuguese monarch had intended to have surprised the Roman people with the sight of another and yet rarer animal, which had not been seen in Rome for many ages ; but the rhinoceros which he had brought from the East for the purpose unfortunately perished in the attempt to get him on board the vessel prepared to transport him to Italy.

Albuquerque left Malacca with three vessels and a

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junk, on board of which were only 100 Portuguese, at the beginning of December, 1511. When he had passed over the shoals of Capacia he ordered the captains of the "Euxobregas" and the junk to keep close together, because they sailed well in company, and lest the Javanese, who were on board the junk, should plan any treason against them, whilst he in the "Flor de la mar" and Pero de Alpoym in the "Trinidade" sailed as convoy to each other. When they had gone as far as Polvoreira Island, in the Straits of Malacca, the pilots of Albuquerque's vessels, not being on their guard against certain shallows which were situated on that part of the coast of Sumatra, just opposite to the kingdom of Daru, ran the "Flor de la mar" ashore on them in the night, and the vessel, being very old, broke up into two parts directly she struck. Pero de Alpoym, who was on the outer side, let go his anchor directly he heard the cries of the crew and understood that the ship was lost, and remained where he was all the night long in a fierce gale at the mercy of the cable. When morning broke, the boats of the ships "Trinidade" and "Flor de la mar" having been staved in by the heavy seas, Albuquerque ordered a raft to be prepared with boards placed upon some timbers, upon which he embarked with two mariners, and by means of oars improvised out of some pieces of boards, rowed towards the "Trinidade," which was reached with some difficulty, by the aid of ropes tied to buckets which were thrown out from that ship. The rest of the crew of the "Flor de la mar," having constructed another raft, embarked thereon, and were with the greatest difficulty also rescued by the "Trinidade." Meanwhile the Javanese on board the junk mutinied, killed all the Portuguese on board, and sailed away to the kingdom of Pacem, where the governor, who had risen up in rebellion and taken possession of the kingdom, received them with great honour.

In the "Flor de la mar" and in the junk whose crew

had mutinied and taken her away, there were lost the richest spoils that had ever been collected since the Portuguese first arrived in India; besides many women skilled in embroidery work, and several young girls and youths of noble family from all the countries eastward of Cape Comorin, whom Albuquerque was conveying to the Queen Donna Maria. There were also lost the castles of woodwork, ornamented with brocades, which the King of Malacca used to carry upon his elephants, and very rich palanquins for his personal use, all plated with gold, and large quantities of jewellery and precious stones. Albuquerque was besides carrying with him as a present to King Dom Manoel, a table, with its feet all overlaid with plates of gold, which Milr Rao presented to Albuquerque for the King when the lands of Goa were delivered up to him. The crew all lost their kits, and nothing was saved excepting the sword and crown of gold, and the ruby ring which the King of Siam had sent to King Dom Manoel. Albuquerque also lost the lions he had taken from the sepulchres of the Kings of Malacca, which he had intended should have adorned his own tomb.

As the remaining vessels pursued their journey towards India they ran short of supplies and water, and were reduced thereby to great straits, when fortunately they espied two large Moorish ships, which they captured, and from these furnished themselves with provisions and water, and thus, in due course, they arrived at Cochin some time in January, 1512.

Lourenço Moreno, Antonio Real, and Diogo Pereira, who had written to King Dom Manoel complaining of Albuquerque's proceedings, when no news of him reached India from Malacca, spread a report that he was lost, and all his fleet with him. Upon this rumour gaining currency the Moorish inhabitants began to intrigue against the Portuguese in India, and interested themselves in bringing about a maritime invasion by the Rumes; but such was the influence of his presence in India that as soon as

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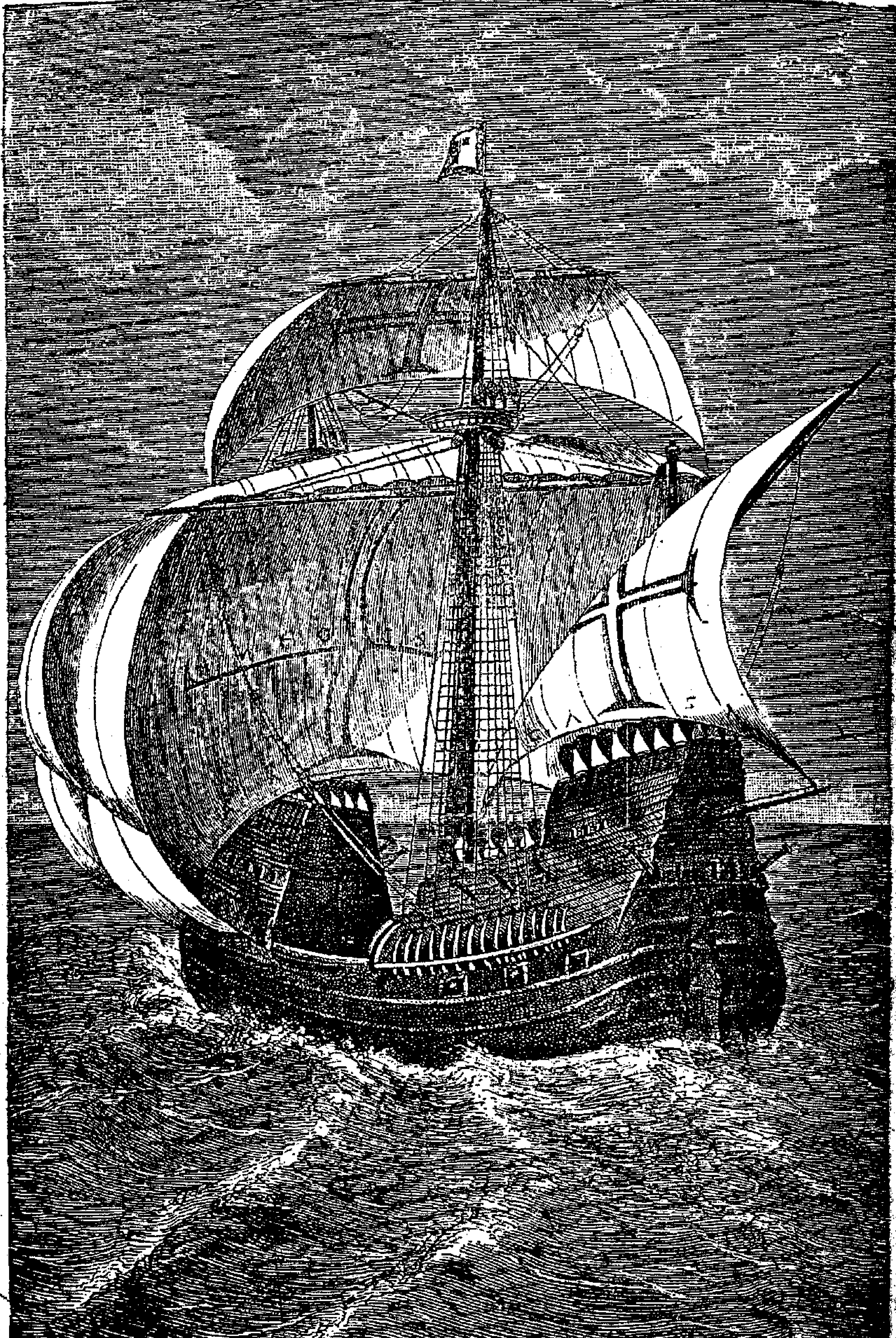
the arrival of Albuquerque at Cochin became generally known, all those who had joined in the conspiracy against the Portuguese abondoned their intentions.

On the very day of his arrival Albuquerque landed, and at once proceeded in procession to the church, where a thanksgiving service was held for his safe return. After this he was informed of the siege of Goa by an army of the Adil Khan during his absence (which will be related in the next chapter), and he immediately sent off a *catur* carrying a message to Diogo Mendes, with an account of his arrival. As soon as the *catur* had departed on its errand a message arrived from Diogo Correa, captain of Cananor, to the effect that the merchants had brought news that a great fleet of Rumes had set sail from Suez on their way to help the Adil Khan against Goa. This news greatly disconcerted Albuquerque, as he had then with him but very few vessels available.

Although Albuquerque had been away from India for less than twelve months in his expedition to Malacca, on his return he found things in a very unsatisfactory condition. In a letter to King Dom Manoel, of the 1st April, 1512, he related that on his arrival he found the ships there in a most dilapidated condition, and everything in Cochin in a most disorganised state; all the well-to-do people of the place had been expelled by the *alcaide-mor*, amongst whom was Simão Rangel,* who had been robbed of all his property by the Moors. When Albuquerque left for Malacca the forts were, he said, in a fair state of defence, and he had given the respective captains strict instructions to forbid the passage of soldiers from one fortress to another without special permission; but, notwithstanding these orders, not only had there been several exchanges, but

*Simão Rangel was a servant of King Dom Manoel, and, as he was a man of great judgment, Albuquerque often made use of his services in connection with matters of importance. When he was at Cochin, during the absence of Albuquerque at Malacca, he and some others disagreed with certain proceedings of Lourenço Moreno, Antonio Real, and Diogo Pereira, and these, therefore, went away in a *catur* to Goa. On the voyage he was captured by some *parâos* of Calicut.



A PORTUGUESE CARAVEL OF THE 16TH CENTURY.
Copied from an Illustration in "Centenario do Descobrimento da America." Lisbon.

numerous desertions had taken place. It is also stated in the same letter that a priest of the Order of São Domingo had defrauded many people in Goa by making himself sole heir in the wills which he had been entrusted by them to draw up. "The greatest of all evils to Goa is, however," he added, "the persistent and constant report that 'the Rumes are coming.' It is a source of great danger to India, and causes much disquiet and uneasiness among natives and Christians alike. As regards these damaging remarks, I would respectfully submit to your Majesty that until we go to the Red Sea, and assure these people that such beings as the Rumes are not in existence, there can be no confidence or peace for your Majesty's subjects in these parts." He then concluded by earnestly imploring that plenty of arms, men, and all necessary tools, implements, &c., might be sent for the purpose of erecting fortresses and other works of defence.

Soon after dispatching the above-mentioned letter, Albuquerque went with his entire fleet towards the Straits of Mecca and Aden, having previously dispatched Diogo Fernandes with three ships to dismantle the fortress of Socotra, as it had proved quite useless for the purpose for which it was first erected, and then to sail to Ormuz to collect the tribute accrued due. This he did to his perfect satisfaction, and then returned to India. The fleet which accompanied Albuquerque consisted of the following vessels: "Flor de la mar," "Cirne," "Rey Grande," "Rumesa" (all large ships), "São Christovão," "Santa Maria de Ajuda," "Garça," "Rosario," "Santa Espirito," "Rey Pequeno," "Taforea," "Leonarda," and some small caravels. With these he started as arranged, but was soon forced to put back owing to stress of weather. Finding the monsoon would not serve for a voyage to Ormuz, he left some of the ships at Goa, in order to undergo repairs, and then proceeded to Cochin and Cananor, where he la[illegible]d some men and arms. Here we must leave him whil[illegible]unt the events that took place at Goa during th[illegible]querque at Malacca.

CHAPTER IX.

Attack on Goa by Pulad Khan—Treachery of Rassel Khan—Arrival of Reinforcements—Reported Advance of the Rumes from Suez —Arrival of Albuquerque at Goa—Attack on Banestarim—Advance of Rassel Khan on Goa—His Repulse—Capture of Banestarim Fort—Punishment of Renegades—Proposed Expedition to Aden—Blockade of the Calicut Ports—Arrival of Ambassadors from various Kings and from Prester John—Negotiations for a Fortress at Calicut—Albuquerque's Letter on the importance of Goa.

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No sooner had Affonso de Albuquerque left Goa for Malacca than the Adil Khan conceived the idea of reconquering his lost possessions, and to this end he prepared a force, which he placed under Pulad Khan to drive out Milr Rao, who was carrying on the government and farming the revenues of the mainland district, and, if possible, to capture Timoja, who was with him. Pulad Khan proceeded on this enterprise with a force of infantry and cavalry, and as soon as Milr Rao received information of his intended attack he collected 4,000 native peons and fifty mounted men, and sent forward Hicarrhau to defend a pass in the mountain range which the enemy must traverse; but he was so slow in taking up the position, that when he arrived at the pass he found it already in the possession of the enemy. Pulad Khan fell upon him with his entire force, completely routed him, and in the pursuit killed Hicarrhau, together with a large portion of the men who were with him. Pulad Khan then, without any delay, fell upon Milr Rao's camp, and speedily put him also to the rout. Milr Rao, having no means of obtaining support, did not, as might [illegible] been expected, fall back upon Goa, but, actin[illegible] dvice of Timoja, fled

towards Narsinga; and, having arrived at Bisnaga, was very favourably received by the King. Shortly after reaching Bisnaga, Timoja died. A few days later Milr Rao, having received a report from Honawar that his brother, who had risen up and taken possession of that kingdom, was dead, begged permission of the King to depart, and on arrival assumed the sovereignty of that kingdom. He ever after remained a staunch adherent of the King of Portugal.

Pulad Khan, having thus gained possession of the mainland territories of Goa—forgetful of the instructions he had received from the Adil Khan, which were that in the event of his success he was to await instructions as to his further proceedings—desired to follow up his victory, and, with certain rafts and boats he found ready at hand, crossed over to the island of Goa without meeting with any resistance. He at once fortified himself in Banestarim, which, although it commanded the principal passage from the mainland to the island of Goa, had been neglected by Rodrigo Rabello, notwithstanding that Albuquerque had ordered, before his departure, that it should be put into a proper condition of defence.

As soon as Pulad Khan had fortified himself at Banestarim he made an incursion through the neighbouring villages, destroying and burning everything he came across. As soon as this came to the knowledge of Rodrigo Rabello he sallied out of the city with thirty mounted men, accompanied by the aged *alguazil* of Cananor, with 400 Nairs. These fell upon Pulad Khan's forces, and worsted them, killing as many as 1,500 Turks and Coraçones. Rodrigo Rabello followed after the enemy as they retreated, with only his few mounted men, whereupon the Turks rallied behind some old ruins, where the horsemen could not get at them, and defended themselves, killing Rodrigo Rabello and Manoel da Cunha, who was with him. The remainder of the Portuguese force, seeing that they were now without a captain, retreated to the

city, and Pulad Khan's troops at the same time retired to Banestarim, intending, however, at an early date to besiege the city.

The natural successor to Rodrigo Rabello, as captain of the fortress, was Francisco Pantoja; but he, not being popular with the majority of the Portuguese, they elected Diogo Mendes de Vasconcellos, whom Albuquerque had left captive in the keep, and, having liberated him, they handed over to him the government of the city, and all took oaths of allegiance. Diogo Mendes de Vasconcellos, having assumed the captaincy, wrote to Manoel de Lacerda, who was making his way as captain of a fleet against Calicut, giving him an account of all that had occurred, and desiring him to come back to help him.

On receipt of news of the state of Goa, Manoel de Lacerda at once proceeded thither, and on his arrival found the city in a great state of alarm in consequence of the reported approach of Rassel Khan, principal captain of the Adil Khan, with a numerous force of men and artillery. The fortification of the city was completed with great rapidity. Preparations were at once made to resist an attack, and provisions were laid in to enable the Portuguese to stand a siege in case of necessity. At the critical moment Diogo Fernandes de Béja arrived with his fleet and forces from Ormuz, thus adding considerably to the available means of defence.

Pulad Khan was very indignant at another officer being sent by the Adil Khan to supersede him in the siege of Goa, and the more so when he learned that it was Rassel Khan, a man with whom he was not on friendly terms; and he therefore refused to obey him. Rassel Khan, entertaining some doubts whether he would be able to coerce Pulad Khan himself, determined to appeal to the Portuguese to assist him in the matter. He had with him João Machado and fifteen other Portuguese, who had been taken prisoners with Fernão Jaco, whose ship had gone ashore when on his way from Socotra. Amongst these

was one Duarte Tavares, esquire of the court of Abrantes, whom the Turks took prisoner in the island of Choram. The latter Rassel Khan sent with a message to Diogo Mendes, to declare that the Adil Khan, his lord, greatly desired peace and friendship with the King of Portugal, and was very much annoyed at what Pulad Khan had done. He had, therefore, sent him with a force to restrain him. On arrival, however, he found him in a state of rebellion, and strongly fortified in Banestarim. Rassel Khan therefore requested Diogo Mendes to assist in turning him out, since the Adil Khan had no desire to make war upon the Portuguese.

It would, no doubt, have been more to the advantage of the Portuguese to have assisted Pulad Khan against Rassel Khan, for, as the former had already risen in rebellion against the Adil Khan, he might, in that case, have been induced to join with them against his late lord; being, however, quite deceived by the overtures made by Rassel Khan, Diogo Mendes and all the fidalgos agreed to help him. Diogo Fernandes de Béja was accordingly ordered to proceed with 200 men up the river to assist Rassel Khan by water, whilst his forces operated by land, and the two forces falling together upon Pulad Khan completely routed him. When Pulad Khan saw that he had lost the day he fled to the mainland, where he died of poison.

Having obtained possession of Banestarim, Rassel Khan fortified the place and provided it with a large force of men, artillery, and munitions. Having done this he sent a message to Diogo Mendes, asking that he might be admitted into the city, since it was the chief city of the kingdom of the Adil Khan, his lord, which could not be established in any other locality. Diogo Mendes then discovered the mistake he had made. He had within the city a force of not more than 1,200 men, of whom only about one-third were Portuguese, whilst Rassel Khan brought with him a force of 7,000. Rassel Khan commenced to besiege the city, and closely invested it during the whole winter,

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so that those within the walls began to be subjected to great hardships and privations. When affairs seemed to be in a critical position some of the Portuguese deserted and went over to Rassel Khan, believing that the city would not be able to hold out any longer. As soon as João Machado saw this he went over to the Portuguese side with some ten or twelve Christians who desired to accompany him. Shortly afterwards Manoel de la Cerda arrived with his vessel from Cochin, where he had wintered, and reinforced the garrison with both men and provisions, inspiring them with new life and hopes. In a little while João Serrão also arrived, and as soon as Christovam de Brito, who was at Cananor, heard of the condition of Goa, he went thither with one great and four smaller ships, carrying reinforcements of men and supplies of provisions, and thus secured the town from further apprehensions of capture.

As soon as Affonso de Albuquerque reached Cochin from Malacca the news of his arrival spread rapidly throughout the country, and disconcerted the plans of those who had conspired together against the Portuguese. Having been informed of the position of affairs at Goa, he at once sent off a message to Diogo Mendes informing him of his return to India, and of his intention to proceed to Goa as soon as his arrangements for so doing should be completed. About this time news also reached India of the departure of a great fleet of Rumes from Suez to help the Adil Khan against Goa. This greatly distressed Albuquerque on account of the smallness of his available fleet to oppose them; but whilst he was in a state of indecision as to what would be his best course to pursue under the circumstances, D. Garcia de Noronha arrived at Cochin, on the 20th of August, 1512, with six ships, and Jorge de Mello with eight ships and a large body of men on board. In a letter to the King of the last-mentioned date, Albuquerque reported that Cochin was then in a good state of defence, and possessed ample ammunition as well

as men. It appears from this letter that the King had commanded him to enter into treaties with all the native Powers, with the exception of Calicut; but, in reply, whilst informing His Majesty that he was at peace with the whole of Malabar, except Calicut, pointed out that there was nothing to be gained by prolonging the war with that State; that the King of Calicut would not now refuse to enter into a treaty if requested to do so; and that a far larger trade was to be obtained by peaceful means than by war.

With the reinforcement which had now joined him, Albuquerque no longer hesitated as to what he should do, and, although many of his ships were in a sadly decayed condition, he set out to meet the fleet of the Rumes on the 10th of September, 1512, with sixteen sail, in addition to which he expected to take up four at Goa. On reaching Cananor he learned that the arrival of the Rumes' fleet was uncertain, so he sent back two vessels to Cochin to take in their cargo, and with the rest he proceeded on his voyage, determining, however, now to go direct to the relief of Goa. It does not appear whether or not Albuquerque made a long stay at Cananor, but his progress seems to have been very slow, since by the 18th of October he was before Bhatkal, and must have reached Goa about the 26th of that month. He had, however, sent Dom Garcia de Noronha with the greater portion of the fleet in advance, with instructions that everything was to be made ready for an attack on Banestarim as soon as he should arrive, and in the meanwhile none of the inhabitants were to be allowed to leave the city without special permission.

As soon as Albuquerque arrived at Goa he lost no time in commencing an attack on Banestarim. The whole fleet took up a position opposite to the fortress, and commenced a furious bombardment, which was replied to by the guns of the fort with equal vigour. The Turks had mounted a *basilisk* (an ancient kind of cannon of large

alibre), which did great execution amongst the Portuguese ships, and a boat was accordingly sent to attack it, when a round shot struck on the muzzle and broke it,
A.D. 1512. killing two renegade bombardiers, one of whom was a Gallician, and the other a Castilian, who had fled away at the first entry of the Portuguese into Goa, and gone over to the Moors.

In order to cut off any reinforcements that might be sent from the mainland to Banestarim, Albuquerque sent Dom Garcia de Noronha with two small ships and a barge, all armed with artillery, to cross over the narrow pass opposite the fortress, and to attack it from the other side. In effecting this passage one of the vessels grounded and capsized, but the other two took up a position and commenced an attack on that side. Albuquerque then ordered a stockade to be destroyed that had been erected by the Moors, so as to enable his ships to get close to the walls. This was effected during the night; and several ships had been placed in position inside the stockade before they were discovered. The Moors, however, lost no time in attacking them, and threw down burning trusses of straw to the foot of the wall; by the light thus afforded they were enabled to fire upon the ships with their guns, which replied at almost close quarters.

Albuquerque then left these vessels in order to bring up reinforcements to attack the fort from the land side, and having captured two Moors, who were on their way to Banestarim, he learned from them that Yusuf-al-Araj was on his way with 2,000 men to relieve the fortress, and that within it there was a combined force of about 6,000 Turks, Rumes, and Coraçanes, besides about 3,000 other troops, including 100 musketeers and 300 horsemen. Albuquerque then appointed Ayres da Silva chief captain of the ships, with instructions to attack the fortress on the side of the sea directly he saw an assault commenced on it from the land side.

Whilst preparations were being made for the general

attack, the bombardment from the sea was continued almost uninterruptedly for eight days and nights, during which the Portuguese ships were completely riddled with shot, and their yards and rigging stuck all over with arrows. During this time a caravan of draught oxen appeared on the mainland, bringing provisions to the fortress, whereupon Ayres da Silva started one night with a body of men, and having either killed or driven away the guard that accompanied the caravan, captured all the provisions.

Albuquerque having made his way to the city of Goa, was received, on landing, by a deputation of the principal people in the place, who delivered an address to him, and Manoel de Lacerda formally handed to him the keys of the citadel. He then went in procession to the church, and, after hearing a sermon, at once set to work making preparations for an attack on Banestarim; but, whilst thus engaged, the news reached him that Rassel Khan had left the fortress, and, accompanied by a large force of infantry and cavalry, was on his way to attack the city. It was night when he received this intelligence; and early the following morning Albuquerque went out of the city, accompanied by a few officers, and a company of troops under Manoel de Lacerda, to some neighbouring heights to reconnoitre, and discovered Rassel Khan with his forces bivouacked in the valley beneath. He then sent Ruy Gonçalves and João Fidalgo with 300 men to reinforce Manoel de Lacerda; and after these he sent thirty mounted men, with a message to Lacerda to maintain his position, but not to engage the enemy. If, however, he observed that they were determined to fight, he was to send word back. When Rassel Khan perceived how few men were opposed to him, he came on with his forces to engage them, but Manoel de Lacerda remained firm, declining to fight, and sent word to Albuquerque according to his instructions. A council was then held, and it was determined to sally out from the city and attack the enemy. Albu-

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querque formed the whole of his forces into three companies, the commands of which were taken by Pero Mascarenhas, Dom Garcia de Noronha, and Albuquerque himself, respectively. They marched out in the above order, and Rassel Khan thereupon began to push on his battalions to meet them.

When Albuquerque saw the enemy approaching, he ordered Pero Mascarenhas to wheel round his company so as to face them, and Dom Garcia de Noronha to press forward to their right, whilst he placed his company on their left, thus taking them in flank. Perceiving these movements, Rassel Khan halted his battalions, whereupon the Portuguese attacked them on three sides, and threw them into disorder, and they then began to retreat towards the fortress. As soon as Albuquerque perceived this he sent his cavalry to attack them, and in the charge 1,000 native Canarese peons became separated from the main body of the enemy, and went up along a rising ground. These being in disorder, Albuquerque sent a company of his troops to separate them from their main body, and as soon as they saw that they were cut off they fled to the ford of Gondalim, and, crossing over the river to the mainland, many of them were drowned.

Pero Mascarenhas and Dom Garcia de Noronha now fell furiously upon the enemy as they were approaching Banestarim, capturing all their horses; those who were in the van rushed into the fortress, and in their panic closed the gates, shutting many of their companions outside. Some of these managed to effect an entrance by running round to the other side of the fortress, but the majority were either drowned, stifled in the mud, or slain either by their pursuers or by Ayres da Silva and his men, who then came up in their boats. Many of the Portuguese succeeded in scaling the wall of the fortress, and some believed that, demoralised as Rassel Khan's troops then were, they might have succeeded in capturing the place. But, as they were without any artillery, Albuquer-

que ordered the men to retire. In this engagement many cavaliers were wounded, and 150 soldiers. CHAP. IX. A.D. 1512.

When the Portuguese had withdrawn from the fortress, Albuquerque drew them up at a short distance from it, on a spot where they were protected from the enemy's guns; and after carefully surveying the position, he withdrew his whole army to the city, in order that the wounded might be properly attended to, and the others might rest after the exertions of the day. Here he remained for several days, during which artillery, scaling ladders, mantlets, and other requirements for an assault were collected; and as soon as these were ready he sent them off under a convoy of crossbowmen and musketeers to a spot known as the *Two Trees*, about midway between Goa and Banestarim, where he ordered his tent to be pitched. On the following day he set out with the whole of the army to the number of about 3,500 men, and pitched his camp at the *Two Trees*. Here he remained for two days, until all the necessary supplies had been collected, and then sent forward Pero Mascarenhas with some troops, and all the artillery, to erect stockades in which to plant the guns.

An artillery duel now commenced, without much damage being done on either side; and as soon as night fell the Portuguese guns were advanced nearer to the walls. In the morning 400 of the enemy came out to attack the guns, but many of these were killed, and the rest retired, whereupon the artillery began to play upon the wall with such fury, from morning till evening, that not a single man dared to show himself between the battlements. The wall had already begun to give way, and during the following night the guns were advanced still nearer to the fortress, whilst preparations were also made for an assault the next morning. But before the attack was made, Rassel Khan, perceiving that he was closely attacked on all sides, with no hope of assistance from without, whilst he was also running short of supplies

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and ammunition, hung out a white flag, and sued for peace. The majority of the captains were in favour of giving an assault and capturing Rassel Khan, but this was overruled by Albuquerque, as he considered that it could only be accomplished by a serious loss of life to the Portuguese. He therefore demanded that the fortress should be surrendered with all its artillery, horses, and everything else that it contained, and that the renegades who were with Rassel Khan should also be given up, upon which conditions he would allow them all to retire. Rassel Khan agreed to all these terms, but begged to be excused giving up the renegades; Albuquerque, however, declined to listen to any terms unless these were surrendered, and Rassel Khan was therefore obliged to yield this point, which he did, on condition that their lives should be spared, which was agreed to. The enemy then all retired to the mainland, taking with them nothing but the clothes they wore.

Even with the assistance of the boats from the Portuguese vessels, it occupied two days in passing the whole of the garrison of Banestarim across the river, and on the day following the completion of the evacuation, Içufularij, captain of the Adil Khan, arrived with a large body of men and great quantities of supplies, to the relief of Rassel Khan. But when he saw that the place was already in possession of the Portuguese, he returned with the army back to his own country.

Albuquerque immediately set to work to repair the fortifications, and placed within the fortress more artillery, together with large quantities of munitions of war, and he also appointed a captain, with a body of troops, to guard it. Albuquerque then ordered Fernão Lopes,* and the

* Fernão Lopes, who was the ringleader of the renegades, set out on his return to Portugal after the death of Affonso de Albuquerque. Preferring a voluntary exile to a return to his friends in his mutilated condition, on arrival at the island of St. Helena, which was then uninhabited, he landed with a faithful slave, with the view of ending his days there. Here he established a hermitage. His friends, hearing of his situation, sent him roots and

other renegades, to be brought before him, and ordered that their right hands, the thumbs of their left hands, their ears and their noses should be cut off as a terrible example, and in memory of the punishment meted out to them for the treason and wickedness which they had committed against God and their King.

After having provisioned the fortress with everything that was requisite, Albuquerque returned to the city of Goa with all the army, where they were received with great demonstrations of joy by the entire populace. They marched straight to the church, where a thanksgiving service was held; and immediately after this Albuquerque established a large hospital for the care of the wounded, who were very numerous. He then commanded Garcia de Sousa to take certain ships and cruise off the bar of Dabhol, and not permit a single vessel to go into, or out of, the port, with the object of making war upon the Adil Khan, wherever he was able to prevail against him. After this he ordered the collection of large quantities of limestone and masonry, for the completion and strengthening of the fortresses of Banestarim, Pangim, and Devarim, which commanded the principal passes to the mainland. The two latter he placed in charge of Manoel Fragoso and Bastião Rodrigues respectively, whilst he conferred the Captaincy of Goa upon Pero Mascarenhas.

Having arranged matters at Goa, Albuquerque contemplated making an expedition to Aden and the Red Sea. Writing from Goa on the 30th October, 1512, to the King, he stated that he had received letters from persons at Aden to the effect that the Soldan had designs on that place, and had expressed an opinion that should he obtain a footing there he would have the key to the Straits, and hamper all the Portuguese trade. Albu-

vegetables, fruit-trees, poultry and birds of various kinds, hogs and goats. These latter increased abundantly, and in a few years overspread the face of the island. According to some authorities, Lopes remained on the island only four years, whilst others assert that he stayed there much longer.

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querque had received information from three Jews, who had arrived at Goa from Cairo, that the Soldan had demanded from the Sheikh 100,000 xeraphins, and upon his refusal to pay that amount the Soldan had sent him 10,000 arrows and 100 bows, besides a certain quantity of balsam, with a message that the arrows were to be the means of his death, and the balsam was for the purpose of embalming him. Albuquerque then stated that he considered it his duty to prevent such a disaster, even though certain matters in India should be neglected in consequence, and that he had therefore determined to enter the Straits that year, notwithstanding the few men and ships he had at his disposal. The King of Portugal complained to Albuquerque that, according to reports which had reached him, twenty ships had, in the previous year, gone from Calicut to Mecca laden with spices. In his reply (Goa 8th November, 1512), Albuquerque said he was not surprised* that this should have been told to His Highness, but was astonished that he should have given credence to such a rumour, as there were not now twenty ships on the whole of the Malabar coast. All the Calicut vessels which traded with Mecca had, he remarked, been seized or destroyed, and any trade there in spices was carried on secretly, in very small quantities, in rowing-boats, not more than ten or twelve in number. He assured the King he need have no fears about Calicut, but that the greatest danger to the Portuguese trade had lain in the Gulf of Ceylon, as every year at least fifty ships, laden with all the products of Malacca, used to sail for Mecca, but this too was now all altered.

Albuquerque was very angry at the failure of negotiations for peace with the Zamorin, to whom he had sent Simão Rangel as an ambassador before he went to Malacca, and he now determined to execute vengeance

* Albuquerque had a great number of enemies amongst the captains who were with him in India, some of whom had sent remonstrances to the King against some of his proceedings, in which they were not particular as to the truth of their assertions. All this was very well known to Albuquerque.

upon him for his duplicity in the matter. He accordingly sent his nephew, Dom Garcia de Noronha, to go up against Calicut, to do as much harm as he could to the Zamorin, and to institute a rigorous blockade of the coast, so as to prevent any vessels leaving that port for Mecca.

An ambassador had arrived at Goa from the Adil Khan to propose a peace, but, as the conditions which he was authorised to offer were not in all respects acceptable, Albuquerque sent him back accompanied by Diogo Fernandes as an ambassador from himself, to negotiate terms with the Adil Khan, and in the meanwhile, at the request of the Adil Khan's ambassador, he sent instructions to Dom Garcia de Sousa to suspend the blockade of Dabhol whilst negotiations were proceeding. Immediately after this an ambassador arrived also from the King of Cambay to conclude a treaty with the Portuguese. Albuquerque sent him back, accompanied by Tristão de Ga, as an ambassador from himself, who took with him some presents for the King, and was instructed to demand leave to erect a fortress in Diu for the security of the subjects and property of the King of Portugal; that the merchants of Cambay should send their merchandise to Goa and not to any other port in India; and that the King should not receive any Rumes or Turks into his kingdom, because they were so great enemies of the Portuguese. But before this messenger left he was conducted all round the arsenals at Goa, which at that time were full of artillery, saddles and horse gear, weapons, and all kinds of munitions and material of war, as well as over the stables, which were filled with horses; Albuquerque also held a review before him of all the crossbowmen and musketeers. These mustered in great numbers, for every householder of Goa, whether married or single, was obliged to carry a crossbow or musket, not only for the defence of the city, but also for the suppression of internal tumults.

The messenger from Cambay was then conducted over

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the fortress of Banestarim to see the strength of the fortifications that had been carried by the Portuguese against the Turks, and also the destruction that had been caused by their guns, in order that he might tell his lord not to place too much confidence in the ramparts of Diu should the King of Portugal order Albuquerque to take that place.

During the absence of Albuquerque at Malacca, the King of Narsinga had sent an ambassador to him with a present for King Dom Manoel, but he had returned again to his own country. Albuquerque now sent Gaspar Chanoca to Narsinga to give that King an account of the siege of Banestarim, and to say that since all the Kings of India had granted a site in their harbours for the construction of a strong house wherein the property of the King of Portugal might be preserved, and as he was very desirous of being on friendly terms with the King, the latter ought to grant him a similar site in Bhatkal; and in return for this he would willingly forward all the horses that came to market at Goa to Narsinga rather than to 'Adil Khan.

Three days later an ambassador arrived from King Vengapor to congratulate Albuquerque on his return from Malacca, and his success at Banestarim, bringing with him a present of sixty horse trappings and twenty-five saddles. He also proposed to Albuquerque that King Vengapor should be appointed to the government of the lands of Goa, for which he offered to pay a certain specified rent, and that he might be allowed to take 300 horses, of which the King was in great need. Albuquerque received the ambassadors with great kindness, and commanded that the horses Vengapor required should be supplied to him at his own price, and he gave his ambassador besides many things for His Majesty in return for the presents he had sent.

Shortly afterwards one Matheus, an ambassador from Prester John, the King of Abyssinia, to the King of Por-

tugal, arrived at Dabhol, whence he was sent to Goa by order of Albuquerque. He brought letters from Prester John to Dom Manoel, and a message desiring the marriage of his children with those of the King of Portugal, and also offering him troops and supplies for the destruction of the House of Mecca and the Grand Soldan of Cairo, which he offered to have conveyed to whatever port in his country might be selected. He also brought with him a piece of the wood of the true Cross for King Dom Manoel, which had been sent by the Warden of Jerusalem. The people of Goa entertained strong doubts whether this man had been really dispatched by the Prester John, and they declared that he was a Moor, sent as a spy by the Grand Soldan. Albuquerque, however, received him with every courtesy, and forwarded him to Cananor, in order that he might embark in the vessels then about to return to Portugal. Here also he was suspected of being a spy sent by the Grand Soldan, and no sooner had the ship in which he embarked set sail than the captain, Bernaldim Freire, began to treat him very badly, and at Mozambique he was put in irons by advice of Francisco Pereira.

On arrival at Portugal, King Dom Manoel received him well, and treated him in a manner due to an ambassador. Having complained to His Majesty of the treatment he had received on the voyage, orders were given that Bernaldim Freire and Francisco Pereira should be thrown into prison in Lisbon Castle, where they remained until the ambassador started on his return home. On his way back he was accompanied by Dom Rodrigo de Lima, who was sent by Dom Manoel as ambassador to the Prester John. On arrival at Massuah, Matheus died, but Dom Rodrigo de Lima proceeded on his embassy.

Dom Garcia de Noronha, having seen to the dispatch of the homeward-bound vessels from Cochin, set sail for Calicut with all his fleet; but no sooner had he arrived off that city than the Prince, brother of the Zamorin, who was friendly to the Portuguese, sent word to say that his bro-

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ther, the Zamorin, was desirous of being at peace with the King of Portugal, and would be happy to grant a site in Calicut for the erection of a fortress, and would pay him tribute. Dom Garcia, however, vouchsafed him no reply to his message, but continued to blockade the coast, so that not one of the ships that were then ready to sail for the Red Sea could venture out. He remained there during the whole of the month of January, 1513, until he received a message from Albuquerque desiring him to proceed to Goa and join the fleet that was then ready to sail into the Straits of the Red Sea.

As soon as Dom Garcia received this message he proceeded to Cochin, and having collected all the ships there that were serviceable, he took them with him to Goa, where he arrived on 10th February, and he informed Albuquerque that before leaving Calicut the Zamorin had expressed his regret at not having come to terms with the Portuguese, and stated that he was now willing to give them a site for a fortress, but that up to the present he had not granted it because the Moors from Cairo had prevented him from so doing. Albuquerque waited at Goa for four or five days, and dispatched Francisco Nogueira, and with him Gonçalo Mendes, to Calicut, to conclude terms with the Zamorin, with instructions to accept no site for a fortress unless it were within the reef in front of their landing pier, in the harbour pool. This officer, however, met with no better success in the matter than others had before him, and as soon as the Zamorin knew that the Portuguese fleet had sailed from the coast of India, he lengthened out the negotiations with complimentary communications, so that Francisco Nogueira at length, seeing that nothing was likely to be concluded, returned to Goa. The Moorish ships that were already loaded in the port then ventured out, and proceeded towards the Straits of the Red Sea, but, being caught in a storm, they were driven back to the coasts of Cambay. When Albuquerque returned from the Straits he captured them all and took them to Goa,

and by the loss of these the merchant Moors of Calicut were utterly ruined.

Before sailing from Goa, Albuquerque laid before his captains the following articles he had received from King Dom Manoel concerning that place, which, in his opinion, were due to the conspiracies of Gaspar Pereira, Lourenço Moreno, Antonio Real, and Diogo Pereira, who had always been opposed to his policy concerning that place:—

"That Goa was very unhealthy, and was the cause of unnecessary expense, of no use except to give trouble to the soldiers;

"That therein there must be always a continued war, for the Adil Khan was so powerful that he would be sure to try his utmost to recover it, because it was the capital of his dominions;

"That the revenues of the mainland, upon which Affonso de Albuquerque laid great importance, were impossible to be collected, except by maintaining a great number of people with heavy expenses for the collection of this revenue, because the Adil Khan himself could not collect them without the assistance of a large army: and

"That the Adil Khan would be glad to agree to any proposal, and become tributary to His Highness, provided that Goa were restored to him."

After consulting with his captains on this matter, Albuquerque addressed the following letter to the King (which on account of its importance is here given *in extenso*), and dispatched it to Portugal by the ships that were then about to start home:—

"Sire,—I captured Goa because your Highness ordered me to do so, and the marshal had orders to take it in his instructions; I took it because it was the headquarters of the league which was set on foot in order to cast us out of India; and if the fleet which the Turks had prepared in Goa river (with a large force of men, artillery, and arms specially assembled for this object) had pushed forward, and the fleet of the Rumes had come at this juncture, as

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they had expected, without doubt I should have been utterly discomforted; yea, even if ever so great a fleet had come from Portugal, they would not have allowed it to make good its arrival in the country. But when once Goa was conquered, everything else was at our command without any further trouble; and when Goa was taken, that one victory alone did more for the advancement of your Highness' *prestige* than all the fleets that have come to India during the last fifteen years. And if your Highness, in deference to the opinions of those who have written this advice to you, thinks it possible to secure your dominions in these parts by means of the fortresses of Cochin and Cananor, it is impossible; for, if once Portugal should suffer a reverse at sea, your Indian possessions have not power to hold out a day longer than the kings of the land choose to suffer it; for if one of our men take anything by force from a native, immediately they raise the drawbridge and shut the gates of the fortress; and this causes your Highness not to be Lord of the Land, as of Goa, for in this territory the injury which is done to Moors or to Portuguese does not reach beyond the captain of the fortress. Justice is yours, and yours the arm, yours the sword, and in the hand of your captain-general reposes the punishment, and before him lies the remedy for the complaint of everyone; and if to-day there be any improvement in regard to the obedience shown by the natives of the land, it is plainly to be referred to the fact that the taking of Goa keeps India in repose and quiet; and the fact that the island has so frequently been attacked by the Turks, as those who wrote to your Highness assert, and so valiantly defended by the Portuguese, enhances the credit which the progress of affairs in these parts deserves. And I have so completely disheartened the members of the league against us, that the King of Cambay, powerful prince as he is, lost no time in sending to me his ambassadors, and restoring to me all the cavaliers and fidalgos who were shipwrecked with Dom Affonso de Noronha, my

nephew, on their voyage from Socotra, without my sending to ask this of him, and even offered me permission to build a fortress in Diu, a matter of such immense importance that even now I can hardly believe it; and I am now importuned by the Zamorin of Calicut, who desires to grant me a site to build a fortress in his city, and is willing to pay a yearly tribute to the crown. All this is the result of our holding Goa, without my waging war upon any of these princes.

"And I hold it to be free from doubt, that if fortresses be built in Diu and Calicut (as I trust in our Lord they will be), when once they have been well fortified, if a thousand of the Soldan's ships were to make their way to India, not one of these places could be brought again under his dominion. But if those of your council understood Indian affairs as I do, they would not fail to be aware that your Highness cannot be lord over so extensive a country as India by placing all your power and strength in your marine only (a policy at once doubtful and full of serious inconvenience); for this, and not to build fortresses, is the very thing which the Moors of these lands wish you to do, for they know well that a dominion founded on a navy alone cannot last, and they desire to live on their estates and property, and to carry their spiceries to the ancient and customary markets which they maintain; but they are unwilling to be subject to your Highness; neither will they trade or be on friendly terms with you. And if they will not have any of these things, how is it likely that they will be pleased to see us establishing ourselves in this city of Goa, and strengthening its defences, and your Highness lord of so important a port and bar as this is, and not labour with all their might to hinder us from accomplishing our intentions? And if it seem a hard matter to those who have written about this to your Highness that the recovery of Goa should have been so many times attempted, how much harder it must have been to gain the country from

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so powerful a King as the Adil Khan, lord of so many armies, who is not likely to refrain from straining every nerve to recover the possession of it, and striking a decisive blow at our *prestige*, if he could do so? And whenever any one of his captains shall come up against this city, are we to surrender it immediately, without first of all measuring our forces against him? If this be so, your Highness may as well leave India to the Moors, and seek to maintain your position therein with such extraordinary outlays and expenses on the navy, in ships as rotten as cork, only kept afloat by four pumps in each of them.

"As for the extraordinary expenses connected with the maintenance of Goa, of which these idle fellows write to your Highness, the mere dross of India is so great that, if the Portuguese possessions be properly farmed by your officers, the revenues from them alone would suffice to repay a great part of these expenses to which we are put; and if they say that the reason why I desire to keep possession of Goa is because it was I who took it, your lordship may rest assured that if I were a Portuguese of such a character as they are, I would be the first, if you ordered me to destroy it, to put the pickaxe into the walls, and to fire the barrel of gunpowder under the keep, if only for the pleasure of seeing the cards of the game of India shuffled for a new deal; but as long as I live, and while it remains my duty to send an account to your Highness of Indian affairs, Goa must not be dismantled, for I would not that mine enemies should exult in the contemplation of any serious disaster to this estate; and I must sustain it at my own cost until they get their wishes, and another governor be sent to rule over it.

"If this that I say does not agree with the ideas of some of those who are half-hearted about this matter of Goa, your Highness may know for certain that as yet there is one man who is governing it; and, old and weak as I am, I will accept the government of this conquered country at your Highness's hands, if it may be permitted

me to confer the lands of the Moors upon the cavaliers and fidalgos who have assisted me to gain them. But do not require of me every year an account of what I am doing as if I were a tax-gatherer, because four ill-mannered fellows, who sit at home like idols in their pagodas, have borne false witness against me; but honour me, and thank me, for I shall be happy to complete this enterprise, and spend what little I have upon it. And, in conclusion, all that I have to say is, that if your Highness, either now or at any other time, surrender Goa to the Turks, then plainly Our Lord desires that the Portuguese dominion in India should come to an end. And, as for me, your Highness may be sure that, so long as I am governor, although I be put to much trouble, I shall not, at any rate, send you painted pictures of fictitious places, but rather kingdoms taken by force of arms from their masters, and fortified by me in such a manner that they may give a good account of themselves in all time.

"This is my opinion concerning this question of Goa, which your Highness commanded me to discuss with its captains and officers."

After the receipt of this letter, King Dom Manoel replied that he considered it of great importance to retain Goa, and thanked Affonso de Albuquerque very much for the manner in which he had conducted this matter. Albuquerque used often afterwards to say that he deserved more thanks from King Dom Manoel for defending Goa for him against the Portuguese than he did for capturing it on two occasions from the Turks.

CHAPTER X.

Expedition to Aden and the Red Sea—Attack on Aden—Repulse of the Portuguese—Entrance of the Portuguese Fleet into the Red Sea—Projects for Diverting the Waters of the Nile and for carrying off the Body of Mohammed—Dispatch of Messenger overland to Portugal—Renewed Attack on Aden—Destruction of some Moorish Ships—Return of Albuquerque to Diu—Ambassador from the King of Cambay—Failure to obtain a Site for a Fort at Calicut—The Zamorin Poisoned by his Brother—Treaty with the new Zamorin—Erection of a Fortress at Calicut—Ambassadors from Sheikh Ismael, and from Pegu and Siam—Abortive Expedition against Malacca—Embassy to Cambay—Negotiations with the King of Ormuz—Arrival of Ambassadors from Narsinga and from the Adil Khan.

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HAVING made all the necessary arrangements for the government of Goa, which he placed under the command of Pero Mascarenhas, and having sent Jorge de Albuquerque as captain to Cochin, Affonso de Albuquerque summoned his captains, and informed them of the orders he had received from King Dom Manoel to endeavour to capture Aden, and make his way into the Straits of the Red Sea. This enterprise having been accordingly agreed to, the fleet, consisting of twenty ships, set sail on the morning of the 8th February, 1513, and they shaped their course direct to Cape Guardafui. The captains who accompanied Affonso de Albuquerque on this expedition were: Dom Garcia de Noronha, Pero de Albuquerque, Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, Garcia de Sousa, Dom João de Sâ, Jorge da Silveira, Dom João de Lima, Manoel de Lacerda, Diogo Fernandes de Béja (captain of Affonso de Albuquerque's ship), Simão de Andrade, Ayres da Silva, Duarte de Mello, Gonçalo Pereira, Fernão Gomes de Lemos, Pero da Fonseca de Castro, Ruy Galvão, Jeronymo de Sousa, Simão Velho, Antonio Raposo, and João Gomes (captain of the caravels). The fleet also carried a force of about

1,700 Portuguese and 830 Malabars and Canarese. At council held before starting, it was unanimously decided that the affairs of India were such that the present seemed A.D. a favourable opportunity for undertaking the proposed en- 1513. terprise.

From Guardafui the fleet proceeded to Socotra, and anchored off the port of Soco. Here the native Christians came down to parley with Affonso de Albuquerque, who gave them presents of cloths and rice; he then ordered all the houses belonging to the Moors to be thrown down and burnt. Having taken in water here the fleet sailed for Aden, but owing to the contrary winds and high seas it was several days before that port was reached. The Moors being aware of its approach lighted fires on the hills beyond, hoping by this means to lure the vessels to that side, whence they would not have been able to make the port again so long as the east wind blew. They were, however, not thus deceived, but cast anchor very close to the harbour on the evening of the 24th March, 1513. The vessels lay at anchor all night, and the next morning being Good Friday, they stood in more towards the town. Thereupon Mira Merjão, the governor of the city, sent a messenger to enquire why the Portuguese fleet had arrived there, and what they wanted. Affonso de Albuquerque replied that he was captain-general of the King Dom Manoel; that he had been on his way to Jedda in pursuit of the Rumes, and not finding them there he was on his way to Suez to ascertain whether it were true that the Soldan of Cairo was fitting out a fleet against the power of the King of Portugal in India. The governor, on receiving this reply, sent back presents of fowls, sheep, lemons and oranges, accompanied by a declaration that the city of Aden was the King of Portugal's, and everything that King wished or ordered concerning it should be carried out.

Affonso de Albuquerque replied that it was not his practice to receive presents from lords with whom he not in a settled state of peace, but on account o

..ssage he would accept the presents on that condition only. That as Mira Merjão was willing to be in obedience
.D. to the King, his lord, he must give orders for opening the
1513. gates of the city, and must receive therein the Portuguese flag and soldiers; and that, as for the Moorish merchants whose ships were in the harbour, he (Albuquerque) would grant them safe conduct on their applying to him for the same. To this Mira Merjão replied that he was the servant of the Sheikh, lord of all that land, and without his permission he could not admit the Portuguese into the city; but he invited Albuquerque to an interview to discuss the subject with him at the water's edge. Albuquerque, however, begged to be excused from taking part in any meeting between them elsewhere than in the city itself. To this Mira Merjão returned no reply.

Albequerque now decided to attack the city, and the assault was accordingly given just before daybreak on the morning of Saturday, the 26th day of March. The attack was made from three points. In the attempt to land by boats, it was found that the coast was very shelving, and there was not water enough to approach nearer than about the distance of a crossbow-shot from the shore, and the men had, necessarily, all to wade through the water, in consequence of which the musketeers got their powder wet.

Dom Garcia de Noronha, with the greater part of the soldiers, fidalgos and cavaliers, proceeded to assault the wall with their scaling ladders, on the left-hand side of the town, where the greater part of the Moors' forces were posted. On this side there was a gate, concerning which there was a prophecy that through it the city of Aden must .. captured. This gate Dom Garcia endeavoured to break but found it walled up inside. He then placed his ..ling ladders in position; and, although the Portuguese ..e here opposed by a large body of men, they managed ..btain a footing on the top of the wall, and, having ..n the Moors away, planted their banner upon it.

Affonso de Albuquerque with another company attacked the wall on the right-hand side. His men also placed their ladders against the wall, whereupon they rushed up them in such numbers that the ladders broke. They then repaired to the side where Dom Garcia's men had ascended, with the view of following them up their ladders; but here again they thronged on them in such numbers that they also were all broken. Dom Garcia, who was now wounded, went along the wall until he came to an embrasure, which he burst open, and through it some few soldiers entered; but, upon this being discovered, some Moors swarmed up at the mouth of the embrasure, and by means of lighted straw, and earth and stone which they cast in, they drove back the Portuguese troops and covered up the embrasure again. Those who were on the top of the wall with Dom Garcia were unable to drive away those who were engaged on this work, as they had not their lances with them, but only short swords and bucklers.

The third company, under the command João Fidalgo, took up a position between the other two companies. These carried with them a scaling ladder capable of admitting six men abreast, but owing to a similar want of judgment, as with the others, it also was broken in pieces.

Dom Garcia de Noronha, seeing he could do nothing from the top of the wall, leaped down, accompanied by his men, and, coming to close quarters, drove the enemy inside the palisades, which had been set up at the entrances to the streets leading to the market square, and following in themselves slew a great number of them. Mira Merjão then came up with about 100 Moors, and attacked Dom Garcia's men. In this fight Mira Merjão was wounded, whereupon so many more came up to his assistance that Dom Garcia's troops were compelled to retire up against a wall, Jorge da Silveira having been killed and several of the soldiers wounded.

Being unable to send further assistance to those who were defending themselves on the wall, Albuquerque re-

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called them, as it was clear that he could not now capture the place. Many escaped by sliding down ropes, but Garcia de Sousa refused to retire in that manner, and was slain where he was, bravely defending himself against a number of Moors who attacked him.

When the Portuguese were all collected together for re-embarkation, Mira Merjão attacked them with artillery from a tower on the island of Seerah, killing and wounding several of them. Albuquerque then withdrew, with all his forces to the ships, and the next morning he sent Dom Garcia de Noronha with a party of men to take possession of the tower and bulwark of the island of Seerah. This he accomplished without much trouble, as the Moors were afraid to stand against the fierce onslaught he made on them; many threw themselves down from the wall; others fled into the city, and those that remained were all put to the sword. From this point Dom Garcia bombarded the city for several days, doing a great deal of damage to the buildings, until he was summoned to rejoin the fleet preparatory to an expedition to the Red Sea.

Thus ended in failure the first Portuguese attack on Aden, much to the disappointment of Albuquerque, who used to say that for the preservation of India, and the prevention of troubles arising from that territory to the Kings of Portugal, there were four things necessary. These were: the capture and retention of Aden, in order to have dominion over the Straits of Mecca before the Grand Soldan could forestall them in their seizing it; the retention of Ormuz, so as to have supreme rule over the Straits of Bussora; and Diu and Goa, for the sovereignty of all the other districts of India. That with these four places assured to Portugal, and strongly fortified, she could avoid many other unnecessary expenses to which she was then subject.

The Portuguese, before their departure from Aden, took rigging and what other things they had need of for their own vessels, and all the merchandise from the Moorish

ships in the harbour, after which they set them on fire and burnt every one.

A fortnight after the attack on Aden news reached Cairo, by the camel-post sent from the Sheikh of Aden to the Grand Soldan, informing him that the Portuguese had effected an entrance into the Red Sea, and intercepted the route of the pilgrimages to Mecca. The only reply vouchsafed to this communication was to the effect that the Sheikh must keep a good guard over his harbours and lands, just as the Grand Soldan intended to do with his own. The Moor who brought this reply also stated that Jedda was being depopulated of all the women and children, out of fear of the Portuguese fleets; that in Cairo a revolt had broken out because it was there reported that the Christians were advancing against Alexandria, and the Sheikh Ismael, with a great army, against Aleppo; that the Grand Soldan, upon hearing of the entry of the Portuguese fleet within the Straits of the Red Sea, had fallen into a state of alarm, because he was of opinion that this was part of a preconcerted plan amongst his enemies to compass his destruction; and that the same Sheikh had ordered the execution of three of the principal captains of his kingdom, on the suspicion that they were privy to this conspiracy against him, and had summoned to his presence the Governor of Damascus, who, however, refused to obey the summons lest he also should share the fate that had befallen the other captains at the Sheikh's orders.

The Portuguese vessels having equipped themselves with all they required from the Moorish ships in Aden harbour, the fleet prepared to set forward for the Red Sea. But first of all Albuquerque sent forward, in advance, a ship of Chaul, which João Gomes had captured in Socotra, having on board twenty Portuguese and a Jew for interpreter. These were instructed to take on board a pilot at the entrance of the Straits, for Albuquerque was afraid that if the whole fleet advanced together the pilots

would flee away. The ship had no sooner arrived at an island which lies at the mouth of the Straits than a pilot came up and hailed her, asking if they had any need of his assistance. He was immediately taken on board, and, as soon as the vessel had gone forward, Albuquerque ordered the whole fleet to be towed out of the harbour, and set sail direct for the Straits, the entrance of which was reached in two days' time.

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As these were the first Portuguese vessels that had reached that point since the discovery of India, Albuquerque ordered that the ships should be dressed with their flags, and all the artillery fired, and great rejoicings made. They proceeded to anchor in the eastern harbour,* which lies just inside the gate of the Straits, and thereupon the Chaul ship, which had gone in advance, came back and joined the others, having on board the pilot, whom they had captured. The next day the fleet set sail again, and keeping the land on both coasts in view, it drew in front of the island Jebel Zukur. As the sun was now setting, Albuquerque made for the Arabian coast, and anchored for the night under shelter of a headland. Here he found four ships from Berbera† and Zeila,‡ laden with supplies for Jedda and Mecca, wherein were some Abyssinian women and youths, whom the Moors were carrying to sell in Jedda. These Albuquerque set free. Most of the Moors escaped by swimming to the shore, but a few were captured, and these were barbarously punished by the command of Albuquerque, by cutting off their hands, ears, and noses, because they were subjects of the Sheikh of Aden, and in that state they were set ashore. The next day, all the provisions having been taken out of these Moorish vessels, they were burnt, and the Portuguese fleet set out at daybreak for the island of Kamaran, which place was reached in due course, but

* This was probably at Shiekh-Syed, just within the promontory of Bab-el-Mandeb.

† Berbera is on the coast of Africa, opposite to Aden.

‡ Zeila, on the eastern coast of Africa, a little north of Berbera.

on the way the flagship had a narrow escape from destruction, having struck on a shoal, but was got off without any serious damage.

Affonso de Albuquerque had made up his mind to carry out two important undertakings, had circumstances not prevented them. The first was to pierce through a very small range of hills which run along the side of the River Nile in the land of Prester John, so as to divert its waters into another bed, and thus destroy the irrigation of the lands of Cairo. With this object in view Albuquerque had sent many times to beg the King Dom Manoel to forward to him workmen from the island of Madeira, accustomed to cut the rocks, so as to make trenches, with which they used to water the sugar-canes in that island. This undertaking, it was thought, could have been carried out very easily, as the Prester John was desirous to see it accomplished, and would have given his assistance; and, had it been accomplished, the land of Cairo would have been entirely destroyed.

The other enterprise was that, on his return entry into the Straits of Mecca, Albuquerque contemplated fitting out an expedition of 400 horsemen in *taforeas* (native vessels), disembark them in the harbour of Yembo, march rapidly to the temple of Medina, and strip it of its treasures, taking also the body of Mohammed, and conveying it away, with a view of ransoming the Holy Temple of Jerusalem in exchange for it.

The fleet was detained at Kamaran for several days owing to a change in the wind, which rendered it impossible for Albuquerque to reach either Jedda or Suez, as he desired to do. Whilst here, waiting for a favourable wind, Albuquerque and all his crews witnessed a remarkable sign in the sky, apparently over the opposite coast of Africa, which was described by all as like a fiery cross. This vision Albuquerque interpreted into an indication that he should shape his further voyage to the land of the Prester John instead of to Jedda; but this proposal met with strong

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opposition from his companions and their crews. The Portuguese fleet was detained at Kamaran by adverse winds until the end of July, during which time many men died of disease on account of the unhealthiness of the climate. Albuquerque availed himself of the opportunity of enforced inactivity to have all the ships refitted, in anticipation of the time when he contemplated shaping his course for India.

As the island of Dalaca (near the African coast of the Red Sea, opposite to Abyssinia) was very celebrated on account of the seed-pearl fishery off its coasts, Albuquerque ordered João Gomes to go in his caravel and inspect it, and to endeavour to gain some information relative to Jedda and Suez. As soon as João Gomes had started, Albuquerque determined to proceed to Rás Zebid, a principal city where the Sheikh of Aden always stayed, intending to parley with him concerning certain Portuguese captives still in his power, who were wrecked in a brigantine which accompanied Duarte de Lemos* when he went as chief captain of a fleet to Cape Guardafui. The

* Duarte de Lemos was lying at anchor with his fleet off the coast of Melinde one night in the month of June, 1509, when a great darkness and storm fell on them, and one of his brigantines, of which Gregorio da Quadreira was captain, was driven from her moorings, but no one knew whether the cables parted accidentally, or whether they were purposely cut. The strong current then running towards the entrance of the Red Sea, which at times has a rate of forty miles a day, carried the ship with it, and when morning broke the crew found themselves opposite Aden. The natives immediately went out in two *fustas*, and captured the vessel, with all on board, whom they carried before the King of Aden, who was then at Rás Zebid, the capital of his kingdom. The latter ordered the Portuguese prisoners to be thrust into a dry cistern, where he kept many other captives of different nations. At the time when Albuquerque made attempts for their release they had already been several years in captivity, and all had died with the exception of five. Gregorio da Quadreira, when he realised his position, lost no time in learning Arabic, and soon became very proficient in that language. He occupied his time by working as a tailor, and principally made caps for the natives, at which he became very proficient, and the Moors in return used to bring him dates and raisins.

Soon after the visit of João Gomes to Rás Zebid, Gregorio da Quadreira managed to escape, and made his way to Medina in company with one of the principal Moors of that place, who had risen in rebellion against the Sheikh. Thence he proceeded to Babylonia, enduring great hardships and privations by the way, and ultimately reached Bussora, whence he embarked in a *terrada* (a small Indian man-of-war) for Ormuz, and was forwarded by the captain of that fort to India. Ultimately he returned to Portugal, and became a Franciscan friar in the Capuchin Order.

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better to accomplish this object he sent a Moorish merchant with the expedition, who, with his wife and children, had been taken captives out of the Grand Soldan's ship. To him he gave a letter for the Sheikh of Aden, and promised that on the restoration of the captives he, together with his wife and children, should be set at liberty. The Moor undertook this duty, and duly delivered the letter to the Sheikh; but there appears to have been some collusion between them, for, on the following day, the Moor returned in charge of an escort from the Sheikh, and, without saying a word about the captives, said that if Albuquerque would restore his wife and children to him, he would pay a ransom of 200 pardaos. Nothing further, however, could be obtained from him, as the Sheikh's escort would not allow him to say more. The vessel that had brought the Moor on this enterprise then returned to the fleet to report the failure of its errand.

Three days later, João Gomes also arrived, and reported that having reached the island of Dalaca, he anchored outside the shallows which encircle the harbour, and went ashore in his skiff, whereupon the Sheikh of the island sent two mounted men to him to enquire what he wanted. Gomes replied that he had come thither in obedience to orders from the Captain-General of India, who was anchored off Kamaran with a great fleet, seeking to know whether the people of that island would enter into commercial engagements with them, and purchase merchandise in exchange for seed-pearl. To this proposal the Sheikh sent answer that there were no merchants in his land, but only men-at-arms. On receipt of this reply Gomes, perceiving that it would be of no use holding further parley with them, withdrew, and having sailed all round the island returned to the fleet.

Before leaving the Red Sea, Albuquerque dispatched a messenger overland to Portugal, to carry to the King news of his proceedings there. This man had originally been a

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Moor, but had become a Christian, and he knew, therefore, how to conduct himself whilst passing through Africa. In order to allay any suspicion by the natives as to the object of his landing, he was put on shore with iron fetters on his feet, so that it might seem as though he was a fugitive from the fleet. This man reached Portugal in due course, and the King was very pleased with the news he brought, and employed him to carry back a reply.

Affonso de Albuquerque, having carefully collected all the information he could obtain regarding the countries about the entrance of the Red Sea, sailed from Kamaran on 15th July, 1513, and proceeded straight to Perim. Disembarking at the harbour he explored the island, and found thereon nothing but stones—not even a single tree or blade of green grass being visible on it. In a sandy valley, lying on the Red Sea side, he discovered a very ancient cistern, built after the manner of a tank, without a covering, choked up and without any water, and also a pond similarly choked with earth. On a lofty knoll, opposite the entrance of the Straits, he set up a large cross, formed out of a mast, and inscribed on it the name "Ilha da Vera Cruz," or the "Island of the True Cross."

From Perim Albuquerque dispatched Ruy Gatvão in his ship, and João Gomes in the caravel, to proceed to Zeila, for the purpose of opening up communication with the Moors of that land, and of observing the nature of the place and of its people and trade. Should the Moors not treat their overtures with respect, they were to set on fire any ships they might find in the harbour, and then rejoin him off Aden, to which place Alburquerque proceeded with the rest of the fleet. He found there a large number of great ships in the harbour, and the island of Seerah much more strongly fortified than on the occasion of his previous visit. Without any delay Alburquerque ordered his nephew, Dom Garcia de Noronha, to attack the island, and from that position to fire upon Aden. Dom Garcia soon made himself master of that position, and hav-

ing set up a *camelo* on the principal tower, he fired upon the city, doing much damage to the houses. The foreign merchants who had ships in the port, perceiving the destruction that was being caused within the city, and fearing for the safety of their vessels, offered to ransom them at any price that Albuquerque might demand, but he replied that he would accept no other ransom than the liberation of the captive Christians then in the power of the Sheikh of Aden, and that if this were not complied with he would burn every vessel in the harbour.

As no reply was given by the merchants to this demand, Albuquerque determined to carry out his threat of burning the vessels in the harbour; but as these were covered by a number of guns in the fortress, the captains felt that in executing it the men would be exposed to unnecessary risk without the prospect of any compensating advantage. Albuquerque, however, was not the man to forego anything he had set his mind on, in consequence of the danger thereby involved, and, seeing that his captains were half-hearted in the matter, he determined to execute the business by the sailors alone, whom he, indeed, always spoke of as "My cavaliers." So he ordered Fernão Affonso, master of his ship, and Domingos Fernandes, the pilot, to prepare in readiness for him a hundred men, and when all were in readiness this party embarked in the boats, accompanied also by Affonso de Albuquerque in his skiff. They set out on a Friday at midnight, when the Moors were not on the watch, and running their boats on shore hurried for a considerable distance along the water-side. The only opposition met with was from thirty Moors who were keeping guard over the ships, but they fell upon these, and, killing the greater number of them, reached the ships and set fire to them; but only three were destroyed. The party then returned to their ships without misadventure. The captains and soldiers, seeing how easily this had been effected, wished to go and destroy the remaining ships in the port; but, as the Moors had now been put on

CHAP. X. their guard against further similar adventures, Albuquerque refused to allow them to do so.

A.D. 1513. That same morning Ruy Gonçalves and João Gomes returned from Zeila, and gave an account of their expedition. The natives, it appears, made a hostile demonstration when they attempted to land, and they therefore satisfied themselves with examining the harbour and with burning twenty large native ships which they found there.

For some wholly unexplained reason, Albuquerque made no further attempt on Aden, but went away with his entire fleet on 4th August, and sailed straight for Diu, where he arrived in due course and was very kindly received by Melique Az. Here the fleet remained for six days repairing their boats, which had become much dilapidated from constant use. Albuquerque then sailed away again, leaving behind the ship "Euxobregas," with a quantity of merchandise for sale there, having on board Fernão Martins Evangelho as factor and Jorge Correa as scrivener, whom he commended to the kind treatment of Melique Az. Having then sent forward Ruy Galvão to Goa, and Jeronymo de Sousa to Cananor and Cochin, to advise the captains of those cities of the coming of the whole fleet, Albuquerque proceeded with the rest of his vessels to Chaul, where he found that Tristão de Ga had reached that port two days before, accompanied by an ambassador from the King of Cambay.

Tristão de Ga reported that he had been very well received by the King, who had given him a letter to Milecopi, one of the principal Moors of that kingdom manifesting a desire to serve the King of Portugal. He however, refused to grant the request of the Portugue to be allowed to settle at Diu, but offered other islan along the coast where they might build a fortress an make a settlement. Tristão de Ga, having no authority to accept any other place than Diu for that purpose, could not agree to this alternative offer. He ascertained sub-

sequently that Melique Az was the principal instigator of this refusal. CHAP. X.

The ambassador of the King of Cambay having delivered his credentials to Affonso de Albuquerque, demanded permission for his King to send a trading company of Guzaratis to Malacca, and also a safe-conduct for Cambayan ships to navigate towards those parts. He also complained of the capture of the ship "Meri," which belonged to him, and earnestly desired that orders might be given for its restoration. To this Albuquerque replied that the King of Portugal was very desirous of peace and friendship with the King of Cambay, and of trading in his country, and that on this account he had never made war upon him, nor burned his villages, nor bombarded his fortresses; but if his ships or his men had received any hurt at the hands of the Portuguese it must be on account of his having always taken the part of the kings and lords with whom the King of Portugal was at war; and herein he more particularly referred to the Kings of Malacca and of Ormuz, to whom the King of Cambay had supplied not only many vessels but also men and arms. To this fact, however, he (Albuquerque) had always pretended to have been blind, so as not to break off relations with him. Albuquerque also wrote to Milecopi, thanking him for the services he had already rendered to the Portuguese, and leading him to expect some substantial reward for the same; and, with regard to the ship "Meri," he had caused her to be refitted at Cochin, and would return it to the King of Cambay through his ambassador. The ambassador also dispatched a letter by one of his servants to Cambay, giving an account of the reception he had met with from Affonso de Albuquerque, after which he proceeded to Goa, and the ship "Meri" having been there delivered to him, he returned in her to his own country. A.D. 1513.

Information was now received that the ships of Calicut, which had started as usual for the Red Sea, had met with a storm, and been thus obliged to run for shelter to ports

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in Cambay, as far down as Mount Dely, and one of them had even entered in at Danda, in the neighbourhood of Chaul. This latter Albuquerque at once took, and it was found to contain 3,000 quintals of pepper and ginger. He then started off for Dabhol, where he demanded the surrender of two ships that had entered that harbour; but, as the authorities demurred to complying therewith, Albuquerque left Lopo Vaz de Sampayo to blockade the port with three ships until those vessels should be given up, and they were accordingly shortly afterwards surrendered, with all their cargoes of spices. Another vessel having put in at Bhatkal, Albuquerque sent Antonio Raposo thither in a galliot with orders to stop the trade of that place until the vessel should be given up. Two others had taken shelter at Mangalor, whither also he sent Fernão Gomes de Lemos, in another *fusta*, with similar orders. By these means he took the entire fleet that sailed this year from Calicut to the Red Sea, and inflicted heavy losses on the native merchants.

As soon as Albuquerque had dispatched vessels on these three expeditions he proceeded to Goa, where he was received with great demonstrations by the officers and inhabitants. He also found there a present which one of the ambassadors of the Sheikh Ismael, then at the court of the Adil Khan, had sent him by a servant. Francisco Nogueira, whom Albuquerque had left when he sailed for the Red Sea, with instructions to build a fortress at Calicut, reported that on his arrival there the Zamorin continually evaded the fulfilment of his promise, making the excuse that the Moors of the land would not consent to its being built in the position demanded, but he offered a site at Chaul for the purpose. This, however, Francisco Nogueira refused to accept. He further remarked that, even had a site been granted in Calicut, he doubted very much whether it would have been possible for him to build the fortress, unless Albuquerque himself were present to exercise his authority over the captains and

King's officers there, who, although they had received orders to assist in carrying out the work, had intrigued secretly against the undertaking, with the desire of gratifying the Kings of Cananor and Cochin.

Albuquerque was very indignant at receiving this news about Calicut, and at once summoned a council, at which he laid the whole matter before his officers, with the view of deciding what was now best to be done in this matter. Dom Garcia and the captains, on the one hand, declared their opinion that a fortress ought to be erected in Calicut, provided the King would assent to it, by way of friendship and mutual arrangement, since in so large a city as Calicut, which could be so rapidly reinforced, a fortress could only be built by force at the cost of much blood. The King's officers, on the other hand, held a different opinion, and maintained that it was not to the interest of His Highness's service that a fortress should be erected, since it could only be maintained at a heavy expense, which ought to be avoided as long as possible; the King having above all things, desired that economy should be practised. It would, however, they maintained, be quite sufficient to prevent and destroy the navigation of the Calicut ships, and intercept the entire trade of that port, by maintaining a fleet constantly cruising off the coast. Having duly considered these two arguments, Albuquerque declared that he would never think of carrying on a dilatory war with the Zamorin, but would resolutely enter into it in such a manner that he would be able to completely accomplish it, since any other policy would simply result in keeping the Indian fleet always occupied in blockading Calicut, and so unable to undertake any other enterprises. For the fleet to gain any real advantage, he argued, it was above all things necessary to keep peace and friendship with the Kings of Calicut and Cochin, since in these two ports they found their best trade in spices for the home markets. This peace and friendship, he maintained, could neither be lasting

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nor secure, especially with the Zamorin, unless the Portuguese had a fortress in Calicut; for, apart from the *prestige* which the accomplishment of that object would give them with the Moors, it would enable them to drive out of the land the Moorish agents from Cairo, who were the real cause of all the trouble the Portuguese had experienced at that port. There were some who argued that the maintenance of a fortress at Calicut would throw a heavy burden upon the revenues of the State, but to this Albuquerque replied that, not only would it cost less to maintain than the expense of hunting down Moorish vessels on the high sea, but that the sums they would then be able to exact for the safe-conduct of native ships bound to Calicut for their cargoes would amount to quite as great a sum if they were closely looked after, so that half this source of revenue would be sufficient to pay the expenses of the officers and men who would have to be stationed there.

These arguments of Albuquerque completely silenced his opponents in this matter, and he thereupon ordered a fleet to be prepared in order that he might himself go and carry out the business. Before starting, however, he sent his nephew, Dom Garcia de Noronha, in advance to Calicut, to demand of the Zamorin the following conditions: First, that he should grant space in the roadstead in front of his jetty, on which to build a fortress capable of protecting the Portuguese factors from the troubles they had hitherto suffered at the port; secondly, that he should give whatever pepper might be required for the lading of the ships bound to Portugal in exchange for merchandise of various kinds, according to the weights and prices current at Cananor, and that the Portuguese factor should be allowed to purchase the ginger, which the producers brought down for sale to the market-place, in accordance with the custom of the country; thirdly, that he should repay all the property which the Moors had taken from the Portuguese in times past; and, fourthly,

that he should pay a yearly tribute towards the expenses of the fortress, and those in charge of it, equivalent to one-half of the payments compulsory on the Moorish merchants for the safe-conduct of their shipping.

As soon as Dom Garcia had set out for Calicut, Affonso de Albuquerque proceeded to Cochin, where he had an interview with the King, who complained greatly that Albuquerque was negotiating with the King of Calicut to bring about a peace with him, in proof of which he produced copies of the letters that had been written to him on the subject, and of the replies which the King of Calicut made thereto. At this Albuquerque flew in a great rage, maintained his right to do as he pleased in the matter without consulting others, and accused the Kings of Cochin and Cananor with having aided the Zamorin against the Portuguese, notwithstanding that the latter had protected their independence and prevented them from being rendered subject to the King of Calicut. The interview then terminated; but, notwithstanding what had passed thereat, both the Kings of Cochin and Cananor continued their intrigues to prevent, if possible, the conclusion of a peace between Albuquerque and the Zamorin.

Whilst Albuquerque was still at Cochin he received a dispatch from Dom Garcia, relating that he had laid the conditions with which he had been entrusted before the Zamorin, but had been able to obtain from him no definite reply or arrangement, all his representations being met by procrastinations. This Albuquerque knew to be due to the influence which the Moorish merchants had over the Zamorin, so he determined to call to his aid in this matter the Prince, brother of the Zamorin, who was a devoted servant to the King of Portugal. He therefore wrote to the Prince suggesting that he should cause his brother to be poisoned, promising as a reward for such service that he himself should succeed him on the throne of Calicut. The Prince readily assented to these base proposals, and having by these means raised himself to

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the throne, he wrote to Dom Garcia de Noronha, acquainting him of the fact, and stating that he would be happy to make peace with the King of Portugal, and give him a site in any part of Calicut for the erection of a fortress. In order to break down the opposition of the Moors which they still entertained to the admission of the Portuguese into Calicut, the new Zamorin ordered the native Moors who would not assent to an agreement of peace with the Portuguese, to be killed before him, and he sent away all the recalcitrant foreign Moors out of the kingdom, together with their wives, children, and property.

As soon as matters had settled down a little in Calicut, Dom Garcia concluded a peace with the Zamorin on the basis of the articles which Affonso de Albuquerque had drawn up, and he then wrote to the Captain-General, informing him of all that had taken place, and the latter, immediately on receipt of the intelligence, set sail for Calicut. After an interview with the Zamorin, at which expressions of friendship were freely exchanged, Albuquerque commenced the erection of a fortress, the foundations of which were laid in the water within the reef, and close to the anchorage for the shipping. This fortress was the same size as the one at Cochin, having two towers on the side towards the sea, and in the wall between them was placed a wicket-gate, in order that the fortress might receive assistance whenever necessary, without the Moors on the land being able to prevent it. On the same sea face there was erected a keep of three storeys, and two others were built on the side towards the city, between which was placed the principal door of the fortress, defended by a bastion. As soon as the work had progressed so far that it could be defended without difficulty, Albuquerque placed Francisco Nogueira in command of it, with a sufficiently strong force, and amply supplied with guns, powder, and other necessaries. He also appointed Gonçalo Mendes as factor and paymaster, and João Serrão as scrivener. Having completed these arrangements he departed from

Cananor, accompanied by two ambassadors from the Zamorin who were to convey to Dom Manoel a present, and also a letter of peace signed by himself and the principal men of his kingdom, and sealed with a golden seal, begging that he would, on his part, send him an ambassador in return, to confirm the treaty of peace which he had made with Affonso de Albuquerque, and a royal safe-conduct for all his harbours. The ambassadors duly arrived in Portugal, and were magnificently entertained by King Dom Manoel, who, after receiving their message, sent them back to their own country handsomely rewarded with presents, and deeply impressed by the magnificence of his hospitality.

In a treaty which was concluded between the Zamorin and Dom Garcia de Noronha, on the 24th December, 1513, it was stipulated that the following goods should continue to be sold, as hitherto, in the port and Portuguese factory,—viz., coral, silk-stuffs, quicksilver, vermilion, copper, lead, saffron, alum, and all other merchandise from Portugal, and that the Zamorin should supply the Portuguese with all the spices and drugs his land produced, for the purpose of export; that the Portuguese should pay duty on all the goods they bought, and that the purchasers of their merchandise should pay duty on the goods sold to them; all Moorish ships arriving at ports in the kingdom of Calicut from Ormuz, Cambay, Malacca, Sumatra, Ceylon, Jaffanapatam, Caell, as well as from other parts, were to be liable to dues as usual. Any vessel calling at Calicut for passports, excepting those from Cochin or Cananor, were to be supplied with them; any native who should commit an assault against a Portuguese was to be taken before the Zamorin, to be punished as he should deem fit, and any Portuguese guilty of an offence against a native was to be taken before the captain of the fortress to be dealt with. In case of any war the King might engage in (provided it were not against a friendly Power) the Portuguese were to help him, he undertaking

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to help them with men, under similar conditions, should occasion arise; the revenue of the land was to be equally divided between the Zamorin and King of Portugal; and the Portuguese were to pay for all the pepper and other merchandise they might purchase in kind, but the duties thereon in coin. In communicating the terms of this treaty to King Dom Manoel, Albuquerque further informed His Highness that the King of Calicut had told him that, should the Portuguese desire to build ships in that country, there was plenty of cheap wood in his river and in the port of Chalea which was quite at their disposal.

As soon as the King of Cochin became aware that the new Zamorin had entered into terms of friendship with the Portuguese he wrote a letter to the King of Portugal, under date the 11th December, 1513, wherein, after recounting the mutual services rendered by himself and the Portuguese in India to one another, and that he himself had been invested with a golden crown by command of the King of Portugal, whose governor swore at that time to make him the greatest king in all India, and to assist him against all comers, he proceeded as follows:—

"Now this year Dom Garcia has granted passes to the Calicut ships for Mecca; has made a present to the King, and obtained from him a site for a fortress which is now in course of erection. All the merchants this side of Calicut used to come to me for passes; now they obtain them from the King of Calicut. All India is now surprised at your Majesty concluding a treaty with a King who has been guilty of such treachery towards your Majesty and myself, and is, therefore, very distrustful of your Majesty. Your Majesty has concluded a treaty with this King without in any way consulting me. I will have no peace with him, but always wage war against him. I thought your Majesty was aggrieved at the murder of my uncle, and that your Majesty would have assisted me in avenging his death. This peace has only been concluded to insult me, and your Majesty should not have exchanged

my friendship for that of Calicut. Dom Garcia says that the fortress at Calicut is being erected through fear of the Rumes. Even if the Rumes had designs on Calicut they could do nothing, as there is no river large enough. There is a fort at Cananor; in Cochin there is another, and we have plenty of men to defend them against the Rumes, even against the whole world. Every year I have received letters from your Majesty, but not one this year. I have done all I could to supply pepper for your Majesty's ships, but India now exports 5,000 *bahars* yearly to Cambay and Coromandel, and if your Majesty does not prevent this export by the Moors I shall be unable to find pepper for your Majesty's ships in future."

Albuquerque, about the same time, wrote to the King of Portugal, strongly advising him to secure Calicut, and to give up the trade with Cananor, which place possessed no harbour, nor river for ships and galleys; neither had it any merchandise, nor merchants to trade with the Portuguese factory. He, however, recommended His Majesty to cling fast to the ports of Cochin and Calicut, which places were capable of supplying cargoes to the Portuguese fleets "until the day of judgment." He went on to say, "Now that that treacherous coward, the Zamorin, is dead, is the opportunity to cultivate a trade with those two ports which are the emporiums of ginger, of the whole of the pepper from Malabar, and of the precious stones of Narsinga. In spite of the war which your Majesty has waged for years against Calicut, it is even this day the wealthiest place in India. Cananor, with which your Majesty has been at peace for years, is this day useless to us." In another letter, of the 30th November, 1513, Albuquerque informed the King that as soon as the fortresses of Calicut and Diu were completed, he intended going to the Red Sea, and to remain there during one monsoon, intending to burn any ships he might find at Suez, after which, three ships stationed at that port would be sufficient to prevent the building or launching of any others by the enemy. In a

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subsequent letter to the King he strongly urged the necessity of erecting fortresses at Aden and on the island of Massouah before attempting anything further in the Red Sea.

A treaty having been concluded with Calicut, the Portuguese were now practically at peace with all the Eastern Powers with the exception of Aden and the Red Sea. This, from one point of view, had its disadvantages, as there was consequently a dearth of prizes, which had hitherto constituted a principal source of revenue from which to meet the expenses of the soldiers and fleets, and Albuquerque was consequently constrained to send an urgent request home for large quantities of merchandise to be sent out to make up for this deficiency.

The difficulties with which Albuquerque had to contend in India are dwelt upon at some length in a letter to the King, of the 1st December, 1513, wherein he complained of the false reports that were constantly being sent to his Majesty by officers in India, complaining of his administration. These men, whom he denounces as enemies to the State, nevertheless gained credence, and did much harm by keeping, as he said, "your Highness so disturbed and in such doubts respecting the affairs of India, that they prevent your taking a true position or a safe one in the things pertaining to your service; nor do you definitely resolve upon the course you desire me to follow in the affairs of India." He also complained bitterly of the vacillating orders that were sent out, remarking, "at one time you clap on a plaister to bring a certain affair to a head, and an hour after you lay on palliatives to prevent it from coming to anything." Of the majority of the officers then in India he observed, "by dissimulation they help themselves very well to your goods, and eat of them, and rob and trade with them, and have grown very wealthy, whilst your traffic is injured, your merchandise lowered, and the prices beaten down and concealed; and" (he added) "you fasten upon me the blame, commanding me not to attend in detail to your factories."

About this time Albuquerque again exhibited the cold-blooded nature of his character, for in a letter to the King of the 15th December, 1513, he brought to His Majesty's notice the fact that there was at that time a large influx into India of Portuguese and Castilian Jews, and enquired whether "I may be permitted to exterminate them one by one as I come across them."

Whilst at Cananor, Albuquerque received intelligence from Fernão Martins Evangelho, who was then at Diu, of the arrival there of a shallop from the Red Sea, with a messenger from the Cadi of Cairo on board, bringing presents for the King of Cambay, for Adil Khan, and for all his governors, and urging them to make constant war upon the Christians. News had also reached him that the Sheikh of Aden was making every effort to collect forces in order to resist any further attack on that place by the Portuguese, which he fully anticipated would soon be made. From Ormuz, also, he had received intelligence of the death of Coje Atar, who, at the last moment of his life, had counselled the King and his governors to accept the cap of Sheikh Ismael, and grant his prayer permitting the Portuguese to erect a fortress in Ormuz, for, unless these two things were done, he had great doubts whether the King's estate could be maintained. Upon receipt of this intelligence Albuquerque at once gave orders for the preparation of a fleet of four ships to go to Cape Guardafui and to Aden, to ascertain what was going on in those parts. This expedition he placed under the command of his nephew Pero de Albuquerque, who was accompanied by Ruy Galvão, Antonio Raposo and Jeronymo de Sousa, as captains; Tristão de Ga, as factor; and João Teixeira, as scrivener. After leaving Aden, Pero de Albuquerque was to winter at Ormuz, and, when there, he was to demand of the King the fortress which Albuquerque had commenced to build in order to store in it the merchandise he carried with him; he was also to demand of him the tribute due on account of the past year,

CHAP. X. after which he was to explore the Persian Gulf, and then return to India.

A.D. 1513. About this time there arrived at Cananor a messenger from the ambassador of the Sheikh Ismael, who was at the Adil Khan's court. The object of his visit was to beg a safe-conduct, so that he might pass on to Ormuz, and to ask Albuquerque to send in company with him Miguel Ferreira as an ambassador to the Sheikh Ismael. On his departure, Albuquerque sent him to visit the several Portuguese fortresses in India, especially that in course of erection at Calicut, whence he proceeded to Cochin in order that he might see the numerous merchant ships that had that year arrived there from Portugal. Albuquerque soon afterwards proceeded to Cochin, and presented Shiekh Ismael's ambassador with several gifts, including a life-sized portrait of himself which he had specially painted for him. Having dispatched the ambassadors, Albuquerque entrusted Dom Garcia de Noronha with the preparation of the ships that were to sail for Portugal in the ensuing spring, and then sailed for Goa.

It appears that at this time the Sheikh Ismael was desirous of strengthening his position by entering into treaties of friendship with all the neighbouring Kings of India, who, he also desired, should become converts to his religion. To this end he sent ambassadors to the King of Cambay, to the Sabayo, to the King of Ormuz, and to the Adil Khan. These all received the ambassadors kindly, and dismissed them with suitable presents; but only the King of Ormuz showed any disposition to accept the proposals of the Sheikh Ismael, and to acknowledge his supremacy. It was when the ambassador to the Adil Khan was at Dabhol, on the return from his mission, that he dispatched a messenger to Albuquerque to whom reference has already been made.

When this messenger and Miguel Ferreira reached Dabhol on their way back they were joined by an ambassador whom the Adil Khan was sending to the Sheikh

Ismael. These, therefore, proceeded together, first to Ormuz, where they met with a favourable reception, and then on to Tabriz, where the Sheikh Ismael was then staying. As the latter was very anxious of gaining the friendship of Affonso de Albuquerque, he gave his ambassador a very handsome reception, and sent some of the principal lords of his land, accompanied by a large military escort, to receive him and conduct him to his court. This honour shown to Miguel Ferreira, however, excited the jealousy of Adil Khan's ambassador, who did not meet with an equally grand reception.

Sheikh Ismael had many interviews with Miguel Ferreira, and enquired of him very minutely about the kingdom of Portugal, of the manners and customs of the Portuguese, and of their estate in India. His replies were so framed as greatly to magnify the wealth and power of the Portuguese nation, in which he was corroborated by the testimony of the messenger who had recently visited Albuquerque, and who spoke in high terms of praise of the greatness of the Portuguese Indian fleet and ships of burden, and recounted how that the kings of those parts of India durst not send their ships outside their harbours without a safe-conduct of the King of Portugal. All this greatly interested the Sheikh Ismael, who expressed to Miguel Ferriera his great desire for the destruction of the Grand Soldan and the House of Mecca, even offering to devote his own person and estate towards the accomplishment of this purpose.

When the Sheikh Ismael dismissed Miguel Ferreira to return to India, he sent with him, as ambassador to Affonso de Albuquerque, the same messenger who had come with him, bearing a present of many clothes of silk-stuff and brocades, horses caparisoned with very rich housings, several coats of mail and arms which the Persians were in the habit of using, two suits made of brocade, trimmed with golden buttons, as worn by them, a girdle, target, short broadsword, and other objects, all

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made of gold, and half an *alqueire** of turquoises in their rough state as taken from the mines. These presents, which were of great intrinsic value, Albuquerque divided amongst his captains, retaining only the horses, which he kept for the King Dom Manoel. But, regarding the articles of gold as mementoes of so powerful a prince as the Sheikh Ismael, he redeemed them of the captains at his own expense, and sent them to the King of Portugal by the hands of Dom Garcia de Noronha. When Miguel Ferreira had received his letters of dispatch, he took his leave of the Sheikh Ismael, and, accompanied by the ambassador, proceeded to Ormuz, being entertained all the way in great style by all the villages through which they passed; and, on arrival at Ormuz, were well received by the King and by Reys Nordim, the governor of that city. Whilst they were staying here, waiting for a favourable wind to proceed to India, Affonso de Albuquerque arrived, with the intention of putting in order the affairs of this kingdom.

It will be remembered that amongst the goods sent home in the fleet of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, opium formed a part of the cargo. In view of the present discussion on the use of this drug in India, the following extract from a letter by Affonso de Albuquerque to the King cannot fail to be of interest. The letter is dated the 1st December, 1513, and after referring to certain occurrences, of no great importance, that took place in the Red Sea, he proceeds as follows: "If your Highness will believe me, I would order poppies of the Azores to be sown in all the fields of Portugal, and command opium afiam† to be made, which is the best merchandise that obtains in these places, and by which much money is made. Owing to the thrashing which we gave Aden, no afiam has come to India, and where it once was worth twelve pardaos a

* The Portuguese *alqueire* is believed by Vieyra to have been equivalent to one peck, three quarts, and a pint, in English.

† Afyun is the Arabic name for opium, and afim the Hindu name.

faraçolla,* there is none to be had at eighty. Afiam is nothing else, Senhor, than the milk of the poppy. From Cairo, whence it used to come, none is now received, nor from Aden; therefore, Senhor, I would have you order them to be sown and cultivated, because a ship load would be used yearly in India, and the labourers would gain much also, and the people of India are lost without it if they do not have it to eat. I recommend you, Senhor, to set this fact in order, for I do not write to your Highness an insignificant thing."

Before leaving Cochin, Albuquerque wrote a letter to the King, under date the 1st January, 1514, wherein he remarked, "Danda has a good harbour, and a small island, where the Moors have a strong fortress with a good supply of water. There are about six fathoms of water between the island and the mainland. It is my opinion that your Highness should possess the place, as, with Danda and Chaul in our possession, we can have all we want. This was the first place the Turks captured in these parts, and from thence commenced the conquest of the Deccan."

Affonso de Albuquerque left Cochin and reached Goa at the beginning of January, 1514, and found there ambassadors from the Kings of Pegu and Siam, bringing valuable presents, and letters expressing their desire to secure the friendship of the King of Portugal, and to carry on a peaceable trade with Malacca. Albuquerque was equally desirous of developing the trade with those countries, and he therefore received the ambassadors with every mark of distinction and honour. In the company of these ambassadors came Manoel Fragoso, whom Albuquerque had sent with Antonio de Miranda to the King of Siam, to prepare for him a report on the trade and customs of that country, and the positions of its harbours. This report Albuquerque sent, together with the presents brought by the ambassadors, by the hand of Dom Garcia de Noronha to the King of Portugal. Manoel Fragoso

* Faraçola, an Indian weight equal to eighteen Portuguese pounds.

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also delivered to Albuquerque a letter from Ruy de Brito Patalim, captain of the fortress of Malacca, giving an account of the state of that settlement, and reporting that Patequetir had risen up in rebellion with the slaves of Utemutaraja's widow, numbering about 6,000, and with some of the native armed men who threw in their lot with his cause. These had constructed a fortress, with very strong palisades, so as to use it as a base of operations against the city, whilst the Lassamana, or Admiral of the Sea, cruising about in the Straits of Sabon, intercepted provisions from reaching the place. Ruy de Brito had accordingly dispatched Fernão Peres de Andrade with his fleet by sea, and Antonio Pessoa with a force by land, to attack the palisadings, which were carried after some hard fighting. Patequetir being driven out, retired along the River Muar, into the interior, and had sent to beg for assistance from the King of Java, promising in return to make him Lord of Malacca.

Shortly before Manoel Fragoso left Malacca, Antonio de Abreu arrived there from the Moluccas and Mendafouso, where he had been on an exploring expedition, and had brought with him some small relief. Albuquerque, however, judged that it would be desirable to send there some further reinforcements, and he accordingly had three vessels fitted out for that purpose, in which were placed 150 soldiers and a large quantity of warlike stores. The command of these ships he gave to Francisco de Mello, Jorge de Brito, and Martim Guedes respectively. These duly arrived at Malacca just in time to defend it from a further attack, for a few days later Pateonuz came in sight with a fleet of ninety sail and 10,000 men, accompanied also by Patequetir and the Lassamana. But when they discovered how the Portuguese had been reinforced they refrained from an attack, and retired again early the next morning before daybreak for their rendezvous on the Muar river. Fernão Peres de Andrade became, however, at once aware of the movements of the enemy, and gave the

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signal for all his vessels to slip their cables and give chase. This they did, and, coming up with them before they reached the Muar river, he fell upon the enemy's fleet, sending many of their ships to the bottom and putting to death a large number of their men. Pateonuz succeeded in reaching the Muar river, as did also Patequetir and the Lassamana. The former embarked on board his junk and returned to Java, whilst the latter fled into the interior of the country, and so they saved themselves. Fernão Peres de Andrade then returned to Malacca much pleased with the result of his victory.

The news which reached Albuquerque from Cambay made him apprehensive that the opposition of Melique Az at the court of the King might cause him some difficulty in bringing affairs to a satisfactory conclusion in the matter of erecting a fortress at Diu. He therefore sent Diogo Fernandes de Béja and Diogo Teixeira as ambassadors to that King to negotiate on the subject, and through them he sent as a present an enamelled collar of gold, a dagger with its sheath all gold and niello-work, a creese of gold, ten *covados* of black velvet, a piece of green brocade from Persia, two other pieces from China, and a wash-hand basin with its double-handled ewer, all richly gilt. He also further sent as a present twenty horses with their harnesses, and silver vessels for the service of the table; and, to give the embassy greater importance, it was accompanied by many native peons.

As soon as Diogo Fernandes and Diogo Teixeira had set out on their voyage, they sent on before them Pero Queimado and Ganapatim,* a Hindu, who was well acquainted with the Guzarate language, to go and ask for a safe-conduct from the King of Cambay, that these two ambassadors might go to visit him. The ambassadors were somewhat delayed in consequence of the weather, and they did not reach Surat until the 15th March, 1514.

* Correa, in the *Lendas*, calls this Hindoo Ganda Chatim, and Castanheda, Anagapatu and Ganapatu.

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As Pero Queimado had not yet returned, the ambassadors sent to ask Destur Khan,* the ruler of the city, for a safe-conduct to enable them to disembark. He, having already received instructions to give them a cordial reception, welcomed them warmly, and, having already been advised of their coming, had provided relays of horses for them and for their servants, and waggons for their baggage. Diogo Fernandes and Diogo Teixeira went, immediately on landing, to pay a visit to Destur Khan, who presented each of them with a *cabaya*, or native silk dress. After waiting at Surat for three or four days Destur Khan informed Diogo Fernandes and Diogo Teixeira that he had received orders from the King to furnish them with whatever they might require for their journey, and asking them to send him word of the time when they wished to set out, so that he might have everything ready for them.

Diogo Fernandes and Diogo Teixeira set out from Surat on the 28th day of March, accompanied by Meacamadim, captain of the King, and thirty peon archers, and reached Champaner on the 4th of April. There they were most sumptuously entertained by Melicopi, who informed them that Melique Az had strongly advised the King not to allow the Portuguese to erect a fortress at Diu, since their object in wishing to do so evidently was that they might eventually wrest his kingdom from him. The King had, therefore, strongly fortified Diu, with the view of resisting any attempt to take the place by force. Having advised them how they should conduct themselves in this matter, Melicopi set them forward on their journey, accompanied by an escort, and they duly arrived at Madoval (? Ahmedabad), where the King then was. On the following day they had an interview with His Majesty, to whom they gave a present which Albuquerque had sent by their hands, and also a letter of salutation from him, wherein he offered the whole of the Portuguese fleet for any service he might require of it. On the next day

* Elsewhere called Derus Khan and Destro Khan.

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Sodama Khan, the chief alguazil, called upon the Portuguese ambassadors by order of the King, and in reply to their request for a site at Diu for the erection of a fortress, offered them a position at Bakhar, which, however, Diogo Fernandes declined, and advanced many arguments to show that by allowing them to erect a fortress at Diu the King would be serving his own interests in consequence of the largely increased revenues he would derive from the custom-house there, due to the large increase of trade that would most certainly follow. Sodama Khan undertook to lay the matter again before the King, and, after an interval of three days, returned with an offer of a site either at Broach, Surat, Mahim, Domus, or Bakhar. Diogo Fernandes, however, replied that he had no authority to accept any other fortress than at Diu. Sodama Khan then asked whether, provided the King kept on terms of peace and friendship with the Portuguese, they would hinder the Cambay ships from making their voyages to the Red Sea and Aden; but as the reply of Diogo Fernandes was not satisfactory on this point, Sodama Khan said that as those places were the principal centres of their commercial traffic he failed to see what advantage the King of Cambay was likely to derive from an alliance with the King of Portugal. Three days later Diogo Fernandes and Diogo Teixeira had another interview with the King to take their leave of him, after which Sodama Khan gave them a dispatch for Affonso de Albuquerque, and furnished them with an escort to accompany them on their journey. Diogo Fernandes and Diogo Teixeira reached Surat on the 8th of May, and remained there for the winter, returning to Goa on the 15th of September, where they met Albuquerque and gave him an account of their proceedings, and delivered to him the dispatch they had received from the King of Cambay.

We must now follow Pero de Albuquerque, in his expedition to Cape Guardafui. On his way to Socotra he met with the ships that were carrying the Moors who had

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been driven out of Calicut, but as they carried a free pass from Affonso de Albuquerque he did not interfere with them. During the whole of the summer he cruised about the seas in the neighbourhood of Socotra, and captured ten very richly-laden Moorish ships, which were bound for the Straits of the Red Sea, and when winter approached he made for Ormuz, where he arrived at the end of May. As soon as he had cast anchor the King, Terun Shah, sent Hacem Ali to visit him, and to declare that the city was at the service of the King of Portugal. Pero de Albuquerque received Hacem Ali with every show of friendship, and on the following day he sent Tristão de Ga on shore, accompanied by Francisco de Albuquerque, the converted Jew, as interpreter, bearing a letter sent by his uncle, Affonso de Albuquerque, to the King, and with instructions to declare that the Captain-General of the Indies, having been informed of the death of King Ceifadim (the present King's brother), had sent him thither to ratify the peace with him which had been concluded between the Portuguese and the late King, and to beg him to order payment to be made of the tribute due for the last two years. And, inasmuch as the ships which he had brought were deeply laden with merchandise, he begged him to deliver up the fortress which his uncle had already commenced, in order to store up the goods safely in it, and also that the people who should be left behind with them might be secure from any misfortune or danger.

The King made plausible excuses for not delivering up the fortress, but requested Pero de Albuquerque to select any other site he might think suitable for the purpose, either near the sea or within the city. As for the tribute, he stated that he had recently sent an ambassador to the King of Portugal, with costly presents of pearls and other things of great value, begging time to remit the dues of past years, and he was yet waiting for the reply; he, however, undertook, should his request not be complied

with, to pay all that was owing. As for the ratification of peace, he was ready to perform everything that Affonso de Albuquerque desired.

After some further negotiations relative to the surrender of the fortress, which the King resolutely declined to do, Pero de Albuquerque demanded the surrender, instead of it, of either the hospital or the custom-house. But the King refused to give up either of these buildings on the grounds that the hospital was a house of prayer, which his ancestors had founded for the reception of the sick, and for the pilgrims who went to Ormuz, and it would be a shameful thing for him to give up a house that had been dedicated to God, for the purpose of converting it into a fortress; and as for the custom-house, that was a building wherein were paid of old the customs and dues of the Kings of Ormuz, and to take this would be the same as to take the sight of his eyes away from him. Seeing that the King would not yield to his demands in this respect, Pero de Albuquerque demanded that some house should be given him wherein to deposit his merchandise, in order that the sale of it might be commenced. The King accordingly ordered that the same house should be given to him for this purpose in which his uncle established a factory on the occasion of his first visit to Ormuz, and in it were found still remaining certain things which there had not then been an opportunity of removing, and these were, at the orders of Reys Nordim, delivered to Tristão de Ga and João Teixeira, who were appointed to remain at Ormuz as factors. The merchandise was at once disembarked and the merchant ships burnt, and Pero de Albuquerque then made ready with his fleet to explore the Straits of the Persian Gulf, and more particularly to visit Bahrein. Before sailing he sent a message to the King begging him to get ready the tribute and the golden letter, which he would call for on his way back to India.

Pero de Albuquerque sailed away on the 7th July,

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1514, and explored all the harbours, islands, and towns, as far as the island of Lulutem. He proceeded as far as Bahrein, and from thence he sailed to Rasiel,* where he found Mirbuzaca, a captain of the Sheikh Ismael, who had captured twenty *terradas* (small war-vessels) from a captain of the King of Ormuz, which Pero de Albuquerque obliged him to give up. He then returned to Ormuz, reaching there on the 6th of August, when the King was greatly pleased at recovering his *terradas*. He had, however, not got ready the tribute or the golden letter. After waiting two days, Pero de Albuquerque sent a message demanding that, as he would not surrender the fortress, he must send back a writing in reply to this demand, and he also stated that he did not intend to return to India until he had received the tribute. To this, however, the King only sent a verbal reply excusing himself for not complying with the demands respecting the fortress or the tribute, whereupon Pero de Albuquerque sent a peremptory demand for the tribute, and the King then, fearing he might set fire to the shipping in the harbour, sent him 10,000 xeraphins, excusing himself for not sending more on account of the poverty of his merchants, who dared not to make their voyages for fear of the Portuguese fleet. He also said that the golden letter was being prepared, and would be sent as soon as it was ready.

Pero de Albuquerque now prepared to depart, concluding that he would probably not then be able to exact anything more from the King. Having, therefore, reshipped all the merchandise that remained unsold, he sent a message warning the King that the Sheikh Ismael was very desirous of getting possession of Ormuz, and advising him therefore not to admit any armed men belonging to the Sheikh to enter his lands. He also desired that a proclamation might

* This word is evidently incomplete, and is intended for the equivalent of Ras-el, but the final syllable is wanting, and it is therefore impossible now to identify the exact locality of the place referred to.

be issued to the effect that no person coming from Persia could pass through to India, for Affonso de Albuquerque had ordered that everyone taken in that sea, on his way thither, should be put to the sword, but that all merchants could go safely. Further, as the King of Portugal had given orders for the dismantling of the harbour of Bhatkal, and desired that all horses from Arabia and Persia should be landed at Goa, Pero de Albuquerque arranged with the King of Ormuz that in consideration of all ships carrying horses proceeding direct to Goa, no safe-conduct would be given to any ship carrying merchandise except to Ormuz.

Having concluded these arrangements, Pero de Albuquerque sailed for Goa, where he arrived on the 28th September, 1514, and found there the ambassador of the King of Ormuz, who had arrived from Portugal a few days previously with the ships which sailed from Lisbon that year. Pero de Albuquerque informed his uncle of all that had occurred during his voyage, and how that the King of Ormuz had recognised the suzerainty of the Sheikh Ismael, and had ordered his prayer to be recited in all the mosques; that Reys Nordim ruled everything, and had sent orders for all his sons to go thither from Persia; and that a captain of the Sheikh Ismael was cruising about, and lording it all over the Straits of the Persian Gulf with a fleet. The captures which Pero de Albuquerque had made, together with the tribute he had received from the King of Ormuz, came as a great relief to Affonso de Albuquerque, who was in great need of money, and without the means of paying the wages, &c., which were then greatly in arrears. Instead, therefore, of equipping a fleet with merchandise to send to Portugal, as some advised him to do, he ordered a table to be set out in the public square, and paid everyone all that was due up to that very hour.

In consequence of the news which his nephew brought him from Ormuz, Affonso de Albuquerque determined to

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proceed thither himself as speedily as possible, and set affairs right again before the Sheikh Ismael could arrive. He, therefore, lost no time in making the necessary preparations, giving it out that he contemplated an expedition to the Straits of Mecca.

There arrived now at Goa an ambassador from the King of Narsinga, named Retelim Chetim, who was also Governor of Barcelor and the surrounding districts. Albuquerque, having been advised of his approach, sent out Pero Mascarenhas, captain of the fortress, with an escort, to receive him. In front of the ambassador's train were Hindoos of honourable rank, riding on four elephants, under canopies of silk, each of whom carried silver-gilt washbowls, filled with pearls and jewelry of precious stones, and other richly-made articles of native manufacture, which the King sent to Affonso de Albuquerque as presents. Albuquerque received the ambassador in the Çabayo's palace, in a large saloon, richly hung around with the trophies of arms, and having a canopy of brocade, under which he was seated on a throne of crimson velvet. Standing on either side of him were all the captains, fidalgos, and noble personages in Goa. Having welcomed the ambassador with every show of courtesy, the latter delivered to him the presents he had brought, and also a letter of credence from the King of Narsinga. On the following day Albuquerque gave the ambassador another audience, and received from him a message from the King of Narsinga, in which he offered to join the Portuguese in a war against the Adil Khan; his message also had reference to the trade in horses. To these proposals Albuquerque gave a diplomatic reply; but upon being again pressed on the matter, he agreed to join in a war against the Adil Khan on the condition that the wages of all the men whom he might send for that purpose should be paid by the King; and as for the trade in horses, he would have to pay on this account an annual sum of 30,000 cruzados, and undertake to send for the horses to

Goa and pay the dues on them, or to Bhatkal or Barcelor, as the case might be. CHAP. X. A.D. 1514.

The news of a projected alliance against him between the Portuguese and the King of Narsinga having come to the knowledge of the Adil Khan, he sent an ambassador to Albuquerque with instructions to say that, since it had been agreed upon between them that as long as they maintained the treaty of peace the Portuguese would not prevent the coming of the Moorish ships with their merchandise to Dabhol, he would be glad if orders were given to punish his captains, because, in contravention of the terms agreed upon between them, they were capturing every ship bound to Dabhol. He was also to declare that the Adil Khan desired to maintain a state of peace and friendship with the King of Portugal, and to arrange the trade in horses, and that the Portuguese ought not, therefore, to favour the King of Narsinga in respect to that trade. Albuquerque, however, preferring the friendship of the King of Narsinga, who was a Hindu, to that of the Adil Khan, who was a Moor, and under the influence of the Turks, delayed giving the ambassador of the latter any reply until he had ascertained whether the former would really assist him in the conquest of the Deccan.

Albuquerque temporised for some time with the ambassador of the Adil Khan, but as he received no reply from the King of Narsinga, and he was anxious to hasten his departure for Ormuz, he at length dispatched him, accompanied by João Gonçalves de Castello-Branco, as an ambassador from himself, to declare that, out of a desire to maintain his friendship, he would let the Adil Khan have all the horses that arrived at Goa, on condition of his surrendering the mainland adjacent to Goa, as far as the Ghauts, in order to render the military position of Goa more secure. He also promised that the King Dom Manoel would give all assurances not to make war with him, nor thwart his policy to the advantage of the King of Narsinga. But with regard to chastising the Portu-

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guese captains who had taken his ships when bound for Dabhol, in contravention of the articles agreed upon between them, this had been perpetrated by a galley that had mutinied there, and he was powerless to mete out the just punishment merited by these Portuguese, who, armed with a safe-conduct, were robbing the ships of the Moors; for out of fear of being banished by him, they would fly to his (the Adil Khan's) camp, and there he felt sure they would be very well received. And, he further remarked, it was but a few days ago that four lascars had seized upon a ship from Cananor, and finding shelter in his land, he (Albuquerque) could not get at them to punish them as they deserved; therefore he thought it would be better to leave them to rob the Moors' ships. No sooner had the ambassador delivered this message to the Adil Khan, than he dispatched orders to the Thanadars of all his lands to seize all the Portuguese they could lay their hands upon in them, and send them to him; and when Affonso de Albuquerque had left for Ormuz, these men were carried away to Goa, and delivered up to the captain of the fortress.

The true cause of this complaint made by Adil Khan was, that Affonso de Albuquerque, irritated at his conduct in giving shelter in his kingdom to certain Portuguese of low degree, and treating them with great honour and distinction, sent a secret message to Duarte de Sousa, who was cruising off Dabhol in a galley, that, acting as though he had mutinied, he was to take possession of all the ships of the Moors which might put into that port, even if they carried the Portuguese safe-conduct. And, in order that certain Portuguese soldiers who had risen up in revolt on account of the great inducements which the Adil Khan had held out to them, should not be tampered with, he ordered one of them to be arrested, who, according to information, was going about declaring his intention of deserting to the Adil Khan unless a certain grievance of which he complained were removed. As this man was a

clever artisan, and knew how to cast guns, he was ordered to be hanged. In the meanwhile, however, Albuquerque had arranged privately with the Vicar of Goa to come before him with all the clergy, and beg that the man's life might be spared; and on the way to the place of execution he was turned back to prison. The soldier, having by this time repented of his intention, was ordered to be released. The ambassadors set out with this reply to the Adil Khan, and when they returned with his answer Affonso de Albuquerque was dead.

CHAPTER XI.

State of Affairs at Aden and in the Red Sea—Defective Arms and Weapons supplied to the Army—Letters from Albuquerque to Dom Manoel on the State of Affairs in India—Despatch of Jorge de Albuquerque to Malacca—Expedition to Ormuz—Position of Affairs at Ormuz—Surrender of the Portuguese Fort to Albuquerque—Arrival of an Ambassador at Ormuz from Sheikh Ismael—Death of Reys Hamed—Commercial Arrangements with Sheikh Ismael—Departure of Albuquerque from Ormuz—His Illness and Death—State of India at the time of Albuquerque's Death.

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A FEW days after the ambassadors had set out for the Adil Khan's camp, Dom Garcia de Noronha arrived with the ships which he had kept behind to repair at Cochin, and on his reaching Goa, Affonso de Albuquerque immediately began to fit out his fleet, and gave instructions for all the fortresses of India to be amply supplied with men, artillery, and provisions. He then summoned Jorge de Albuquerque from Cochin, and dispatched him with a fleet of four sail and 200 men to go as captain to Malacca. Pero Mascarenhas he appointed captain at Cochin, and Dom João de Eça captain of Goa.

Whilst these preparations were in progress, Affonso de Albuquerque, in a letter of the 20th October, 1514, thus described the position of affairs in the Red Sea to King Dom Manoel: "Aden should be captured and held by means of a fortress. There is a good harbour there capable of affording ample shelter to our ships when wintering there. It is true there is no water there, but there are some good wells at Vinfu, which are close by, and these would of necessity have to be captured first. Your Majesty need have no doubt as regards the possibility of taking Aden, but 4,000 or 5,000 men will be

required for the purpose. The island of Cira,* in the harbour, when once captured, Aden will be at our mercy. I consider our best mode of attack will be against the port of Focate, which is on the other side of Cira, as the seas do not wash the whole length of the walls there. The latest news from Aden is that the walls have been raised and strengthened, and that large quantities of artillery have been received there from Melique Az, the captain of Diu, who thinks that I know nothing about it. A fortress at the gates of the Straits is out of the question, as there is no water there; but as Aden is only three days' run from these gates, I consider it the key to the Straits. Your Highness ought not to conclude any commercial treaty with either Berbera or Zeila, but impose a tribute on them, and bring these people into subjection. As regards the island of Kamaran, I hear that either the Rumes or the Sheikh of Aden is erecting a fortress there. This is not of much consequence, as we have another one nearer Jedda, called Farsan, which is opposite the port of Ghisan, and has, in addition to a good supply of water, a safe anchorage for our ships. We also have Dalaca, where too there is good water. Our first step should be to make ourselves secure at Massouah, in order to be assured of provisions and supplies, as Massouah is the chief trading port in the dominions of the Prester John. When these things are accomplished it will be time to think of Jedda, Mecca, and Suez; and, as there are plenty of good horses in the Prester John's territories, it would be an easy matter for 500 Portuguese horsemen, in some good taforeas † and caravels, to land near Jedda, and proceed from thence to Mecca (one day's journey), and reduce the town to ashes."

At this juncture one great concern with Albuquerque was his want of a sufficiency of proper weapons, the stores received from Lisbon being of a most inferior description. The oars supplied to the galleys were not large enough,

* Seerah Island.

† An Asiatic craft.

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being too short even for the galliots and fustas. The pikes sent out he described as being no good whatever, being made of beech and easily broken. The breastplates were quite rotten, eaten away at the edges, and patched up with pieces of tin. When informing the King of these facts, he added: "As your Highness did not send any arms from Portugal this year, many captains speculated in various useless weapons which they sold to the soldiers at very good prices."

In a letter of 25th October, 1514, Albuquerque thus announced his intentions to King Dom Manoel:

"It is my intention to proceed to Massouah, a port of the Prester John, to capture Dalaca, and see what I can do at Jedda; albeit that other matters for the sake of trade call me to Ormuz. The voyage to the Red Sea will, however, be a profitable one on account of the valuable spices which come every year to those parts from India; and because I wish to exterminate the Rumes, and, after opening relations with Prester John, destroy Mecca. For these reasons I have determined on going to the Red Sea first, and destroy the power of the Soldan in those waters. My plans are as follows:

"I propose to send the galleys and caravels a few days in advance with orders to anchor off the coasts of Curia Muria, Fartaque, Dofar, and Xer, because at the commencement of the monsoon the ships trading with India invariably sail by that route, and with God's help we shall take many prizes. With any prizes they may capture, they are then to proceed to Aden, there to await me. After the departure of these ships I will proceed with the larger vessels first to Socotra, there to water, and from thence to Aden. What I shall do there depends upon the time I may have at my disposal. I may have to content myself with burning the shipping in the port, and endeavour to reach Suez before the east winds are over. In India there are several things to be done. The first is to conclude a treaty with the King of Narsinga, which

cannot fail to be of great benefit to your Majesty. Another matter is a treaty with Cambay, and it is further of importance to preserve and foster good relations with Calicut."

The following letters from Affonso de Albuquerque to the King Dom Manoel are important, as showing the state of affairs in India at the time to which they refer:

"After the arrival of Diogo Fernandes and Diogo Teixeira from Cambay, four guards from Melique Az came to Goa. These four men were commanded by one Cidiale, who is a bad character, and who, knowing our language, is able to pick up information which I had rather the Moors knew nothing about. I am of opinion that Melique Az will either surrender the revenues of Diu to your Majesty or grant us permission to erect a fortress there. Melique Az sent me the accompanying jewel, which is a royal sceptre of India. I accepted it as a good omen on account of its shape."—*From Goa, 25th October,* 1514.

"On the 8th day of November, as I was on the point of starting from Goa to Cochin, the ambassadors from the King of Narsinga arrived, bringing me some bracelets and jewels, which I now send to your Majesty. Their instructions were to conclude, on behalf of the King of Narsinga, a treaty of peace and friendship with your Majesty; to wage war against the Turks in the kingdom of the Deccan, and arrange about the free importation of horses into their ports from Arabia and Persia. The first thing we talked about was the war with the Turks, in which I agreed to help the King of Narsinga; and as the King of Onor was a tributary of Narsinga, and was at war against Melique Az (captain of the Adil Khan) then at Cintacora, I wrote to the Adil Khan requesting him to instruct his captains to cease hostilities, which he did at once. As regards the question of horses, I could not agree to their proposals, and they at last returned to the King laden

CHAP. XI. with presents from us."—*From Cananor, 27th November,* 1514.

A.D. 1514-15. "Affairs in India just now require most careful consideration, and I will therefore briefly state to your Majesty the reasons which have induced me to change my plans as regards the Red Sea. I have, since my proposal for going to the Red Sea, come to the conclusion that the necessities of your Majesty's factories, and the scanty supplies which remain in them after the vessels have taken in their cargoes, call for serious attention. Then the wages and salaries owing to the men, and the provisions that will be required in the winter are serious obstacles to my original plans. Therefore, Sire, I have decided to proceed to Ormuz and obtain food and supplies by capturing the place, which I sincerely believe I shall be able to do by God's help. Besides these things, the great horse-trade must not be overlooked. With Ormuz in our possession we shall have a monopoly in that trade, and also control the immense trade in spices, of which Ormuz imports large quantities from the Red Sea. Let us take Ormuz first, and with a small number of ships we shall be able to command the Red Sea. I note what your Majesty says about not destroying Ormuz, and can assure your Majesty that it was never my intention to do so."—*From Cananor, 27th November,* 1514.

Just as the Portuguese fleet was ready to sail, the Zamorin sent to ask permission to dispatch two ships to Aden, but Albuquerque objected, on the ground that this would be contrary to the agreement to which both parties had assented, and that he himself was now on the point of making a voyage to Aden, and did not wish that these two ships should go before him and acquaint the King of his coming. The Zamorin was, however, so urgent in his application that Albuquerque at last consented to grant his request, provided the ships did not carry pepper, and on condition that the merchants of Calicut should make

for him, at their own expense, two large galleys. These terms were readily agreed to. CHAP. XI. A.D. 1515.

Jorge de Albuquerque, having got his fleet in readiness to depart, took leave of his uncle, and started for Malacca. He arrived at Pacem in due course, just when the King—who was a devoted adherent of the King of Portugal—was about to give battle to a certain lord of the land who had risen up in rebellion against him. The King asked Jorge de Albuquerque to assist him, which he agreed to do on condition that he was left alone with his men to attack the enemy, and that the King with his army should merely be spectators of the fight. Jorge de Albuquerque accordingly landed his men and proceeded to attack the enemy, who were posted in a low-lying site. He fell upon them with such an onslaught that the enemy speedily broke, and were put to flight, a large number of them being slain. Jorge de Albuquerque then withdrew his men to the fleet, and the forces of the King of Pacem followed after the enemy, putting them to a complete rout. The Portuguese fleet then proceeded to Malacca, where Jorge de Albuquerque took over the command of the fortress from Ruy de Brito de Patalim, and the latter returned to Goa, where he found that Affonso de Albuquerque was dead.

Having seen that all the forts in India had been placed in a safe condition and properly supplied with munitions of war, and having sent Jorge de Albuquerque with a fleet of four ships and 200 men to Malacca, as has been already narrated, Affonso de Albuquerque started for Ormuz on 21st February, 1515, with a fleet of twenty-six ships, having about 1,500 Portuguese and 700 Malabarese on board. In this expedition he was accompanied by the following captains: Dom Garcia de Noronha, Pero de Albuquerque, Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, Diogo Fernandes, Ayres da Silva, Simão de Andrade, Duarte de Mello, Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, Antonio Ferreira, Fernão Gomes de Lemos, Antonio Raposo, Ruy Galvão, Jorge de Brito,

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Jeronymo de Sousa, Silvestre Corço, Manoel da Costa, Pero Ferreira, João Pereira, Fernão de Resende, Francisco Pereira, João Gomes, João de Meira, Nuno Martins Raposo, Pero Corço, Fernão Diniz, and Vicente de Albuquerque, who was captain of the ship "Nazareth," having his uncle Affonso on board.

Before starting it had been a matter of serious discussion whether the fleet should first proceed to Aden or to Ormuz. Upon this question there was a considerable difference of opinion expressed; on the one hand the King Dom Manoel had expressed a strong desire to have a fortress erected at Aden, but on the other hand it was certain that the then reigning King of Ormuz was merely a creature of the Sheikh Ismael, who might at any time acquire possession of the kingdom. Nicolau de Ferreira, ambassador for the King of Ormuz, who had arrived the previous August or September from Portugal, bearing the King's reply to his mission, and who was present when these matters were being discussed, declared that the present governor of Ormuz was a native of Persia, having under his command within that city seven or eight nephews who ordered everything, and these had it in their power, whenever they thought fit, to put the reigning King to death, as they had done to his predecessor, and to deliver over the kingdom to the Sheikh Ismael, who, when once in possession, would not be very easily put out. It was ultimately decided that it would be best to proceed at once to Ormuz, and to leave the business of Aden and the Red Sea to some future opportunity. The fleet accordingly sailed for Ormuz on the 21st of February, and arrived off Kuriyat by the 25th of March; thence it proceeded to Muscat, where Affonso de Albuquerque cast anchor, and took in water and supplies. Here he learned that a rebellion had broken out at Ormuz a month or two back, that Reys Hamed, a Persian Moor, nephew of Reys Nordim, who was governor of the kingdom, having seized the fortress and palace, and made the King a prisoner, together with Reys Nordim and

his sons, was now in absolute possession of the land, and had there with him 500 Persian archers. Albuquerque accordingly hastened at once to Ormuz, and, as a precaution, he sent the galleys and brigantines of the fleet to guard all round the island, so as to prevent anyone from entering Ormuz from the mainland or sea. On arrival off the port, Albuquerque saluted the city with a salvo of artillery, which so alarmed Reys Hamed that he at once set the King at liberty, and let Reys Nordim and his sons out of the prison where he had confined them. He also sent Hacem Ali to pay a formal visit to Albuquerque, on the part of the King, with a present of provisions, and he was accompanied by Miguel Ferreira, whom Affonso de Albuquerque had sent as ambassador to the Sheikh Ismael. Miguel Ferreira informed him that only a few days back Abraham Beque, one of the principal captains of the Sheikh Ismael, accompanied by six or seven serving-men, had arrived at Ormuz, with the avowed intention of sending thence a messenger with letters to the King of Cambay. Having received a hostage on board for the security of his messengers, Albuquerque sent Nicolau de Ferreira with a very imposing escort, who delivered the letters from the King of Portugal to the King of Ormuz. On his return he related how the King was entirely under the thumb of Reys Hamed, and, after a consultation with his captains, Albuquerque sent another message on shore, demanding the fulfilment of the contract which had been originally made with King Ceifadim and Coje Atar. This, of course, involved the giving up of the fortress which the Portuguese had commenced to build, which the King endeavoured to evade, whereupon Albuquerque threatened that if it were not surrendered he would destroy the whole city. The King thereupon sent Reys Nordim to Albuquerque, who, when he found that he would accept nothing in exchange for the fortress except the hospital, agreed to give it up. Albuquerque then gave some rich presents to Reys Nordim and those who accompanied him, and sent by him a very

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1515. rich collar of gold and enamel, as a present to the King. Albuquerque also demanded that as a sign of peace and friendship the Portuguese flag should be hoisted over the royal palace, and this was accordingly done, whereupon it was saluted by the fleet with all their guns.

As soon as information was received that the communication which had been made between the fortress and palace had been closed, and that the former could now be taken possession of by the Portuguese, Albuquerque landed a force from the ships which occupied the fortress on Palm Sunday, the 1st of April, 1515. Having fortified his position in case of attack, by means of a fascine work on the beach, armed with artillery, Affonso de Albuquerque ascertained that the King was actually in the power of Reys Hamed, who had also possessed himself of the keys of the Treasury, from which he allowed the King only 100 xeraphins a year, spending the rest as he liked. He therefore sent for all the principal men of the place, and made them swear fealty to the King of Ormuz, and promise to recognise no other governor under him than Reys Nordim. His next object was to get rid of Reys Hamed and all his supporters, and to establish the King again upon his throne; at the same time, Reys Hamed equally desired to get rid of Affonso de Albuquerque, and to this end he purposed to kill him at an interview which it was arranged should take place between the King and Affonso de Albuquerque in the Portuguese fort. In this, however, he was frustrated, and paid the penalty with his own life, as will be related in due course.

As soon as the Portuguese had established themselves in the fortress at Ormuz, the ambassador of the Sheikh Ismael sent word to Albuquerque that he desired to deliver the message which he had brought to him from his lord. In order to give him an imposing reception, Albuquerque ordered a large platform to be erected in front of the fortress, facing one of the principal streets of the city. This was in three stages, carpeted all over, and hung around

with cloth, having over its centre a canopy of brocade, with some cushions of green velvet, and two chairs of the same colour, fringed with gold. In front of this some 600 men of war, crossbowmen, and musketeers were drawn up in close order. Albuquerque then sent Dom Garcia de Noronha, his nephew, with all the captains, fidalgos, and cavaliers, as an escort to bring the ambassador to meet him. In the return procession two Moors came first on horseback; these were hunters who used trained ounces, or panthers, each with his ounce on the crupper; after these were six horses in single file, saddled with their saddle-cloths of great richness, and head-gear of steel, and caparisons of mail on their flanks; next, twelve mounted Moors richly attired, carrying golden jewellery, pieces of silk-stuff, and brocade in silver wash-hand basins; after these the trumpeters of Affonso de Albuquerque, and people playing drums, and all the captains and fidalgos following them in double file, and, last of all, Dom Garcia and the ambassador.

The fleet was all decked with flags, and all the guns fired a salute as soon as the ambassador reached the fortress. Albuquerque received the ambassador, who advanced towards him with a courteous salutation, and delivered to him a letter from the Sheikh Ismael for the King of Portugal, and Albuquerque handed him one in return. The ambassador then presented him with the gifts he had brought, which Albuquerque received with great demonstration of pleasure and satisfaction.

After this interview the ambassador was conducted back to his house with the same ceremony that had been previously observed. Two days afterwards the ambassador had another interview with Albuquerque, whereat he informed him that the Sheikh Ismael was very anxious to become personally acquainted with, and be in close friendship with the King of Portugal; and in thanking Albuquerque for the entertainment and good treatment which the Sheikh's ambassadors had received at the hands of the

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Portuguese in India, he offered Albuquerque certain places in his kingdom, and to make him a lord therein, on account of the fame of his personal character that had reached him. After this the ambassador laid before him four points which were contained in his instructions. These were as follows:—

1. That the dues which were levied upon the merchandise coming from Persia to Ormuz should belong to the Sheikh Ismael.

2. That shipping should be supplied for the passage of his people to the coast of Arabia, in the vicinity of Bahrein and Al-Katif.

3. That he would assist the Sheikh with his fleet to capture a place called Guadaré;* for the King of Maçaram,† his vassal, had risen up in rebellion against him and seized it; and,

4. That he should have a harbour in India for the Persian merchants to trade their merchandise, and permission to establish a factory house in Ormuz.

In reply, Albuquerque remarked that these were matters of so great importance that he must take time to consider of them, but that he would see him later on in connection therewith.

Albuquerque's next object was to deliver the King of Ormuz out of the power of Reys Hamed, and to banish him and his brothers from the kingdom. Reys Hamed was equally anxious to rid himself of Affonso de Albuquerque, and these two each sought how he might compass the death of the other. Albuquerque sent many messages to Reys Hamed to come and see him, but he was never without an excuse for not doing so. Albuquerque, therefore, next endeavoured to bring about an interview with the King, conceiving that Reys Hamed would, of course, accompany His Majesty, and would thus fall into his

* Guadaré is stated to lie between Scinde and Jasque, and to have formed part of the kingdom of Ormuz.

† Probably the Mekran or Persian coast in the Persian Gulf.

power. After much negotiation as to where the meeting should take place, it was agreed that the King should go and see Albuquerque, but only on condition that in the house wherein the interview was to take place there must be no one present except the Portuguese captains, and these without any arms, for those who accompanied the King would also, it was stated, come unarmed. To these terms Albuquerque assented, but stated that, in accordance with his unchanging custom, those who might be on duty outside would of course be under arms.

These preliminaries having been agreed to, Albuquerque gave orders to fit up a large reception-room which had just been finished, to hang it with cloth, and to set up a brocaded daïs, furnished with two chairs of crimson velvet fringed with gold, and benches all round them covered with cushions, for the captains and governors of the land who were to accompany the King. He also ordered the men-at-arms, crossbowmen, and musketeers to be stationed under arms close outside the gate of the fortress which looked towards the sea; and the captains of the train-bands, who were lodged in the hospital, to be in readiness, and when they heard a gunshot as a signal they were to march out by the street on the right-hand, form up in front of the gate of the fortress leading to the city, and make themselves masters of it. Orders were given to the other captains that they were to be prepared for the reception of the King on the following day, putting on weapons secretly, and having their daggers hidden, so as to be able to avail themselves of them if occasion should arise. He also instructed Dom Garcia de Noronha to select a body of fifty trusty men to take care of the gate, and as soon as the King with Reys Hamed and Reys Nordim had entered, to close it, and not permit anyone else to pass.

On the morning of the next day the King arrived at the fortress on horseback, surrounded by a bodyguard of archers, and with him was Reys Hamed, who brought all

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his party armed in coats of mail, with short swords under their dresses, whilst he himself carried a short sword, dagger, and shield, and in his hand a long iron mace. Reys Hamed, leaving the King outside, went into the fortress first to see how the buildings were placed, and here he met Albuquerque, who received him very graciously, and told Alexander de Ataide to ask him why he came with weapons in his hands when the agreement had been that neither party should carry arms. To this he gave an insolent reply, and turned away with the intention of leaving the place and preventing an interview with the King, as he did not think it a favourable opportunity of putting his intention into effect of killing Affonso de Albuquerque. The King met Reys Hamed within the gate, but he begged him to retire as Albuquerque was surrounded by armed men. Thereupon Alexander de Ataide persuaded him to return, and led him again to Albuquerque, who bade him put away his weapons. Reys Hamed then began to lose his temper, and put his hand to his short sword, whereupon Affonso de Albuquerque ordered Pero de Albuquerque to lay hold of him, and upon his approaching nearer he gave the order for him to be killed, when immediately he received so many dagger thrusts that he was dead before he had time to call out.

Dom Garcia at once ran to the gate of the fortress to prevent anyone from coming in, and Albuquerque, going up to the King in quite an unconcerned manner, begged him to be under no apprehensions, for that he should be King of Ormuz in the name of the King Dom Manoel, his lord. He then sate him in one of the chairs beneath the canopy of the daïs, paid him all the ceremonial deference due to his rank, and explained to him the reasons why he had ordered Reys Hamed to be killed. The King thanked him very much for all that he had done, declaring to him that he looked upon him as a father, that all he had done was no doubt for the best, and that he would acknowledge

the receiving of the kingdom from his hands in the name of the King of Portugal. CHAP. XI. A.D. 1515.

The brothers of Reys Hamed, perceiving that their brother had not succeeded in his project, but not knowing how matters had really turned out, approached the fortress with the intention of forcing an entrance, whereupon the trained bands approached and obliged them to retire. Albuquerque then went on to a terrace with the King and Reys Nordim in order to show themselves to the men below, who, when they learned that Reys Hamed was dead, began to threaten the King, declaring that they would set up one of the sons of King Ceifadim in his stead. They then retired to the palace, where they barricaded themselves, and made preparations to resist any attempt to dislodge them. Albuquerque sent to the ships for scaling ladders, and placed guns on the terrace, with the intention of attacking the palace, but at the request of Reys Nordim he withheld immediate operations whilst negotiations were opened with the leaders of the rebellion to induce them to listen to reason. At length Albuquerque sent a message to them through Abraham Beque, captain of the Sheikh Ismael, that unless by sundown everyone had gone out of the palace and embarked for the mainland he would not spare the life of one of them. Abraham Beque, who had been the instigator of the uproar, easily persuaded them to accept these terms, and every one of Reys Hamed's party had accordingly left the island before the appointed time. Albuquerque then went in procession through the town with the King, and formally delivered up the palace to him and to Reys Nordim in the name of the King of Portugal, in the presence of the ambassador of the Sheikh and of Abraham Beque, his captain.

From this time Affonso de Albuquerque to all intents and purposes ruled at Ormuz, for the King consulted him in all matters, and gave orders for carrying out everything he desired. In order still further to strengthen his posi-

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tion, Albuquerque persuaded the King to issue an order that no one except his own bodyguard should carry arms in the streets of Ormuz, under penalty of death. All the relatives and adherents of Reys Hamed were next driven out of Ormuz and deprived of the positions they held in the royal service. Albuquerque next endeavoured to develop the trade of the place, and granted the merchants safe-conduct for their shipping to make the voyage to India to take in merchandise, and permitted the caravans to come from India to Ormuz with their merchandise, as in former times. On account of these and other measures of a similar tendency which were put in force, the trade of the place rapidly increased, and many merchants came from abroad and settled in Ormuz.

Abraham Beque, finding that his project for making the Sheikh Ismael's power dominant in Ormuz had now been frustrated, retired to Persia. Albuquerque, who was desirous of completing the fortress, pressed his claims upon the King for the payment of compensation on account of Portuguese property lost during the rebellion on the island. This was, however, met by counter claims; but, on an examination of accounts, it was found that a sum of 120,000 xeraphins was due to the Portuguese, and this was ordered to be paid by instalments, as money might be required for prosecuting work on the fortress, which was now pressed on with energy. When the fortress was nearly completed news was brought that the Turks were preparing a fleet at Suez in order to attack Ormuz, and Affonso de Albuquerque, though doubting the truth of the report, seized upon it as an excuse to get possession of all the artillery in the island wherewith to arm his fort, on the plea that it would be necessary to place all his guns in the ships so as to be ready to meet the Turkish fleet on its arrival. Thus he succeeded in disarming the native part of the city, which was, therefore, now entirely at his mercy.

At this juncture, the ambassador of the Sheikh Ismael, perceiving that Albuquerque was making preparations

to fight the Rumes, begged for a reply to the Sheikh's demands and for permission to return to Persia. This permission was granted, and, in reply to the Sheikh's requests, Affonso de Albuquerque expressed regret that he could not surrender the custom dues on Persian goods payable in Ormuz, as that money was required for the expenses of the King of Ormuz in the maintenance of his fleet and army, for the general expenses of administration, and for payment of tribute to the King of Portugal. He complied with the second request, for a water-passage for the conveyance of his people to Arabia, provided the Sheikh Ismael would give sufficient security to the King of Ormuz that no untoward event should be perpetrated in his lands nor in the island of Bahrein. The third request, for assistance against the King of Maçaram, was also complied with, on the condition that the merchandise coming from Persia to Ormuz should not be diverted to Guardaré. And as to the fourth, which consisted of a request for a port in India where the merchants of Persia might carry on their trade, and for permission to establish a factory in Ormuz, this was also assented to, but the selected port in India must be Goa, and the entry at Ormuz; but, it was added, in every other district of India wherein merchants from Persia might be found, they should lose their merchandise, and be made subject to the greatest penalties that could be inflicted.

In dismissing the ambassador, Albuquerque sent with him Fernão Gomes de Lemos as an ambassador to the Sheikh, with eight saddle-horses caparisoned with silk, and by him he sent a letter and presents consisting of two cuirasses, one of crimson velvet and the other of brocade; a head-piece and chin-piece ornamented with gold; a suit of harness embroidered in all its parts; four bracelets of gold and rubies; very rich rings, and other valuable jewellery of gold and precious stones; a short cannon and a gun of metal; half-a-dozen matchlocks, and as many crossbows; besides copper, tin, and a quantity of all the spices of

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India. Albuquerque also sent a message to the Sheikh to the effect that, if he desired to maintain useful and friendly relations with the King of Portugal, he must send his ambassador to Portugal, for by means of the Portuguese he would be enabled to destroy the Grand Soldan and the House of Mecca. The letter to the Sheikh Ismael was as follows :—

"Most great and powerful lord among the Moors, Sheikh Ismael. I, Affonso de Albuquerque, Captain Mor and Governor of India on behalf of the King Dom Manoel, &c., &c., &c., make it known unto you that, when I captured Goa, I found there your ambassador, whom I greatly honoured and treated as an ambassador of so great a King and lord; and as I know that my King and master will be greatly pleased to enter upon friendly relations with your Majesty, I am sending you this ambassador, Fernão Gomes de Lemos, who will explain to your Majesty the uses of our various arms, our mode of warfare, and give an account of the power and might of our King by land and sea, and how we have defeated the Moors whenever and wherever we have encountered them. You will know how I have gained the city and kingdom of Ormuz by order of His Majesty the King, my master. I trust, when all matters are settled, to visit in person the ports in your Majesty's kingdom. The powers which I have from the King have enabled me to expel or destroy the fleets of the Soldan. His admiral and his fleet were defeated at Diu; the ships were taken and the crews slain. Later on, in Goa, I completely routed the Turks and captured the place, as my ambassador will inform your Majesty. As I am told the Soldan is an enemy of your Majesty, and wages war against you, I offer you my own services, and that of my King's fleet, to assist your Majesty in defeating this enemy whensoever and wheresoever attacked. If your Majesty is desirous of attacking and destroying the Soldan's power on land, your Majesty may count on valuable assistance from my ships by sea,

and I believe that, with very little trouble, your Majesty may secure the possession of Cairo and its territories. Should your Majesty be disposed to enter into an alliance, and bring all your Majesty's forces against Cairo and other territories adjoining your Majesty's dominions, my King and master will concentrate all his forces against Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, and the power of the Soldan will thus necessarily be shattered. Your Majesty will please let me know where your Majesty would like the presence of the Portuguese fleet; that is, inform me where it is likely to do the greatest harm to the power of the Soldan."

The ambassadors set out on the 10th August, 1515, and reached the port of Bandar Abbas (Gombroon) on the following Sunday morning. Here they were met by Abraham Beque, who was captain of that place, and who supplied them with forty camels for their baggage, for which they paid the sum of 135½ xeraphins, the carriers undertaking to deliver their baggage safely in Dragell. From Bandar Abbas they proceeded 100 miles north-west to Tarun, where they were received with great honour by a man named Mirgeladim, who entertained them for two days. Leaving Tarun, they arrived the following day at Porcan, where they remained for two days, and thence proceeded to another village belonging to Abraham Beque, where they were also well received. From here they went on to a larger place, containing 1,500 souls, and a revenue of 100,000 cruzados, of which Abraham Beque received one half, and the Sheikh Ismael the other half. Here they remained for some days, as one of the ambassadors fell ill. As soon as circumstances admitted they started again, and arrived on the seventh day at a place called Paça (? Fasa, 120 miles W.N.W. from Tarun), and thence to a camp near a salt-water river, two leagues wide, where they met the wife of Abraham Beque, who received them cordially. In this camp were the horses of the Sheikh Ismael, in charge of Abraham Beque. Here the

CHAP. XI. ambassadors stayed for a few days, and having hired fresh camels, proceeded on their journey.

A.D. 1515. Writing on the 22nd September, 1515, Affonso de Albuquerque gave the King Dom Manoel the following account of his proceedings at Ormuz:—

"I gave your Majesty my reasons for abandoning my proposal to go to the Red Sea. When I left India my supplies were five bags of rice, a few casks of butter, a little biscuit (very rotten), and some Goanese cows; my force consisted of 1,500 Portuguese and 600 Malabarese archers, 300 galley slaves in two galleys and one galliot, forty-eight Canarese Christians from Goa, in two brigantines, oarsmen, &c. Affairs at Ormuz have not succeeded as your Majesty desired, for reasons which I will give your Majesty in another letter,* when I reply to the despatches which I am awaiting by the ships which are expected in India this year. We have in Ormuz a chance of a prize, by trading and keeping peace with the people, and by letting the merchants recognise our justice and mutual confidence. Ormuz is not a fort like those of Cananor and Cochin, which can be held by eighty men; it will require a large force for its defence. The export of spices from Ormuz is chiefly to Bassorah, in the Persian Sea, sixteen days from Damascus. Another outlet is to Persia, and all those other territories subject to the Sheikh Ismael, as far as Turkey. All the spices fetch high prices here, notably those from Malacca. My plans are, if the affairs of Ormuz do not demand my presence, to run over to India to await your Majesty's instructions, and ascertain if your Majesty is sending me men and assistance for the Red Sea undertaking; but before starting I am going to send four or five ships to Aden to capture any Moorish vessels which may be in those waters. In the event of your Majesty not sending me any ships and men for the Straits, I will return here to winter.

* This further letter was never written, as Albuquerque did not live to reply to the despatches he was then expecting from Portugal.

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"Ships and merchandise have arrived here from Aden, but I did not molest them in order to pacify and keep on good terms with the merchants here. On the contrary, I even gave them safe-conducts. I have had a visit from the King of Lara, who made me a present of a horse. Lara is a Persian city, subject to the Sheikh Ismael, about three days' journey from Ormuz. After this I was visited by a messenger from Mirbuzaca, a captain of the Sheikh Ismael, who is at Raxel,* in the Persian Sea, who brought me a letter and a horse, which I am sending to your Majesty, and who informed me that all the islands in that Persian Sea, as well as the cities and ports there, would pay tribute and be faithful to your Majesty. He is a close neighbour of Ormuz, and comes from a place which supplies Ormuz with all kinds of corn and a great number of horses."

After despatching the ambassadors to the Sheikh Ismael, Albuquerque acceded to the pressing desire of Dom Garcia de Noronha to return to Portugal; he, however, consented very unwillingly to his going, as he was himself suffering from serious indisposition. Dom Garcia started for home on the 10th August, 1515, and by his hands Albuquerque sent to the King Dom Manoel a basin, cup, and drinking vessel, and a belt and dagger of solid gold, which had formed part of the present he had received from the Sheikh Ismael; also some caparisons for a horse, made of crimson plates, and the head-piece ornamented with gold inlaid work, a saddle ornamented with silver, a skirt of mail, and a piece of felting, cut out and coloured. In company with Dom Garcia, Albuquerque sent fifteen blind Kings, who were in Ormuz, with their wives, children, and servants, with orders to deliver them up at Goa to the captain, who was to keep them under safe guard, giving them everything they might require for their maintenance. This he did with the view of putting an end to the line of Kings of Ormuz, and preventing them from being scattered

* Probably meant for Ras-al, the name being incomplete.

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over many parts, and so, in future times, causing troubles to the kingdom.

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Albuquerque then dispatched Antonio da Fonseca to Goa with 10,000 xeraphins, as factor, and Ayres de Magalhães as his scrivener, to repair what vessels there might be in India, and to collect great quantities of provisions and munitions of war, with a view to fitting out a large fleet in the following spring, to take Aden, where Albuquerque purposed to fortify himself, to force the entry of the Red Sea Straits, and make a settlement in the land of Prester John.

After the departure of Dom Garcia, certain ambassadors arrived at Ormuz from the King of Lara, bringing him a horse for a present, and offering him everything that there might be in his country. This was the embassy referred to by Affonso de Albuquerque in his letter to the King Dom Manoel of the 22nd September. Albuquerque sent a reply to this embassy by the hands of Fernão Martins Evangelho, whom he also commissioned to purchase some horses in Lara. There also arrived an ambassador from Mirbuzaca, a captain of the Sheikh Ismael, who lived at Raxel, bringing with him a horse for Albuquerque, and a letter in which, whilst making grand offers, he begged his assistance by sea to capture certain ports and islands in the Straits of the Persian Gulf, in return for which he offered to become a faithful adherent of the King of Portugal, to pay tribute for these conquests, and to give him all the horses and supplies he might require. To these, and other similar offers that he received through the ambassadors of various Kings and lords of the Persian coast, Albuquerque replied with many thanks, but postponed any serious consideration of them until his return to Ormuz after his present contemplated visit to India.

Albuquerque now felt his malady increasing so much that he was scarcely ever able to go outside his house, or to see any but his most intimate friends. Fearing that

his end was near, he, on the 26th September, summoned all the captains to his house, and, in the presence of Pero de Alpoym, the secretary, these swore fealty to whomsoever he should delegate his powers, until such time as a successor might be appointed by the King. After this, Albuquerque, on the 20th October, appointed Pero de Albuquerque, his nephew, son of Jorge de Albuquerque, his cousin-german, captain of the fortress of Ormuz, with a salary of 400,000 reis and 200 quintals of pepper yearly; he further gave him instructions relative to the completion and arming of the fortress, which he desired should be named "Nossa Senhora da Conceição" (Our Lady of the Conception). He then committed to his care the two sons of King Ceifadim, whom he desired he should keep by him as a curb upon the present King, in whom Albuquerque felt no confidence, as he had killed his brother Ceifadim, and usurped his kingdom; he had, however, dissembled with him thus far because the youths were not yet sufficiently old to conduct the government. Albuquerque then appointed Manoel da Costa as factor, and Manoel de Sequeira and Diogo de Andrade as scriveners of the factory.

Having thus set the affairs of Ormuz in order, Albuquerque sent a message of farewell to the King, as he was too unwell to do so personally, and having taken leave of those whom he was leaving behind, he set out for India, in the "Flor da Rosa," on Thursday, 8th November, 1515, accompanied by two great galleys, a caravel, and the brigantine "Sanctiago."

At this time the three principal marts for trade in the East were Malacca, Ormuz, and Aden. Affonso de Albuquerque had already made himself master of the two former of these places, and it was his opinion that if he could only gain possession of the other, Portugal would command the whole of the Eastern trade. In now returning to India, Affonso de Albuquerque had it in contemplation to fit out a powerful fleet with the view of an

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early expedition against Aden. After starting, however, his malady increased daily, and he felt that his end was fast approaching. When his vessels were off Kalhat (between Ras-el-had and Muskat) they fell in with a Moorish war-boat in full sail, which, on being overhauled, was found to have come from Diu, carrying dispatches for Affonso de Albuquerque to Ormuz. From these letters he learned that twelve ships had arrived that year in India from Portugal, and with them Lopo Soares, as captain-major of India; Diogo Mendes, as captain of the fortress of Cochin; and various captains for all the other fortresses. In a letter sent by the ambassador of the Sheikh Ismael to Affonso de Albuquerque it was written, that inasmuch as the King of Portugal so badly recognised his knightly deeds and his services, he advised him to take service with the Sheikh Ismael, for he was sure the Sheikh would appreciate his services by making him one of the greatest lords of his land; and he desired a safe-conduct to bring his merchandise to Ormuz and so take it to Persia.

When Affonso de Albuquerque learned that another governor had been sent out in his stead, he saw how his enemies were in favour with the King, and, lifting up his hands, he exclaimed, "In bad repute with men because of the King, and in bad repute with the King because of men. It were well that I were gone." Amongst the letters taken from the Moorish boat was one to Ormuz, wherein it was advised that, if a fortress had not already been given to Affonso de Albuquerque, it should not now be granted, for another governor had been appointed, who would do anything they wished. In order that this letter should not interfere with the completion of the fortress he caused it to be burned, and then he sent the Moors away. Albuquerque being now left alone with his secretary, made his will, wherein he expressed a desire to be interred in the chapel he had built in Goa, and in a codicil he ordered that his bones, after the flesh should have been consumed, should be carried to Portugal. This

done, he indited a letter to the King, dated At Sea, the 6th December, 1515, as follows :—

"This letter to your Majesty is not written by my hand, as when I write I am troubled with hiccoughs, which is a sign of approaching death. I have here a son to whom I bequeath the little I possess. Events in India will speak for themselves as well as for me. I leave the chief place in India in your Majesty's power, the only thing left to be done being the closing of the gates of the Straits. I beg of your Majesty to remember all I have done for India, and to make my son great for my sake."

Affonso de Albuquerque now became so weak that he knew his end was approaching, and he accordingly proceeded to settle all his worldly affairs. His vessel cast anchor on the bar at Goa on Saturday night, the 15th of December, 1515. He remained all night in conversation with the Vicar-general, who was his confessor, and had come from the shore to his ship, and with Pero de Alpoym, Secretary of India, whom he constituted his executor. These he commanded to attire him in the habit of Sanctiago, of which order he was a "Commendador," that he might die in it; and on Sunday morning, one hour before sunrise, he passed away quietly at the age of seventy-three years. His body was taken ashore, and, in accordance with his expressed wish, deposited in the chapel at Goa, of "Our Lady of the Conception." In a codicil to his will, as has been already stated, Affonso de Albuquerque desired that his bones should eventually be conveyed to Portugal and interred in the church of Our Lady of Grace, of the Order of St. Augustine, where his ancestors were buried. King Dom Manoel, however, would never consent to this being carried out, on the superstition that as long as the bones of Affonso de Albuquerque were safe in Goa, India was secure. The inhabitants of Goa were also averse to the removal of his bones thence, and it required a Papal bull, couched in terms of greater excommunication against them, to prevent their hindering it. Thus, it

CHAP. XI. A.D. 1515. was not until 1566 that this part of his testament was fulfilled. The remains of this great man reached Lisbon on the 6th April in that year, and on the 19th of May they were, with great ceremony, deposited in their final resting-place.

Affonso de Albuquerque richly merited the title of "Great." He was a brave soldier and able administrator, and possessed besides the rare merit of perfect disinterestedness in all his actions and motives. He was strictly loyal to his country and to his King, and pursued one consistent line of policy throughout the period when he was Governor of India. His strength of character is shown by the persistent manner in which he overcame all obstructions and opposition to his schemes for developing the power of Portugal in India, and acquiring a monopoly of the Eastern trade. He never required anyone to embark on dangerous enterprises that he would not himself have undertaken, but, on the contrary, set an example to his officers of indomitable courage, by placing himself, as a rule, in the places of greatest danger. He was deeply religious, and had much at heart a desire for converting the heathens and spreading the Christian religion; he was also, evidently, to some extent, superstitious; but, contrary to what most superstitious people would have done, he appears to have preferred embarking upon any very important event on a Friday. He seems thoroughly to have appreciated the character of the Asiatic people, and the importance, when dealing with them, of observing great pomp and ceremony.

There can be but little doubt that he endeavoured, as far as circumstances would permit, to emulate the deeds of Alexander the Great, and to follow his example in dealing with the Eastern races. It is recorded that at the capture of Khor Fákan, Albuquerque was presented with a copy of the life of Alexander the Great in Persian, and this he would appear to have studied to some purpose. In his mode of warfare, and in the furious manner in which he carried out his attacks, he closely followed

the example of that great soldier, whilst the manner in which he permitted the Kings he conquered to govern their territories as tributaries of the King of Portugal, recalls very vividly the similar treatment by Alexander of the Nysaians and of King Porus; and like him, Albuquerque, whilst leaving the civil administration of the countries he conquered in the hands of the natives, kept the command of the forces and the collection of the revenues with his own people.

We read that when at Sousa, Alexander, with a view of fusing together, as far as practicable, his European with his Asiatic subjects, assigned to some eighty of his generals Asiatic wives, giving with each an ample dowry. Similarly, Albuquerque was the first to encourage the marriage of Portuguese soldiers with native women, who also received dowers on these occasions.

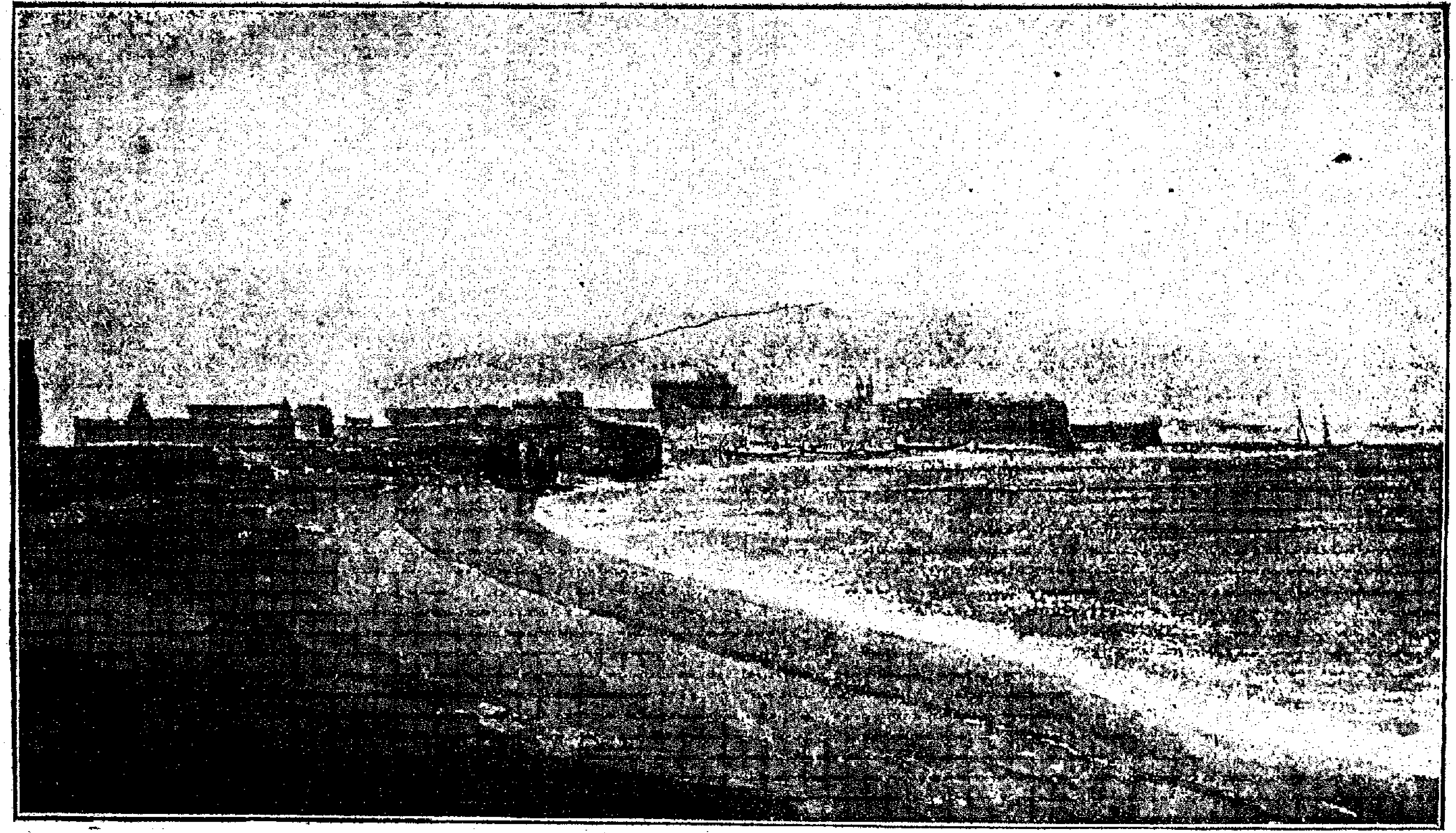
The worst feature in Albuquerque's character was his fierceness and relentless treatment of his enemies, the Moors. It will be remembered from the preceding pages how he burnt and destroyed those places which refused to submit themselves to his authority, and in many cases mutilated and destroyed the inhabitants without mercy. In like manner we find that, under similar circumstances, Alexander the Great destroyed Tyre, when he captured it after a siege of seven months, burning the place to the ground, and slaying or selling into slavery most of the inhabitants. He did the same to Gaza; and in order to revenge the defeat of some of his forces by Spitamenes, who had risen up in rebellion against him, he laid waste the lovely valley of the Polytimetos and slaughtered all who fell into his hands, soldier and citizen alike. When he captured Bessos, the Satrap of Baktria, who had caused the death of Darius, and afterwards resisted Alexander's forces, he ordered him to be mutilated and then executed.

This Chapter may appropriately close with an account of the state in which Affonso de Albuquerque left India at the time of his death, as recorded in his *Commentaries*.

CHAP. XI.

A.D. 1515.

At the time of Affonso de Albuquerque's death peace was universal from Ormuz to Ceylon, and all the kingdom of Cambay, Chaul, Dabhol, Goa, Onor, Bhatkal, to Mount Dely, Cananor, Cochin, Caicoulan, to the Cape of Comorin—all the kings, lords, and marine merchants—and the interior of the lands he left so quiet and well-ordered that there was never a nation left so completely conquered and subdued by force of arms as this was. And the land had by this time become so pacified that the Portuguese used to carry on their merchant business in every place, without being robbed of anything or being taken captive. They used to navigate the whole of the Indian Sea in their ships, vessels, small and large *zambucos*, and to cross the sea in safety from one port to the other, whilst the natives, on their part, used to visit Goa with their wares without any molestation being offered to them. From the Cape of Comorin eastward Affonso de Albuquerque left the Kings of those countries in perfect peace and friendship with the King of Portugal, sending to them ambassadors bearing presents in his name, and receiving similar compliments in return. Among these may be named the King of Pegu, the King of Bengal, the King of Pedir, the King of Siam, the King of Pacem, and the fortress of Malacca in repose. He remained also in the closest terms of peace with the King of China and the King of Java, the King of Maluco, with the Gores; and all the other neighbouring princes were kept by him in a state of submission and tranquillity. At the time of Affonso de Albuquerque's death he left in Malacca—twice conquered by him from the Moors—a very strong fortress, with ample supplies of artillery and plenty of men to keep it. He left another in Ormuz, completed and furnished with a large body of soldiers and great quantities of guns, and all that kingdom under obedience to the King of Portugal: this, too, he had captured on two occasions from the Moors. He held a fortress in Calicut, of great defensive strength, provided with men and guns.



THE FORT OF ORMUZ.

From a Painting by Captain Arthur W. Stiffe, late R.I.M., specially lent for this Work.

He left the fortress at Cochin fully finished in every requisite for defence. He had commenced to build it on the occasion of his first visit to India—furnished with seven very large elephants employed in the shipyard on the beach. He rebuilt the fortress of Cananor with stone and mortar, for up to that time it was built with mud. He left fleets attached to these fortresses for their protection and maintenance. He left the city of Goa fortified with many castles set around the island for its safety: this, too, had been taken twice under his assault from the Moors. He left therein many Portuguese families, many Hindus converted to Christianity, and a large body of mounted men. He left many armourers, and officers employed in the setting of jewels and precious stones, saddle-makers, buckler-makers, blacksmiths, stonemasons, gunfounders, master-workmen skilled in the manufacture of matchlocks, ships'-carpenters, caulkers; the greater part of whom were Portuguese, the rest being native Christians, as true vassals and subjects of the King of Portugal as though they were natives of Portugal. He left the magazines of Goa supplied with large quantities of weapons, many caparisons for horses, many saddles, much store of gunpowder, cannon-balls, and all other kinds of necessary munitions of war. He left in the harbour a fleet of fifty sail, counting vessels, ships, and galleys and *fustas*—a large assemblage for those days—besides the *paráos* and merchant vessels not taken into consideration in this estimate. He ordered money to be struck at Goa and Malacca in the name of the King of Portugal, and this was current throughout the whole of India. He was the first captain of the King of Portugal who penetrated the Straits of the Red Sea. "*Y quiem mas Niziere passe a delante*," "And let him that does more than this take precedence of him," which is the inscription that the Count Fernão Gonçalves ordered to be set up on his sepulchre, which stands at the entry of the door of the monastery church where he lies buried.

CHAPTER XII.

Departure of Lopo Soares de Albergaria from Lisbon—Ambassador to Prester John—Character of Lopo Soares—Expedition to Aden and the Red Sea—Offer of the Commander of Aden to Surrender the City—Capture of Zeila—Treaty with the Queen of Quilon—Attack on Ponda—Siege of Goa by Adil Khan—Attack on Malacca by the ex-King—Portuguese Expedition to China—Establishment of Factories at Shang-ch'wan and Ningpo—Expulsion of the Portuguese from China—Appointment of a Surveyor of the Royal Revenues in India—Treaty of Peace with Siam—Diogo Lopes de Sequeira Appointed Governor of India—Treaty with the King of Pegu—Capture of Rachol—Erection of Forts at Pacem and Ternate—Unsuccessful Attack upon Diu—Recall of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira.

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1515.

ON the 7th April, 1515, Lopo Soares de Albergaria sailed from Lisbon with a fleet of fifteen vessels (De Barros says thirteen, and Correa twelve *naos* and three *navios*) on his way to India as governor, to succeed Affonso de Albuquerque, who had been recalled home. The captains who accompanied him were D. Goterre de Monroyo Castelhano, in the "Piedade"; Simão da Silveira, in the "Santo Antonio"; Christovão de Tavora, Alvaro Telles Barreto, in the "S. Gião"; Francisco de Tavora, in the "S. Christovão"; D. João da Silveira, in the "Sta Maria da Serra"; Jorge de Brito, Alvaro Barreto, Simão de Alcaçeva, D. Aleixo de Menezes, Diogo Mendes de Vasconcellos, and Fernão Peres de Andrade. The British Museum MS. 20902, f. 18, mentions besides, Antonio Lobo Falcão and Jorge Mascarenhas. There went also in the fleet 1,500 fighting men, and Duarte Galvão, ambassador to Prester John, bearing rich presents both to him and to the Church.

Some four months after the fleet had sailed news reached King Dom Manoel, by way of Venice, that the

Grand Soldan of Cairo, annoyed at the Portuguese having entered the Straits of the Red Sea, had caused a large fleet of galleys and galleons to be made ready at Suez, with a numerous body of fighting men and artillery, to proceed to India, principally to the kingdom of Ormuz, to prevent Affonso de Albuquerque from getting possession of that place. The King now regretted having recalled that gallant officer, and, with the view of sending him the needful assistance, he ordered the immediate preparation of a fleet, so as to be able, in the following March, to draft a large body of men to India. He also wrote a letter to Lopo Soares, informing him of the projected fleet of the Soldan, and desiring that, should Affonso de Albuquerque be still in India, he was to order him not to return home, but to remain and co-operate with him in the expected emergency. According to the plan laid down by Dom Manoel, Lopo Soares was to be Captain-Major and Governor in India—Malacca being also subject to his command—and Affonso de Albuquerque was to meet the Soldan's fleet and endeavour to destroy it. The death, however, of Affonso de Albuquerque prevented the realisation of this arrangement.

Lopo Soares arrived with his fleet off the bar of Goa on the 8th September, 1515, and having there assumed the office of governor, he left for Cochin, where he arrived one day in October. Being of a very different character to his predecessor, wanting in that courteous civility that characterised Affonso de Albuquerque, and possessing besides a certain reserve of manner, he became at once unpopular, and not less so with the King of Cochin than with others, his own countrymen. Dom Garcia de Noronha, before leaving with the homeward-bound ships of which he was in command, had a serious dispute with the new governor, who appears altogether to have made a very bad impression upon all with whom he came in contact. One historian, commenting upon the general change of policy initiated in India by Lopo Soares remarks,

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1515-16.

"Till this time the gentlemen had followed the dictates of true honour, esteeming their arms the greatest riches; from this time forward they so wholly gave up themselves to trading, that those who had been captains became merchants, so that what had been command became a shame, honour was a scandal, and reputation a reproach."

As soon as Lopo Soares had assumed charge of the government, he visited the several forts in India, and placed in them new captains; he also appears to have troubled himself with all the minute details of administration for which he should have held his subordinates responsible.

In accordance with the instructions he had received from Dom Manoel, Lopo Soares gave early orders for the preparation of an expedition for the Red Sea to meet the fleet which, it was reported, the Soldan had prepared for an attack on the Portuguese possessions in India. He sailed from Goa on the 8th day of February, 1516, with twenty-seven sail of various sorts and sizes, having therein 1,200 Portuguese, 800 Malabar soldiers, and the same number of Malabar seamen. This expedition arrived before Aden unexpectedly in due course, and the commander of the fortress, by name Miramergem, finding himself defenceless, in consequence of a portion of the ramparts having been thrown down by Raez Soliman, the admiral of the fleet from Suez of which Lopo Soares was in search, he made a virtue of necessity, and offered the keys of the citadel to Lopo Soares, stating at the same time that he would have done the same thing to Affonso de Albuquerque had he not first attacked the place. Misled by the flatteries of Miramergem, and believing in the sincerity of his protestations, Lopo Soares refrained from taking advantage of the opportunity which he then had, of obtaining peaceable possession of this important centre of trade. Instead of doing so, however, he went in search of Raez Soliman, in the full belief that, after having destroyed the Turkish fleet, he could return and quietly take posses-

sion of Aden. But in both of these expectations he was doomed to disappointment.

In the way up the Red Sea in search of the Turkish fleet Dom Alvaro de Castro, who was in command of a brigantine, having captured some vessels, so overladed his ship with the goods he took out of them that it heeled over and sank, and at the same time de Castro and forty of his men were drowned. Hearing that Soliman and his fleet had been driven by stress of weather to Jedda, Lopo Soares determined to follow them thither. This place was strongly fortified, and possessed guns of considerable power for those days. On arrival here Lopo Soares anchored a league from the city, and soon after a message from Soliman arrived offering a private combat, but this Soares declined, being bent upon capturing the place at once; but after remaining inactive for two days he excused himself to his captains on the ground that his instructions directed him to fight the fleet and not to attack the city. Being, however, unable to reach the Turkish ships, he withdrew to Kamaran, where Duarte Galvão, who was on his way as ambassador to Prester John, died.

At Kamaran the Portuguese suffered much from want of provisions; some of the crew died, and seventeen were captured and carried away to Jedda. On leaving Kamaran, Lopo Soares sailed to Zeila, which place he captured and burnt, and then crossed over to Aden, where he found the fortifications repaired and Miramergem in an altogether different frame of mind as to giving up the city than on his former visit. Fearing to lose time, and not feeling himself in a position to take Aden by force, Lopo Soares set sail with the intention of doing to Berbera as he had done to Zeila, but a sudden storm arising scattered his fleet, and over 800 men perished by hunger, sickness, and shipwreck.

Lopo Soares reached Goa at the beginning of September, 1516, and proceeded, without landing there, at once to Cochin. Whilst at Cochin he concluded a treaty of peace,

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1516. dated 25th September, with the Queen of Quilon and with the governors of the land, under which they agreed to rebuild at their own expense, in the same style, and in the same place as before, the church of S. Thomé, which had been destroyed when Antonio de Sá, the factor there, was killed. They also agreed to favour and protect the Christians as formerly, to pay 500 bahars of pepper in three yearly instalments, commencing with the then current year, 1516; to let the Portuguese have all the pepper and other spices they might require at the same prices as they could obtain them at Cochin; and not to export any drugs or spices without the consent of the Portuguese. In case of war with mutual enemies each party agreed to assist the other. No ships from Quilon were to enter the Straits of Aden beyond Cape Guardafui, unless in the service of the Portuguese; and any of the Queen's subjects, whether native or Moor, who might desire to become Christians were to be at full liberty to do so.

By a subsequent treaty between Diogo Lopes de Sequeira and the Queen of Quilon, dated 17th November, 1520, after an attack had been made on Heytor Rodrigues, the captain of the fortress there, it was stipulated that the pepper still owing under the treaty of 1516 should be paid at once; that all pepper in the land should be sold to the King of Portugal, and to no one else; that all ships arriving at that port (they not being enemies' ships or laden with pepper) should be allowed free access and be well received; and that the captain of the fortress should grant any reasonable assistance the Queen of Quilon might require.

Whilst Lopo Soares was engaged in the Red Sea, Dom Goterre de Monroyo, who commanded at Goa, managed to get himself involved with Ancos Khan, an officer of the Adil Khan, and on the return of Soares to Goa he gave instructions for an expedition to be sent out against the natives. This was placed in command of Dom Fernando de Monroyo, who, after a successful encounter with the enemy at Ponda, was himself forced to retire with

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A.D. 1517.

loss of 200 of his men. After this the Adh... of Fernão pared a large force of several thousand men t... Malacca, Goa, in retaliation for the attack made upon his ...f India, The island was closely besieged for some time, a... ere, in ...bitants were reduced to great straits, but at ...aving critical moment three ships arrived, one from Por... ely, and the others from Quilon and China respectively. W...rn, this reinforcement the enemy were forced to raise the siege, and the former treaty of peace between the two parties was renewed.

Jorge de Brito had been appointed by Lopo Soares captain of Malacca, and had duly entered upon that appointment, but he was unfortunate in his government. His tyrannical behaviour caused many of the inhabitants to fly from the place, and this led the King to make an attempt to recover it. Having raised a large force, he entrenched himself outside the town and commenced a regular siege, the results of which might have been disastrous to the Portuguese authority there had not Dom Aleixo de Menezes fortunately arrived with 300 men and relieved the place.

Amongst the captains who had accompanied Lopo Soares de Albergaria to India, three,—viz., Fernão Peres de Andrade, Antonio Lobo Falcão, and Jorge Mascarenhas, were under instruction to proceed to China with the view of opening up a trade with that country. The governor selected Fernão Peres to command in this enterprise, and he, accompanied by one Thomé Peres, started from Go... this service in February, 1516. This expedition proce... as far as Pacem, when, finding the monsoons unfavour... to their further progress, Peres went back to Beng... invested thence he sailed to Malacca, and leaving ...en the authority August, he arrived off the Bay of C... d him with every the fleet lay for several days, but as th... able results of a divided trary he returned again to Mal... lacca once more for ... pepper, with which he...

...was Dom ... went to ...y order of Woutsong, and after undergoing six years' imprisonment was executed by order of the Emperor Chitsong in 1523.

..ne 1517, with seven ships, he made a fair ..ne "Islands of China," and anchored off Veniaga,* ..ighteen leagues distant from Canton. Three ... from Veniaga was another island where the Chinese ..dmiral resided, whose duty it was to report to the ..rities at Canton any arrival of foreign ships, and the ..re of their cargoes, &c. Here Fernão Peres met a ..ge fleet of junks, and, having satisfied the Chinese ..ommander that he was bent on peace, he obtained from him the assistance of pilots to navigate his ships to Canton, where he arrived in safety.

Having arrived off the city of Canton, Fernão Peres fired a salute much to the astonishment of the people, as according to the Chinese custom no guns were allowed to be fired excepting in warfare. Having been informed of his error he apologised and promised for the future to conform to the ways of the Chinese. He then sent Thomé Peres on shore as the King of Portugal's ambassador, and he remained at Canton till September, 1518, on which date he, having concluded a peaceful arrangement with the authorities, obtained from them permission to erect a factory on the island of Shang-ch'wan. Fernão Peres sailed with part of his fleet for Malacca; whilst the remainder, accompanying some junks belonging to the Loo Choo Islands, proceeded to Ningpo, where they succeeded in establishing a factory, from whence they opened up a profitable trade with other parts of China, as well as with Japan.

It has been alleged by some that Thomé Peres succeeded in concluding a treaty of commerce with the Emperor of ... but no reference to any such treaty is to be found in ...ents, and strong doubts exist as to whether it ... at any rate, as the results of the embassy, ...were about to be opened to the Portu-

...investments. João de Barros, and other ...ians often designate this place by ... word *Beniagá*, or *Veniagá*, ...gnifies a mart, or place for ...cile business.

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A.D. 1517.

guese, when Simão de Andrade, a brother of Fernão Peres, arrived off the coasts with four ships from Malacca, and, pursuing the policy followed on the coasts of India, established a factory at Timão and built a fort there, in order to defend himself against the pirates, without having first obtained the necessary permission. Here, ultimately, he arrogated to himself the prerogatives of a sovereign, and ventured to condemn a sailor to death, and to have the sentence executed. This act of open hostility, and the refusal to withdraw from the island, filled the measure of his iniquity. A Chinese squadron laid siege to the port in 1521, and Simão would have perished of hunger had not a strong favourable gale most opportunely arisen. He took advantage of the occurrence and escaped with three of his vessels.

On the death of the Emperor Woutsong in 1519, the Chinese authorities had Thomé Peres,* who had been detained all this time in Pekin, reconducted to Canton, and orders were given for the expulsion of the Portuguese from that city. This led to a fight, in which the Portuguese were defeated, and thus ended, for a time, their attempt to trade with China.

In 1517, Antonio de Saldanha left Lisbon for India with five ships. Three of these arrived in India, but the other two were lost on the sands. Shortly after his departure, Dom Manoel, in consequence of the strong suspicions he entertained of the honesty of Lopo Soares, the governor of India, dispatched another small fleet of three vessels, under the command of Fernão de Alcaceva, who, on his arrival in India, was to assume the appointment of surveyor of the royal revenues. He was further invested with such full powers as to greatly lessen the authority of the governor. Lopo Soares received him with every honour, but very shortly the inevitable results of a divided

* One account states that it was Dom Fernão Peres de Andrade who went to Pekin, where he was arrested by order of Woutsong, and after undergoing six years' imprisonment was executed by order of the Emperor Chitsong in 1523.

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authority began to show themselves, and fierce contentions at length arose between the two, in which Antonio de Saldanha and other officers of the State took part. At length a very strong feeling against Fernão de Alcaceva developed itself, and he was on all sides met with so much opposition that his authority was entirely neutralised. Seeing that he was powerless to exercise any real control over the finances of the State, he took an early opportunity of returning to Lisbon, in order to lay before the King an account of the state of affairs in India. Thus ended in complete failure the first attempt to appoint a Finance Minister for India.

Lopo Soares now sent Dom João da Silveira to the Maldive Islands, Dom Aleixo de Menezes to Malacca, Manoel de la Cerda to Diu, and Antonio de Soldana, with six ships, to the coast of Arabia. The latter attacked and burnt Berbera, and then returned to India just as Lopo Soares was about to sail for Ceylon.

The Portuguese had, for some time past, traded with the King of Colombo, in Ceylon, for cinnamon, and Lopo Soares was now proceeding thither, in accordance with instructions he had received from King Dom Manoel, with the view of obliging the King of that island to pay tribute, and of erecting a fort there for the security of Portuguese trade. Soares took with him two ships, seven galleys, and eight small vessels with materials and workmen, and 700 Portuguese soldiers. He arrived at Galle on the 27th September, 1518, and proceeded thence to Colombo, where he was well received by the King, of whom he demanded the tribute which had been promised to Dom Lourenço, and succeeded in obtaining from him a site for the erection of a wooden palisade for the better protection of a warehouse. Here he left a garrison of 200 men and four pinnaces.

João da Silveira had obtained from the King of the Maldives permission for the erection of a factory on one of those islands. On his way he took two ships of Cambay, which proved to be rich prizes, and then proceeded to

Bengal, where he was joined by João Coelho, who had arrived thither from Pacem, having been sent to the King of Bengal by Fernando Peres de Andrade. A young Bengalee on board of João da Silveira's ship, however, having given information of the capture of the Cambay vessels, Silveira was looked upon as a pirate and failed to accomplish his object of effecting a trade with Bengal. Whilst at Bengal, Silveira received an invitation from the King of Arakan to visit that port, but this also led to no results. Thence he proceeded to Colombo, arriving there at the time when the temporary fort had just been completed, and Lopo Soares gave him the command of it, whilst the vessels left for the protection of the place were placed in charge of Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo.

Dom Aleixo de Menezes, on his arrival at Malacca, found the Portuguese settlement there in some confusion. The Moors had, not long previously, made desperate efforts to evict the Portuguese, in which they had received assistance from Java, but the latter had succeeded in maintaining their position. Now internal dissentions added to their dangers, and a serious altercation was going on as to who should succeed the governor, who was at the point of death. Affonso Lopes da Costa held the government on land and Duarte de Mello the command of the sea.

Duarte Coelho had been sent by King Dom Manoel to enter into a treaty of peace with the King of Siam, who, in agreeing to his proposals, undertook to send people from Siam to Malacca in order to assist in the expulsion of the Moors from thence; he also, as a testimony of his sincerity, caused to be erected in a conspicuous part of the city Hudia a cross with the arms of Portugal on it. Leaving Siam, Coelho was driven by stress of weather upon the coast of Pahang, the King of which place received him in a friendly manner, and voluntarily submitted himself to the Crown of Portugal, with a yearly tribute of a golden cup. João Coelho, who had been sent on an expedition

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1518.

to China, arrived, on his way thither, at Patani, in the Malay Peninsula, where he established peace and commerce with the governor, after which he returned to Malacca without accomplishing anything else.

When Fernão Peres de Andrade arived at Malacca from China, in 1518, he found the place defending itself from an attack by the King of Bintang, but with the aid of the reinforcements he was able to throw into the city, Malacca was relieved, and the besieging forces retired to Pago,* where the King fortified himself. He was, however, speedily driven thence and retired to his own island, accompanied by the late King of Malacca.

On the 18th of March, 1518, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira sailed from Lisbon with a fleet of nine ships and 1,500 fighting men, with a commission from the King to succeed Lopo Soares de Albergaria as Governor of India. He arrived at Goa on the 8th September, and proceeded thence to Cochin, where Lopo Soares resigned the government to him on the 20th December, and immediately set sail for Lisbon, accompanied by nine ships. It appears to have been customary for each new governor, when he went to India, to take out with him fidalgos and captains to fill all the most important posts under him, which thus changed occupants with each change of governor. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was accompanied by the following: Dom Gracia Coutinho to be captain of Ormuz, Ruy de Mello Punho to be captain of Goa, Dom Ayres da Gama as captain of Cananor, Garcia de Sá as captain of Malacca, Sancho de Toar as captain of Sofala, Dom João de Lima as captain of Calicut, and João Gomes Cheiradinheiro as captain of the Maldive Islands.

Diogo Lopez de Sequeira entered upon his office with great energy. Immediately on assuming the reins of government, he sent Dom Alonzo de Menezes against Bhatkal, to enforce the payment of tribute which had

* Pago was a fortress belonging to the King of Bintang, a league up the River Muar, and a short distance south of Malacca.

been withheld and was now long overdue, and he ordered João Gomes Cheiradinheiro* to the Maldives with instructions to construct a fort there. Sequeira then went to Goa, whence he dispatched Antonio de Saldanha to the coast of Arabia, and Simão de Andrade to China.

The following letter from Dom João de Lima, captain of Calicut, to the King Dom Manoel, dated Cochin, 22nd December, 1518, gives an interesting account of the state of India at that date:—

"News has been received that seven galleons have arrived at Diu, and that 14 others had been completed in different ports of Cambay. These are to assemble at Diu and join the Rumes, of whom it is reported that they had gone from Jedda to Toro to repair and take in necessary supplies, and to replace the large number of men who had either deserted or been killed. This news was obtained through the capture, by Alvaro Barreto, of a ship coming from the Straits. As regards this coast all is peaceful, with the exception of Dabhol, where some *fustas* have been captured by a *fusta* of ours. Lopo Soares has returned from Ceyron, where he has erected a fortress of mud, stone, and clay, and obtained tribute of ten elephants and 400 bahares of cinnamon. From Malacca comes the news that the ex-King was at war with the place, and was encamped a league off, from which place he made daily attacks on the city; not only was it an anxious time for the fortress, but there were troubles inside the fort as well, brought about by Antonio Pacheco and Nuno Vaz Pereira, who disputed between themselves as to who should be captain. The timely arrival, however, of Dom Aleixo de Menezes pacified them, and settled all matters in dispute. News has been received of Fernão Peres' arrival in China, where he was well received, and had sold his cargoes very well.

"India is very badly off in the way of artillery. Here in Cochin I can see no more than 15 pieces, and these are

* Compare this with the patronymic "Readymoney" assumed by a well-known and distinguished Parsee family in Bombay.

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not sufficient for the galleon, which requires 35 guns. All the other ships have no more than two or three *camelos* (guns). It behoves your Majesty, therefore, to assist us with artillery now more than ever; the ships which the captain-mor has collected here are about 30, and with a few *fustas* and galleys may amount to 40."

No sooner had Dom Aleixo Menezes and Fernão Peres de Andrade left Malacca for Cochin, than the King of Bintang made a descent upon the town with 1,500 men and many elephants, and at the same time sent a fleet of sixty vessels to attack the place from the sea. At the time there were in the city only about 200 men, many of whom were sick, and in other respects it was ill-provided to resist an attack. The enemy made a vigorous attack, which lasted for three hours, when they were forced to retire. The siege continued for the space of twenty days, at the end of which the enemy retired with the loss of nearly a quarter of their numbers, whilst the garrison had lost only eighteen. The enemy then endeavoured to prevent any supplies from reaching the city, making the Fort of Muar the base of their operations. The Portuguese therefore determined to attack that fort, and after a valiant defence on the part of its garrison the Portuguese troops entered, and having killed most of its defenders they burnt the place, after securing the spoil, the principal part of which consisted of 300 cannon, some of which were of brass. After this Malacca enjoyed freedom from this enemy for some time.

In the following year, 1519, Antonio Correa arrived at Malacca from Martaban, where he had been and entered into a treaty with the King of Pegu, which was concluded in the presence of the King's ministers, and the priests of both nations. After the reading of the capitulations, the Great Raulim* began to read in a book, and then taking

* I have been unable to identify this title. The person referred to was, probably, the Viceroy of Martaban, with whom, according to Sir Arthur Phayre's "Histroy of Burma," this treaty was concluded by Antonio Correa.

some yellow paper (a colour dedicated to their holy uses) with some sweet leaves of trees, whereon were certain characters, set fire to them, and then taking the hands of the King's ministers and holding them over the ashes, said some words which rendered the oath inviolable. Antonio Correa, to answer this solemnity, ordered his priest to put on a surplice and bring his breviary, which was so tattered and torn that he was ashamed to exhibit it to the view of the Burmese. Correa, observing this, ordered a book of Church music to be brought instead, which was both bigger and better bound, and opening it, the first verse he met with was "Vanity of vanities," which, it is said, passed among those people as well as if it had been gospel. Under this treaty the establishment of a depôt at Martaban was sanctioned, where the produce of the country was stored for export to Europe.

Garcia de Sá had now entered upon his appointment as Captain of Malacca, and on the return of Antonio Correa he determined to fit out an expedition against the King of Bintang. This was composed of thirty ships and 400 men, of whom 150 were Portuguese, and the chief command was given to Antonio Correa. The King of Bintang had shut himself up in a fortress at Pago, whither Antonio Correa therefore proceeded. The fort fell on the first attack, and in it were taken twenty pieces of cannon. The King then retired to the town, whither the Portuguese troops followed, and found him with a force of 2,000 men and some armed elephants. Meanwhile Correa's vessels had made their way up the Muar river, and with their assistance he succeeded in driving the enemy out of Pago, and the town was then plundered and burnt. The King escaped on an elephant, and, being completely defeated, retired to the island of Bintang.

The Kings of Pacem and Achin having committed some outrages against the Portuguese, Garcia de Sá dispatched Manoel Pacheco in a ship to exact satisfaction. After some success against their vessels, he sent out a boat for

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A.D. 1519-20.

water, rowed by Malays, with only five Portuguese in it. On a sudden they came upon three ships of Pacem, and as they found it impossible to escape, the five Portuguese boarded one of them, and laid about them with such fury that they soon covered the deck with the dead bodies of the crew, whereupon the remainder of the men leapt overboard, leaving their ship in the possession of the five Portuguese. The other two vessels then fled away, and the King of Pacem, deeply impressed with the results of this action, offered peace and satisfaction for all the damage he had done. After this Manoel Pacheco returned to Malacca, where the captured ship was preserved as a monument of the bravery of its captors.

João Gomes Cheiradinheiro, who had proceeded to the Maldives to build a fort there, behaved in such an arbitrary manner towards the natives that a party of them attacked and massacred the garrison, and from that time forward the islanders, including probably those of Minicoy, were not interfered with by the Portuguese. In September of the same year (1519), the Tangesseri fort of Quilon (Fort Thomas) was begun secretly by the factor, Heytor Rodrigues, on pretence of repairing the factory, and was completed and armed. Under the conditions of the agreement giving the Portuguese the control of the pepper trade, Rodrigues seized 5,000 bullock-loads of that article, which certain traders from the east coast had collected in barter for 5,000 bullock-loads of rice, and which they were on the point of taking across the Ghauts, *viâ* the Ariankavu Pass. From that time forward east coast merchants were afraid to cross by that pass for trade at Quilon, and it gradually fell into disuse.

Having dispatched the fleet of trading vessels to Lisbon, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira sailed from Goa for the Red Sea on the 13th February, 1520, with a fleet of twenty-four vessels, in which were 1,800 Portuguese, and nearly as many Malabarese and Canarese. When on the coast of Aden, Sequeira's ship was lost on the rocks, but he

and the crew were saved. They then sailed to Massouah, where Mathew, the ambassador of Prester John, who had returned with Sequeira from Lisbon, was landed, and received with great joy by his countrymen. Dom Rodrigo de Lima was also sent ashore, and proceeded with Mathew as ambassador from King Dom Manoel to the Prester John. From Massouah Sequeira went to the neighbouring island of Dalaca, and having burnt the city, from which the inhabitants had fled at his approach, he stood over to the coast of Arabia, and came to anchor at Kalhat, where he found Jorge de Albuquerque.* Going thence to Muscat, he left Jorge de Albuquerque to winter there with the ships, whilst he himself went on with the galleys to Ormuz.

Whilst Diogo Lopes was away in the Red Sea a war broke out between Khrisna Rao, King of Bisnagar, and the Adil Khan, owing to the desire of the former to repossess himself of the city of Rachol, which had formerly belonged to his ancestors. The former led a very numerous army against Rachol, which place he besieged for three months without being able to take it. The Adil Khan came to its relief, also with a large army. In the engagement that ensued the Adil Khan's troops were defeated. Christovam Figueira then offered his assistance to Khrisna Rao, and with the aid of some Portuguese troops Rachol was at last captured. On the defeat of Adil Khan, Ruy de Mello, who commanded at Goa, taking advantage of the opportunity, possessed himself of a part of the mainland opposite to Goa, with the aid of only 250 horse and 800 Canarese foot soldiers.

In March, 1521, Lopo de Brito proceeded to take up the command of the fort in Ceylon, and in addition to 400 soldiers, he carried with him men and materials for the erection of a stone fort in the place of the wooden palisading originally constructed there. This erection was com-

* Jorge de Albuquerque had left Lisbon in 1519 with a fleet of fourteen ships for the relief of India.

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A.D. 1521.

pleted without much opposition, but the Emperor appears subsequently to have entertained apprehensions as to the real object for which it had been constructed. The people of Colombo, at the instigation of the Moors, refused now to trade with the Portuguese, and in reply to the threats with which de Brito attempted to bring them to reason, the Emperor closely besieged the place with a large army for five months, at the end of which time the garrison were reduced to great privations and suffering. At this juncture Antonio de Lemos arrived with a reinforcement of fifty men, with the aid of which de Brito fell suddenly upon the besiegers, and putting them to the rout, the place was relieved. Shortly afterwards the Emperor agreed to terms of peace.

Having received instructions from King Manoel to erect forts at the Moluccas, Sumatra, the Maldives, Chaul, and Diu, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, on his return from Ormuz, entered into negotiations with Melique Az for the erection of a fort at the last-named place; he was, however, constantly put off by delays and dissembling, and, being unable to accomplish his object by treaty, he determined to apply force for the purpose. He accordingly retired to Cochin, and having dispatched the homeward-bound trading ships, under the command of Antonio de Saldanha, he made preparations for an attack on Diu, and appeared before that place on the 9th February, 1521, with a fleet of forty-eight vessels, in which were 3,000 Portuguese and 800 Malabarese and Canarese troops. Sequeira found the place so strongly fortified and garrisoned that, on the advice of his captains, he relinquished the intention of attacking it, and having dispersed his fleet to several places he went to winter at Ormuz. The main part of the fleet proceeded to Cochin, in command of Dom Aleixo de Menezes, to whom Sequeira gave authority as his deputy during his absence in the Persian Gulf.

Jorge de Albuquerque was entrusted with an expedition to Sumatra, and he carried with him one of the princes of

Pacem, who had been, on a former occasion, deposed and expelled. This prince had already submitted himself to the King of Portugal, and Jorge de Albuquerque hoped to restore him to his kingdom, and thus to obtain a footing for the Portuguese on that island. On arrival at Pacem, terms were offered to the ruler in possession to surrender the kingdom to the lawful prince, but instead of doing so he offered to submit himself to the King of Portugal, hoping thereby to retain his kingdom. This offer was, however, declined, and he thereupon prepared to defend himself, and shut himself up in his fort. Here he was attacked, and, after the gate had been broken open, he, with thirty men who were in a tower, kept the Portuguese at bay until at last he was shot through the forehead, whereupon the thirty men who were with him fled. A body of 3,000 Moors, with some elephants, resisted the Portuguese attack for some time, until one of these animals, being wounded, turned upon the Moors and made havoc amongst them. They then retired to another place, closely pursued by the Portuguese, and, the latter being now joined by the King of Aru, the enemy was completely routed, and 2,000 of them were slain. The rightful prince was then restored with great state and made tributary to the King of Portugal, and a fort was shortly afterwards erected there by the Portuguese.

About this time Antonio de Brito arrived at Pacem with a fleet from Achin, and left there some men and three ships for the defence of the place. Jorge de Albuquerque then returned to Malacca, and made preparations for an attack on the King of Bintang, who was then in the island of that name, and sailed thither with eighteen vessels and 600 men. The island was difficult of approach, and well fortified, so he landed a force to attack the fort, but it was repulsed with the loss of twenty men killed besides several wounded, after which the attack was abandoned, and Jorge de Albuquerque withdrew from the island.

Antonio de Brito, who had accompanied Jorge de Albu-

CHAP. XII. A.D. 1521.

querque in his expedition to Bintang, now sailed for the Moluccas with six ships and over 300 men, having received instructions to erect a fort on the island of Ternate.* On arrival he found that the Spaniards, sent out with Magellan, had already reached these parts, and had been admitted to Tidore by the King of that island. The Portuguese, however, obtained permission to erect a fort at Ternate, and Antonio de Brito laid the first stone. The rival interests of the Spanish and Portuguese in the Moluccas Islands, as soon as the news of these events had been received, led to differences between Charles the Fifth of Spain and King João the Third of Portugal as to the rightful ownership in the Moluccas Islands, particulars of which will be related in due course.

We left Diogo Lopes de Sequeira on his way from Diu to the Persian Gulf, where he was proceeding to winter at Ormuz, principally, no doubt, with the object of collecting the tribute from the King of that place which had fallen into arrear. The excuse offered by the King for non-payment of this tribute was that Mocrin, the King of Lasah,† had refused to pay the tribute due to him for the islands of Bahrein and El Katiff. In order, therefore, to secure the Portuguese tribute, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira consented to join the King of Ormuz in an expedition to Bahrein, which he placed in charge of Antonio Correa. The King of Ormuz sent on this expedition 200 vessels and 3,000 Arabs and Persians, under Raez Zarafo, whilst the Portuguese contingent consisted of seven ships and 400 men. Mocrin was well prepared for an attack, and had with him on the island of Bahrein 300 Arabian horse, 400 Persian archers, 20 Turkish musketeers, and 11,000 other armed men. Leaving Raez Zarafo to relieve whenever he should see the greatest need, Antonio Correa landed with 170 Portu-

* The first Portuguese expedition to the Moluccas was made by Antonio de Abreu in 1511, who arrived at the island of Banda, whilst one of his ships, commanded by Francisco Serrao, was driven to Ternate, the King of which island was anxious that the Portuguese should build a fort there, whilst the King of Tidore also expressed a similar desire.

† This place is situated in the interior of Africa opposite to Bahrein, now called El-Hassa.

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ose, his brother, Ayres Correa, leading the van with fifty . The trenches were assaulted, and a stubborn fight ued, which lasted until both sides were exhausted. After a short lapse the attack was renewed, and the King being shot through the thigh, his men gave way and left the Portuguese a complete victory. Raez Zarafo looked on from his vessel the whole time, but took no part in the fight. As soon as he learned that the King had died of his wounds he landed, and having obtained possession of the body, cut off its head, which he carried back with him to Ormuz. In recognition of his services in this victory, Antonio Correa had the title of Bahrein added to his name, and the head of a king to his arms.

The Cochin Raja, smarting under the recollection of former defeats sustained at the Zamorin's hands, thought he saw a favourable opportunity for attacking the latter, which he did with a force of 50,000 Nairs, and the Portuguese, disregarding treaty obligations, sent forty men, thirty of whom were musketeers, to assist him. But the Brahmins came to the Zamorin's assistance, and by cursing the land which gave protection to the Portuguese, succeeded in making many of the Cochin Raja's followers desist from the enterprise, and the rest were easily driven back within their own boundaries.

Diogo Fernandes de Béja, who had been left by the governor before Diu, having been defeated by the vessels of Melique Az, joined Diogo Lopes de Sequeira at Ormuz, who then returned with him for the purpose of renewing the attack on Diu. Diogo Fernandes proceeded in advance with four galleons to prevent any ships from entering the port, and he captured some that made the attempt. But Melique Az came out and engaged the Portuguese vessels, sinking one, and so damaging the rest that they were obliged to retire. Diogo Lopes on his way thither captured a ship and divided the Moors that were in her amongst the vessels of his fleet. Those who were placed in Antonio Correa's vessel set fire to the powder,

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A.D. 1521-22.

which blew the poop into the air, sinking the vessel, the with it Antonio Correa and the whole crew were drowned. After this misfortune Diogo Lopes withdrew from Diu and proceeded to Chaul. Here he found Fernão Camello, who had returned from the Court of Nizamaluco, with leave for the Portuguese to build a fort there. No sooner was there a commencement made with this work than Melique Az, fearing that it would lessen the trade of Diu and increase the Portuguese power, resolved to obstruct it. He accordingly appeared off Chaul with a fleet of fifty vessels, and succeeded in sinking a large Portuguese ship that had recently arrived from Ormuz, and for the space of twenty days did a considerable amount of damage to the Portuguese fleet under Dom Aleixo de Menezes which opposed him.

During the government of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, the Portuguese gained a very bad reputation with the natives, in consequence of their often refusing to recognise their own passes to native ships engaged in trade. Petitions against him were sent to Lisbon, particularly from Cananor, owing to which Sequeira was recalled. He accordingly left Chaul before the completion of the fort, and proceeded to Cochin, where he surrendered up the government to Dom Duarte de Menezes, who had come out to succeed him, on the 22nd of December, 1521. Sequeira set out from Cochin on the 22nd January, 1522, and returned with a Portuguese fleet to Lisbon, having held the government of India for three years.

CHAPTER XIII.

Dom Duarte de Menezes assumes the Government—Dabhol reduced to Pay Tribute—Relief of Chaul—Destruction of Sohar—Treaty with the King of Ormuz—Attack on Pacem by the King of Achin—Abandonment of Pacem by the Portuguese—Repulse of the Portuguese at Quang-tung—Defeat of the King of Tidore—Dom Vasco da Gama appointed Viceroy—Letter from the Chamber of Goa to the King—Treaty with the King of Aden—Dom Duarte de Menezes sent home a Prisoner—Death of Dom Vasco da Gama—Dom Henrique de Menezes appointed Governor—Destruction of Coulete—Abandonment of the fort of Calicut—Attack on Bintam—Death of Dom Henrique de Menezes.

CHAP. XIII.

A.D. 1522.

Dom Duarte de Menezes assumed the office of Governor of India on the 22nd day of January, 1522. He had been sent out by King Dom Manoel, who died in December, 1521, and was succeeded on the throne of Portugal by his son King João III. No sooner had Dom Duarte entered upon his duties than he found it necessary to send a reinforcement to Ormuz, where a disturbance had taken place in consequence of Portuguese officials having been put into the custom-house there, in the place of natives. He accordingly dispatched his brother, Dom Luiz de Menezes, thither with relief. Simão de Andrade was appointed Commander of Chaul, and he shortly afterwards captured two Turkish galleys and gained a victory in Dabhol, in consequence of which that city was reduced to pay tribute. This, and the arrival of reinforcements under Dom Luiz, who had distinguished himself in Africa, had such an effect upon Melique Az that he speedily withdrew his vessels from before Chaul.

It appears that under orders from King Dom Manoel, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, in opposition to his own judgment, placed Portuguese officials in charge of the Customs

CHAP. XIII. A.D. 1522-23.

at Ormuz. These by their insolence and overbearing conduct, brought about a revolt which broke out simultaneously at Ormuz, Bahrein, Muscat, Kuriyat, and Sohar, all which places were suddenly attacked one night by order of the King of Ormuz, both by land and sea, and many of their defenders were killed. The King of Ormuz now hoped to throw off the Portuguese yoke. Dom Garcia Coutinho, who commanded the fort at Ormuz, was closely besieged, but two vessels coming from Muscat brought relief, and further reinforcements soon afterwards arrived. The King, now despairing of effecting his object, and fearing the punishment of his revolt, left Ormuz together with all the inhabitants, and after having set fire to the city retired to Kishm. Here he was murdered by some of his own people, and his son, Mamede Shah, a youth of thirteen, was made King in his stead.

Dom Luiz de Menezes being sent to the relief of Ormuz, proceeded first to Sohar, which place he destroyed, and handed it over to Sheikh Hozem to hold of the King of Portugal. After this he proceeded to Kishm and entered into a treaty with the new King.

This treaty was concluded at the fortress of Mina, on the River Minab, which place is supposed to have been the original capital of the kingdom of Ormuz. It was dated the 23rd July, 1523. After reciting the fact that by virtue of a treaty made between Affonso de Albuquerque and the King Xaffanadem Abanadar, father of the present King, the said Xaffanadem Abanadar undertook to hand over the city and kingdom of Ormuz to Portugal, whenever the King of Portugal should require the same, it was declared that the kingdom was now to be delivered up on the following conditions: That a good site for a factory should be given to the King of Portugal; that Portuguese ships calling at Ormuz should be exempt from dues, but that the Portuguese should pay the customary duties on all goods exported by them from the kingdom; that the King of Portugal should undertake to defend the kingdom

of Ormuz against all enemies; that all vessels belonging to the kingdom of Ormuz should be protected at sea, and be at liberty to navigate anywhere, excepting to the Straits of Mecca, to Sofala, and to other ports on that coast; that all foreign vessels bringing merchandise to the ports in the kingdom of Ormuz should be protected, and allowed to trade with those ports; that the amount of annual tribute henceforth payable by the King of Ormuz to Portugal should be 60,000 xeraphins in gold, silver, and pearls, that being 35,000 xeraphins more than the original amount (viz., 15,000 xeraphins levied by Affonso de Albuquerque, and 10,000 xeraphins levied by Antonio de Saldanha), this additional 35,000 xeraphins being in lieu of taking over the Customs' revenue; that this annual tribute of 60,000 xeraphins should be paid in instalments of 5,000 xeraphins monthly; that all Christians who had, or might, become Moors in the kingdom of Ormuz should be delivered over to the captain of the fortress; that no Moors of the kingdom of Ormuz should carry arms of any description, the only persons permitted to bear arms being the pages of the King and the officials at the palace; that all weapons in the King's armoury should be delivered up to the captain of the fortress for safe keeping; that the King of Ormuz should not have an army, but only be permitted to retain a few men-at-arms as a bodyguard—all others found with arms to have their weapons confiscated for the first offence, be whipped for the second, and lose their lives for the third offence; that all Moors should pay the customary dues on all merchandise, but all Portuguese Christians be exempted from the same; and that any Portuguese obtaining goods from Moorish vessels for the purpose of avoiding the payment of dues, should be liable to a penalty equal to double the amount of the original dues.

Dom Duarte de Menezes now paid a visit to Ormuz and held an enquiry as to the causes of the late rebellion; he also induced the young King to return to Ormuz to reside.

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Whilst this was going on at Ormuz, the Adil Khan succeeded in regaining possession of the territory on the mainland, opposite to Goa, which Ruy de Mello had annexed. Francisco Pereira Pestana offered what resistance he could to the forces of the Adil Khan, and at one time the success of the enemy seemed doubtful, for the Portuguese, with only a small force, inflicted a decisive defeat upon a much superior army of the natives. By degrees, however, the Adil Khan won over the inhabitants of the country, who declared for him and against the Portuguese. These territories were subsequently confirmed to the Adil Khan by a treaty.

In the year 1522 war broke out between the Kings of Achin and Pedir, in Sumatra, in which the former was victorious, whereupon the latter sought protection from the Portuguese at Pacem, the commander of which place was Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo. An attempt was made to reinstate the King of Pedir with the aid of some Portuguese troops, but this failed through the treachery of the people of Pedir, who, at the instance of the King of Achin, endeavoured to make him prisoner, but he, being advised of their intention, fled with only a few followers. The King of Achin then attacked the Portuguese fort of Pacem, commanded by Dom André Anriques, and the garrison was reduced to great straits. Dom André sent to Chatigam (Chittagong) for assistance, but the vessel that was dispatched to his aid was taken by a body of Portuguese who had turned pirates. The King of Achin overran all the country with fire and sword, and entering the city of Pacem with 15,000 men, he summoned Dom André to surrender. He, wishing to save the riches he had there accumulated, handed over the command of the fort to his brother-in-law, Ayres Coelho, and escaping with his treasure sailed for India. On the way thither he met two Portuguese ships bound for Banda to load spices, and having informed the captains of the condition they were in at Pacem they proceeded thither. Ayres Coelho had

succeeded in repelling a furious assault of the enemy, who, however, managed to capture an outpost. The relief came none too soon, since shortly afterwards the enemy renewed the assault with about 8,000 men, whilst the Portuguese had only about 350 all told, many of whom were sick or wounded. Seven hundred scaling ladders having been placed against the walls, the besiegers mounted them with great shouts, when a severe hand to hand combat ensued, with doubtful results, until the fire from the ships did at last such great execution that the enemy were forced to retire, after having lost a quarter of their number, leaving their scaling ladders and fireworks behind. The report of this defence states that on the Portuguese side no loss occurred with the exception of one woman who was killed by an arrow in her chamber. After this, a council was held, and, taking into consideration the difficulty of maintaining that station in the face of a hostile neighbour, it was determined to abandon it, and accordingly all the goods and garrison were removed on board the ships and the fort was then set on fire. Most of the fort was destroyed, but the Achinese coming in saved some of the cannon, which they afterwards used with no little effect against the Portuguese. The abandonment of this fort had been premature, for when too late it was ascertained that the King of Aru was on his way with 4,000 men to assist the Portuguese, and Lopo de Azevedo was coming from Malacca with supplies and ammunition.

Misfortune seems now to have followed the Portuguese enterprises. Martim Affonso de Mello Coutinho went with six ships to Quang-tung, but was attacked on going ashore for fresh water, and was forced to retire with the loss of many men. The Chinese, being armed, opposed the landing, and a battle ensued in which most of the Portuguese were killed, whilst others were taken prisoners and died there in prison.

The King of Bintam, who persistently carried on a war

CHAP. XIII. A.D. 1523-24.

with the Portuguese in Malacca, sent his captain, Laguexemena, with a fleet of eighty ships against that place in the year 1523. A vessel which was outward bound sighted this fleet at a distance of about ten leagues off, and returned to inform Jorge de Albuquerque, who decided to engage them at sea. The Portuguese ships had no sooner started than they encountered a fearful storm, and were forced to run into the River Muar for safety, but the storm was so violent that three of the smaller ships were driven far up the river and they were soon in the midst of the enemy's camp, whereupon they were surrounded and all on board were slain. The remainder of the ships returned to Malacca, and the enemy's fleet retired to Bintam, quite satisfied with the execution they had done to some of the Portuguese vessels in the River Muar.

Losses, both of ships and men, accompanied several expeditions to Pam (Pahang), Java, and Banda. Affairs were also in a very unsettled condition at the Moluccas, where the King of Tidore, in revenge for the Portuguese not having erected a fort on his island, attacked Ternate. The Portuguese thereupon laid siege to Tidore, and a native fort at Mariaco having been captured and the enemy put to flight, the King was reduced to sue for peace.

On 1st January, 1524, Dom Jorge de Albuquerque wrote to the King from Malacca, on the subject of Borneo, as follows: "The King of Borneo has written to me to say that he is, and wishes to continue, a true friend of the King of Portugal, sending his letter by a Biscayan, the sole survivor of an expedition under Fernão Magalhães, which the Castilians sent against Borneo. What I have ascertained about Borneo is as follows: It produces nothing but camphor, for which there is a ready sale in Bengal, Paleacate, Narsinga, and other Malabarese territories, Cochin and Calicut, and a little in Cambay. This camphor is very different from that which comes from

VASCO DA GAMA.

China, and does not belong to the King of Borneo, but is the property of another King in the island, who is a Caffre, whereas the King of Borneo and his subjects are Moors. These Caffres cultivate this camphor, and exchange it with the Moors of Borneo for cloth from Malacca, which is imported there from Cambay and Bengal. No spices will be sent to your Majesty this year, as the supply is very limited, and the payments to be made on other accounts are very heavy."

The manner in which Dom Duarte de Menezes had carried on the administration of India was extremely unsatisfactory; his great object appears to have been to accumulate wealth for himself, in which he was eminently successful; at every fortress the government was allowed to become lax, whilst the administration of justice was corrupt. To such an extent had misgovernment prevailed that, according to the words of Dom Vasco da Gama, Dom Duarte de Menezes had become "the scandal of Portugal." The King accordingly determined to send out Dom Vasco da Gama, Conde de Vidigueira, to succeed him, with the rank of Viceroy. He left Lisbon with a fleet of fourteen vessels on the 9th of April, 1824. He sailed in the ship "Sancta Catharina de Monte Sinay," and was accompanied by his two sons, Dom Estevan da Gama, who was captain-major at sea, and subsequently became Governor of India, and Dom Paulo da Gama, who was killed at Malacca. Besides these, Dom Vasco was accompanied by 3,000 men, a great part of whom were gentlemen, knights, and dependents of the King's palace. The fleet arrived at Mozambique on the 14th August, where fresh supplies were taken in, and whence Dom Vasco sent a letter and presents to the King of Melinde, excusing himself for not paying him a visit, as he was pressed for time. Three vessels were lost on the voyage, but the remainder of the fleet reached the coast of India in the neighbourhood of Dabhol, and cast anchor off Chaul on the 5th September (? 15th), where Simão de Andrade at once went off to pay a

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visit to the new Viceroy. Dom Vasco appointed Christovão de Sousa as captain of the fortress of Chaul, with instructions that should the Governor, Dom Duarte de Menezes, arrive there, he was to pay no attention to any orders that might be given by him. Having settled matters at Chaul, Dom Vasco proceeded to Goa, where he arrived on the 23rd September, and met with a most hearty reception from the whole city. His first act here was to depose Francisco Pereira, the captain of the fortress, on account of grave charges of oppression and extortion brought against him, and he appointed Dom Henrique de Menezes to that post in his stead. To such a state had Francisco Pereira brought Goa by his maladministration, that the people had entertained strong intentions of deposing him by force, and had offered his appointment to the Bishop of Goa, who, however, had declined it. The following letter, addressed by the Chamber of Goa to the King, dated the 31st October, 1524, throws further light on this subject:—

"Through Louis Fernandez Colazo, whom we had sent as our agent to your Highness, we received the answer to the letters which he conveyed from this city, and also the confirmation of our privileges, with the settlement of regulations, and also the sanction of appointments to offices, all dispatched satisfactorily as we desired, and for all this we kiss the hands of your Highness; and we cannot deny that the love and goodwill which the King, your father (may he be in holy glory), had for this city and its inhabitants is not forgotten, according as we see by the many favours which you grant us, both in dispatching our business, and in all the rest which for our part we have requested; and for ever we and our sons will beseech and pray the Lord God to increase the days and royal state of your Highness for His service.

"The Conde de Vidigueira arrived at this city, on the 23rd day of September of the present year, with nine

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ships; they say that five are wanting of the number of those that set sail with him. It seems to us that he comes with good designs, and desirous to serve your Highness, and to do justice to suitors, which is very requisite for this country, from what we have seen in this city, and from what he did in the few days that he remained in it in redressing the injuries of many persons, and rectifying faults which had been committed against your revenue. He was received by us in this city with that honour which those deserve who love justice and fulfil your commands. We presented to him our privileges and liberties, to all which he says he will have regard, as they have been granted us by your Highness. On account of the short time that he remained in this city, he could not dispatch some matters which we brought before him, and because the time drew nigh for getting ready the pepper cargo; neither would he take cognizance of many matters, which remain until his return; and according as things happen here, it is not fitting for him to repose in the midst of what he is charged with, as we have seen.

"Many persons went to him with offerings such as it is customary to make to governors when they are newly arrived; he would not take anything from Christian or Moor, and still less from this city, which we all look upon as extraordinary, as it is the custom for all to be accepted. He left as captain in this city Dom Henrique de Menezes, as Dom Fernando had not come, who it is said is coming as captain. We cannot say anything besides what should be said of a good gentleman, and we are treated by him as is reasonable and just, and according to what your Highness commands and recommends.

"In all the letters which we have written to your Highness we have given an account of this city and of its noble foundation, and of the Portuguese inhabitants who dwell in it with their wives and children, and now it seems right that we should do so in this letter. It

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seems that the Portuguese who at present are married and established will be 450, but it cannot with certainty be said how many they are, as they are scattered about in many parts, and of these we know of, many are gentlemen, and knights, and squires, servants of yours, and other persons of much desert, who have rendered much service to your Highness, both in these parts and in others of your realms. These have got sons and daughters to marry, and some of them already married in this city; and since it is thus ordained by God that we are to leave our native countries to people this land, we beg your Highness to bear in mind our services, and those which it is hoped our sons will perform.

"With regard to some works which have been executed in this city, the chief one is the monastery of S. Francisco, which we may say has been completed, and it is said to be one of the best houses to be found in your realms, both for its good monks and for its other works; and, in the next place, a hospital which Francisco Pereira built close to the gate of S. Catharina of this city, and, excepting that of Lisbon, we know of no other better. It is a great comfort to the sick, with the good management which it has; and it was very necessary that it should have been built, on account of the many sick who arrived with this fleet of the Conde.

"There has also been made a stone quay on the sea at the strand-gate, and this was by orders of Francisco Pereira. It is a great embellishment of the city, as it is a very good work; and galleys, and fustas, and other small vessels come alongside of it to discharge cargo, and take in what they want. There are some other works which are not more near completion than they were before, and the others, which Francisco Pereira executed during the time that he was captain here, your Highness will already know of.

"We reminded the Conde of the repairs of the walls of this city; he took much pleasure at this, and looked

to it, and ordered Dom Henrique, our captain, to commence facing it. We beg your Highness to give further orders to undertake this, and make the necessary repairs, because it is not for your service that it should remain thus.

"With regard to the building of the houses which the inhabitants have made, they are good, and every day they build some; and within the circuit of the city there is no unoccupied ground; nor can the married people be contained within it, and many live outside in the suburbs, being unable to do anything else, as they are very poor.

"The mainland which Ruy de Mello, who was captain of this city, conquered, was entered by the Moors, who used to possess it, in the month of April of five hundred and twenty-four, and they hold it as theirs, and the first Thanadar's district which they took was that of Perna, which is by the sea-side. There they captured two Portuguese, and one of them was the Thanadar; these are prisoners in the fortress of Bylgan (Belgaum), of which the Suffilarim is captain. We do not judge to whom should be given the blame for losing this land, but Dom Duarte, who was the governor in these parts, was at the bar of this city with a fleet ready to sail for Ormuz, and he was asked to give succour, and told that with a few men he could cast out the Moors from the country. He answered that he could not do it, as he was on a voyage, and that even if Goa should be lost he would not desist from going to Ormuz, which was little necessary for what was fitting for your service. His brother, Dom Luiz de Menezes, was also at that time in this city, and he went to winter in Cochin, and he carried away all the men whom he could; and as it was the beginning of winter, the Moors increased in numbers, and got possession of the country. Nevertheless, Francisco Pereira crossed over the river with what men he had in the city, who were very few, and for all that he could do nothing more than abandon the country.

"The horses which came this year from Ormuz to this city were 1,343, besides 36 that died, and the reason that

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more did not come was the insurrection which happened in Ormuz this year. It seems to us more will come, on account of the trade of Ormuz having been established with the merchants.

"As soon as the Conde arrived at this city, among other things which we requested of him, on behalf of the city and its inhabitants, we presented to him some minutes, which were made in the Chamber with the concurrence of all the people: in these we seek redress from him for some disputes and injuries which were done by Francisco Pereira, our captain, to several inhabitants of this city; and not so much for what touched their persons, as each one could make his own complaint for himself, but for what concerned the privileges and liberties which were given us by the King your father (may he be in glory) and now have been newly confirmed by your Highness; for (his conduct) was in a great measure in opposition to these, such as putting many of the citizens into prison in irons without reason, and without charge or enquiry held upon them, in which he went against our said privileges; and, after that, in ordering their houses to be taken from some of the inhabitants to lodge other persons in them, turning out of them their wives and children, in which he acted against the said privileges; and this also in ordering all the provisions which came to this city to cross the wharves in order to lade his ships, and again sell them in this city, and in giving offices, which your Highness had granted to us, to single men, as happened with the port of entrance of Manoel de Sampayo, which was vacant. It was also contrary to the said privileges his ordering to put in prison the ordinary judges, who by election are appointed with their staves, and he ordered the Solicitor of the city to be put in prison in irons for requiring what his office made requisite; and he took away the staves of some of the inspectors of the markets and had them broken in pieces; and the fines of the market which were decided by the inspectors of weights and measures,

he did not choose that they should be taken to the Chamber, by which the city suffered loss. There were other things contained in the said minutes, which we drew up that the Conde might see them, and act in this as he thought most fit for your service. These he saw, and being on the way to Cochin he could not enquire more into this, and he committed all to Dom Henrique (Henrique de Menezes) our captain; and upon the said minutes a process was instituted, and according to its nature great expenses were caused to the people of this city, upon which we held a Chamber, and all the people were summoned by proclamation; and it was agreed upon by all that the said minutes had not been given to the Conde in order that claims should be made by law, and that men should waste their property (sueing) with Francisco Pereira, but only in order that he, through the powers which he derives from your Highness, should take measures in this matter according as might be for your service; and that we should write this same to your Highness, respecting the said minutes, in what concerned the privileges of this city, since we felt aggrieved in what had been done in opposition to them, in what has been said, not only in the special matter, but in general, as is notorious. And since we saw that the decision of these affairs was postponed, and that Francisco Pereira had cast suspicion upon all the inhabitants of this city, both upon the Officers of Justice and upon other persons, and that this suspicion gained credence, we desist from saying more of the said minutes, and of the opinion of the people; and we inform your Highness of it, and petition you in respect to Francisco Pereira's going against our privileges, to preserve entire justice towards us, and to command that the truth may be ascertained by persons free from suspicion. For it cannot be but that among 500 inhabitants that are in this city, there should not be twenty of whom there is no suspicion, and who are not ill disposed towards Francisco Pereira; because we hope to prove

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completely that he has acted against the said privileges in what has been mentioned, and he gives as an excuse that we did not notify them to him when the fortress of this City was handed over to him by Ruy de Mello. At that time they were read and notified to him by the Officers of the Chamber, and he swore upon the Holy Gospels to comply with them, and he signed the oath at the foot of the book of the Chamber, as will be seen.

"Your Highness has granted to the inhabitants of this city the favour that the offices both of your Treasury and of Justice should be held among them for three years, and by those persons who were capable, as is stated more at length in the letter granting the said offices. And as we see that of these who have to be in office for three years, some persons, since your letter, hold them for their lives, we are aggrieved in this; also as Crysna, who holds four offices, and Pero Cão, three, and in other cases each one has his, which we do not name, we petition your Highness that no office be granted for life, but only for three years at a time, for there do not remain besides any more than seven or eight offices, and of these we take whatever they give us, up to the present time. So we petition your Highness to be pleased that of these offices which may have to be provided for by the Governor, or Captain of the Fort, the presentation of persons for them may be by the Chamber, so that all may have part in the favour which is granted them by your Highness, for it happens frequently that the offices are given more from partisanship than from merit.

"With respect to some offices which ought to be appointed for life, we have already written upon that matter to your Highness, as it seems to us to be for the service of God and for yours; such as are the Notaries of Deeds, of Justice, and of the Chamber, because these are appointments which it is not well that they should run for three years, and not for the lives of the persons who are to serve them. And the Notaries of Deeds, whom your

Highness sends, let them be given for life, and so it will be done. By the fleets which went from here in the time of Dom Duarte, we have written at length to your Highness many things about this city, and also about India, and it seems to us unnecessary to write more in this, since the things which have been done cannot be hid. May it please the Lord God to increase the days and royal state of your Highness for his service. Written in the Chamber of the said city of Goa on the last day of October. Luis Alvares did it. Year of 1524."*

One of the first things that Dom Vasco da Gama did on his arrival at Goa, was to hold an enquiry relative to the charges brought against Francisco Pereira, the result of which was that he was condemned to repay large sums that he had improperly levied or appropriated.

It appears to have been a not uncommon practice for women to have been smuggled on board ships in Lisbon, for conveyance to India, and as this led to brawls and public scandals, Vasco da Gama, before leaving Belem, had it widely proclaimed that any woman who should be found in the ships outside of Belem should be publicly scourged, even though she were a married woman, and her husband should, in that case, be sent back to Portugal loaded with fetters; and should she be a slave and a captive, she should be confiscated for the ransom of captives; and the captain who should find a woman in his ship and not give her up should lose his commission. In spite of these orders, when the vessels arrived at Mozambique three women were reported to have been discovered; these were imprisoned, and on arrival at Goa they were all three scourged together,† with the proclamation by the public crier of: "The justice of the King our Sovereign! it orders these women to be flogged, because they had no

* This translation it taken from "The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama." *Hakluyt Society's Publications.*

† On his death, Dom Vasco da Gama left 100,000 reis to each of these women, and with this money as a dowry they had no difficulty in obtaining husbands. They were accordingly married, and became, it is said, honest women.

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fear of his justice, and crossed over to India in spite of his prohibition." Many requests were made to Dom Vasco da Gama that he should pardon these women, but he not only paid no attention to them, but threatened everyone with speedy punishment who should be guilty of any offence, either against the State or against morality. His firmness in this respect had a very salutary effect generally, as people were all afraid of the consequences should they be detected in any crime. Dom Vasco was very zealous for the King's revenue, and used to say that men went to India poor, and returned wealthy; and that he, if he could, would make the King rich, as the greatest benefit the State could obtain was to have their King well supplied. He was, on this account, very particular in the disposal of appointments, and would not even sanction the engagement of a clerk without his having first proved that he could write a good hand.

Dom Vasco corrected many abuses which he found existing in India; he issued a proclamation that, under pain of death and loss of property, no one should navigate the seas without his licence, and that those who owned ships should make contracts and shipments with the King's factors, without whose papers they must not navigate; and that anyone who traded with the property of an officer of the King, whether an officer of Justice or of Exchequer, should lose his ship and all his property to the King, and should be banished for ever to Portugal, without leave to return again to India. These measures were taken with the view of securing all the profits of the Indian trade for the King, so as to provide means for paying soldiers and sailors and others engaged in the service of the State. He took away the pay and rations from the married men, and ordered that they should only receive them when engaged in a war, or on board the fleets. He had an enquiry made into the peculations and robberies which the officers had committed in the revenue of the mainland, and ordered them all to be arrested, and strict

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accounts to be taken from them. Besides correcting many other minor abuses, he gave orders that, under pain of death and confiscation, any person who had got any of the King's artillery should send and deliver it to the magazine, without any penalty, even though he might have stolen it, and this within the space of a month, after which they would incur the penalty. In this manner much artillery was gathered in, which was in the possession of trading merchants, and had been obtained through agreements with King's officers.

Having thus placed matters on a more satisfactory footing than he had found them on his arrival, Dom Vasco da Gama embarked for Cochin, accompanied only by a few lascars and servants, carefully avoiding the escort of cavaliers, and escorted by six fustas. He went along the shore, closely inspecting the coast and rivers, and having learned that the paraos of Calicut had factors in the rivers of Mangalor and Bacanor, who sold the plunder which they took, he ordered the bars of these rivers to be taken possession of, and placed there Jeronymo de Sousa and Manoel de Macedo, with vessels for that purpose.

On arrival at Cananor, Dom Vasco met with an enthusiastic reception, and had an interview with the King, at which great pomp and ceremony was observed, and presents were exchanged. He remained there three days, and then proceeded to Cochin, where he was received, on landing, with great ceremony and a procession, and was conducted to the church. On leaving the church he was met by the King, who treated him with great friendship, and had an interview with him in the church porch.

Shortly after this Heytor da Silveira arrived at Cochin from the Red Sea. He had departed from Goa in January, 1524, for Aden, with nine sail and 700 men, besides the crews. On his arrival, the King informed him that he was desirous of becoming a vassal of the King of Portugal, and a treaty of peace was accordingly concluded, the terms of which were that the King of Aden should send annually

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to Portugal a crown of gold of the value of 2,000 xeraphins, and Aden was to be an open port to all vessels. After an exchange of presents, and leaving a brigantine and twenty men for the revenue service of the King of Aden, Silveira sailed for Massuah, where he arrived at the end of March. He returned to Aden on the 6th April, and left again soon after for India. On his arrival at Cochin, he reported the result of his mission to Dom Vasco, who was not at all pleased with what he had done at Aden, and informed him that he had been deceived by the King, who had evidently only concluded a treaty with him for the purpose of saving the ships that were in the port. In this Dom Vasco was no doubt correct, for shortly afterwards a Portuguese vessel from Ceylon arrived at Aden, when the King subjected the crew and passengers to great cruelties, on the plea that they refused to become Mohammedans, and he also seized the vessel and its cargo.

Dom Vasco entertained serious thoughts of carrying on a great war in all the coasts and rivers of India, as soon as he should have dispatched the trading ships to Portugal, and he accordingly ordered some fast rowing boats to be constructed for that purpose. The Viceroy showed himself very well disposed towards warlike men, and used to say that when he went to fight he would only give the captaincies to men who in war had shown themselves to be good soldiers, for he would give the honours of war to those who had won them with their right arms, and however low a man might be, he would show him more honour than to a gentleman Jew.

Whilst these matters were taking place in India, Dom Duarte de Menezes was still at Ormuz, where he was making great profits out of the trade which came to that port. During this time João Gonçalves arrived at Ormuz with letters from Dom Rodrigo, who was in the hands of the Prester John, requesting the Governor to send vessels to Massuah to bring him away. Dom Duarte sent Balthasar Pessoa from Ormuz to Sheikh Ismael to complain of

some of the Sheikh's captains, who had impeded caravans from coming to Ormuz, but about a month after the arrival of Pessoa the Sheikh died, and was succeeded by his nephew Shah Tamasp. He obtained no satisfactory reply to his demands, and therefore returned to Ormuz, where he arrived after Dom Duarte had left for India.

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Having seen matters at Ormuz placed on a satisfactory footing, Dom Duarte de Menezes left for India, proceeding first to Muscat, and thence to Diu and Chaul. On arrival at the latter place, he received instructions that he was not to land there, but to proceed to meet the Viceroy, who was then at Cochin. He, however, proceeded very leisurely, staying some days at Goa and Bhatkal by the way, apparently with the view of only arriving at Cochin when the homeward-bound fleet was about to start, so as to avoid, as much as possible, any disputes with the Viceroy. Dom Duarte arrived at Cochin in November, and anchored off the bar, whereupon Dom Vasco da Gama sent him word that he was not to land, but to go at once on board the ship "Castello," in which he was to proceed to Portugal as a prisoner, upon his parole that he would not leave the vessel before its arrival at Lisbon.

The unusual action of Dom Vasco da Gama, of assuming the government in India without waiting for the customary formalities of having it handed over to him by his predecessor in office, was fully justified by the instructions he received, before embarking, from the King for delivery to Dom Duarte de Menezes, wherein it was directed that Dom Vasco was, immediately on his arrival, to be put in possession of all power, and that for such further time as Dom Duarte should remain in India he was to remain in Cochin or in Cananor. That in the event of his being out of India when Dom Vasco arrived, the latter was at once to use all power and jurisdiction, and to act in precisely the same manner as if the government had been formally handed over to him, and that after the arrival of Dom Vasco, Dom Duarte was thenceforth

CHAP. XIII. not in any way to interfere with the revenues or Indian trade.

A.D. 1524. Dom Duarte was excessively indignant when the above-mentioned instructions were handed to him, and, whilst submitting to all the other instructions, he refused to submit to the dictation as to which vessel he should return home in, but went on board the "San Jorge," where he established himself with his baggage. At this Dom Vasco was greatly enraged, and as Dom Duarte, upon being again ordered to go on board the "Castello," refused to do so, he directed the chief-constable and the auditor-general to go out the next morning in two galleons, armed with artillery, and to place one on each side of the "San Jorge," and to require Dom Duarte, in the name of the King, to come out at once, and go and place himself on board the "Castello." That if he did not obey, they were to repeat the requisition three times, and that should he still refuse to comply with orders, they were to order the crew to come out, and then send the ship to the bottom with their artillery. Upon these orders becoming known to Dom Luiz de Menezes, the brother of Dom Duarte, he went to the Viceroy to intercede with him on his brother's behalf, when some high words passed between them; and after Dom Luiz had left, Dom Vasco sent some bailiffs after him to take him also on board. He submitted to this quietly, and on arriving at the "San Jorge," he persuaded his brother to accompany him on board the "Castello."

The Viceroy now prepared a fleet of ships to cruise along the coast, and as he did not find artillery in the magazines, he ordered a proclamation to be made, as he had done in Goa, that anyone who had artillery belonging to the King was to deliver it up at once, under pain of death should it be found in his possession; and should any man have bought it, and could produce proofs to that effect, he would be repaid what he had given for it. Dom Vasco made it his business to enquire into every detail of State administration, which had all, apparently, been

allowed to get very slack, and justice even had become perverted. The cares and anxieties of the government, where so much had to be corrected and put straight, appear to have been too much for Dom Vasco da Gama, so that he became seriously ill, and subsequently lost the power of speech. Whilst in this condition, he had a deed of acknowledgment drawn up of how he had received the government of India, and that it had been delivered up to him, and sent it to Dom Duarte for his signature. But he, having learned the condition in which Dom Vasco then was, and hoping that, should he die, he would be able to resume the reins of government, which he had never formally resigned to his successor, refused to do so now, at sea, but only in the usual manner at the gate of the fortress. Dom Vasco, however, refused to allow him to land, and in the place of a formal surrender of the government, Dom Vasco had a document drawn up by his secretary, relating all that had passed between himself and Dom Duarte. The latter left Cochin with the fleet, together with his brother Dom Luiz, who, however, sailed in another ship, which was captured by pirates, who killed Dom Luiz and all the crew. Dom Duarte was nearly wrecked on his way home, but ultimately arrived at Farão, on the coast of Algarve, where he landed, together with all his property, of which he had brought away great quantities from India. Dom Duarte was imprisoned for several years at Torres Vedras, but subsequently, through the intercession of Conde Castanheira, he was set at liberty, and appointed to the captaincy of Tangiers.

After the departure of the fleet for Lisbon, Dom Vasco rapidly became worse. He recalled Fernão Gomes de Lemos from Ceylon, and deprived him of the captaincy on account of his evil living. He then summoned Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, and Affonso Mexia, the overseer of the revenue, with the secretary, whom he bound over to see his instructions carried out in the event of his death, until his successor should order things otherwise. Having

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disposed of all his worldly affairs to the best of his judgment, Dom Vasco da Gama died on the 24th of December, 1524. His body was deposited in the principal chapel of the monastery of S. Antonio,* after which his sons, together with all his servants, returned to Portugal in a merchant's ship, where they were received with great honour by the King.

After his death it was found that Dom Vasco da Gama had nominated Lopo Vaz de Sampayo his successor, until such time as Dom Henrique de Menezes—who was at Goa, and was the next named in the patents—should arrive to assume the government.

Immediately on assuming office, Lopo Vaz de Sampayo sent to Goa to inform Dom Henrique de Menezes of the death of Dom Vasco da Gama, at Cochin, and to inform him of his succession as Governor of India, but, before resigning the appointment, Lopo Vaz dispatched Antonio de Miranda with a fleet of four vessels and 350 men to the Red Sea. He accompanied an expedition against a fleet of the Zamorin, which was commanded by Cotiale, and defeated it in the river of Bacanor. He then proceeded to Goa, where he was received with every mark of distinction, and formally handed over the government to Dom Henrique de Menezes.

The Portuguese vessels obtained several successes at sea in engagements with Moorish vessels, in one of which, however, Christovão de Brito, who commanded the expedition, was killed. An attack having been made, by a number of Nairs, upon the Portuguese fort at Calicut, they were driven off by a small number of Portuguese; but Dom Henrique determined to take further action in the matter, so he led an expedition to Panane (Ponani), one of the principal towns belonging to Calicut. This he found well fortified, and armed with cannon, and commanded by a Portuguese *renegado*, whilst in the river were

* Accounts differ as to where the body was buried, some say it was in the monastery of S. Francisco, others in the Cathedral of Cochin, and others again in the Franciscan monastery of Cochin.

several vessels drawn up in order of battle. A number of Portuguese were landed, and a fierce engagement took place both by sea and land. After a slight resistance the fortifications were captured, whereupon the enemy fled to the neighbouring woods, and the town and vessels in the port were burnt. Dom Henrique proceeded the next day to Calicut, and burnt all the ships that were in that port, after which he proceeded to Coulete, which town was defended by a garrison of 20,000 men. A council of war was held whereat the majority considered the odds too great, and were against attacking the place, but Dom Henrique overruled these opinions, and decided to make the attempt. The attack by land was made by two parties simultaneously; the one, consisting of 300 men, was led by Dom Simão de Menezes, and the other, of 150 men, by Dom Henrique. The fleet was, at the same time, to engage 150 ships that were there. After a stubborn fight the enemy, having suffered severe losses, fled, and the Portuguese thereupon entered the town, which they burnt, and took a large quantity of booty, including 360 cannon and a vast number of muskets. The majority of the ships were destroyed, being either sunk or burnt, and fifty-three were captured, most of which were laden with spices. After this Dom Henrique returned to Cochin, leaving Dom João de Lima in command of the fort of Calicut, and Dom Simão de Menezes with twenty sail and 500 men to cruize upon the coast. The latter scoured the neighbouring seas, made several captures, and burnt the town of Mangalor and ten ships that were in that harbour.

The King of Calicut was, however, determined not to leave the fortress long in peace, and he shortly advanced against it with 12,000 men, who dug a trench round it which they armed with cannon, and then commenced to bombard it. The battery opened fire on the 13th June, 1525, and the next day a messenger was sent off to the Governor to demand assistance, as Dom João de Lima had only 300 men with him for the defence of the fort. Dom

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Henrique immediately sent two caravels, with 150 men, who succeeded in getting into the fort, after which the enemy attacked the place with scaling ladders, but were successfully repulsed. Dom João de Lima then sent for further assistance, and an additional force of 500 men was dispatched to his relief, but these were unable to land on account of the sea, and so returned to Cochin. Dom Henrique, now recognising the seriousness of the position at Calicut, dispatched thither two squadrons, the one of seven ships under the command of Heytor da Silveira, and the other of twenty-five under Pero de Faria. Subsequently, the Governor himself arrived with twenty sail and 1,500 men, besides some small craft. After remaining four days inactive, Dom Henrique succeeded in getting a reinforcement of 150 men into the fort under Heytor da Silveira, and the following day as many more under Dom Duarte de Lima. At daybreak of the next day Dom Henrique landed with a force, and violently attacked the enemy in their trenches, at the same time that the garrison within the fort made a sally. Being taken by surprise, the enemy lost some 3,000 men, and the remainder retired, leaving Dom Henrique master of the field.

The Zamorin then sent to sue for peace, but after negotiations lasting over four days no satisfactory terms could be agreed upon. The fort was, therefore, demolished, in accordance with instructions received from the King of Portugal, and, having placed on board the vessels all that was of value within the fort, the walls were razed, and the Portuguese all withdrew to the fleet. As soon as they had all retired, the enemy rushed in to pillage anything they could find there, when, the powder igniting, the fort was blown up and many Moors perished.

Leaving Pero de Faria with a fleet to guard the coast of Malabar, Dom Henrique returned to Cochin, and dispatched Heytor da Silveira to Ormuz and the Red Sea. On the coast of Arabia he assaulted and took the city of Dofar, which he destroyed, and entering the Red Sea to-

wards the end of March, 1526, he reduced Massuah and Dalaca to pay tribute. Thence he sailed to Arquico, where he received on board Dom Rodrigo de Lima, on his return from his embassy to Prester John, together with an ambassador sent by the latter to Portugal, and proceeded to Ormuz, where he met Lopo Vaz, and thence he returned to Goa.

Pero Mascarenhas, who had been appointed to succeed Jorge de Albuquerque in the command of Malacca, arrived there in 1525 and found the place in great distress on account of the enemies by which it was surrounded. After repeatedly defeating the King of Bintam in his attacks against the Portuguese, without reducing him to submission, Mascarenhas determined to attack him in his stronghold of Bintam. Leaving a garrison of 300 men in the fortress of Malacca, Mascarenhas proceeded with a large fleet, containing 600 Portuguese and 400 Malays, to the island of Bintam, whither the King of Malacca had retired after being driven from Pago. Fearing that the Portuguese would follow him up, he had fortified himself on the island, determined to carry on the war against them without intermission.

On the approach of Mascarenhas' fleet the natives were very much surprised, and viewed with amazement the daring of the Portuguese in venturing to attack such a stronghold. The fortress was some distance up the river, in which had been erected several strong stockades. The Portuguese fleet proceeded up the river with the tide one morning, and speedily demolished the first stockade, capturing twenty guns; the Moors from the other stockades fired on the vessels as they advanced, but these also were speedily silenced by the heavy guns of Pero Mascarenhas' ship. The tide receded as the vessels forced their way through the second stockade, and they were left high and dry. The Moors, from a distance, kept up a heavy fire, but were unable to approach the ships owing to the soft mud, in which they sank up to their waists; they then

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endeavoured to dam the river, and so prevent the advance of the fleet, but in this they were unsuccessful, as the works they put up for the purpose were all washed away by the tide. The river was obstructed by a succession of stockades, which the Portuguese destroyed one by one as the tides served them. On the twelfth day, after laborious work night and day, the ships arrived at a strong wooden bridge, which was within gunshot of the town. On either side of the bridge a force of 6,000 Moors, with a large quantity of artillery, attacked the vessels with great determination, doing much damage to the spars and rigging; but two well-directed shots from Mascarenhas' ship destroyed the bridge, thus exposing the enemy's position, and after some heavy firing from the Portuguese guns they fled, leaving many killed and wounded behind. The Portuguese losses up to this time were twenty killed and a great number wounded.

The King of Pahang, a relation of the King of Bintam, collected a fleet, with 2,000 men, which he sent to his assistance. This force arrived at the mouth of the river the very day the bridge was destroyed, upon which Pero Mascarenhas sent a vessel with Francisco Vasconcellos and others to attack them, and they were speedily put to flight.

The Portuguese at last arrived at the town of Bintam, which, after a stubborn resistance, was captured and destroyed. The King fled through the jungle, and arrived at a place called Flugentana, from whence he continued to make war against the Portuguese until his death. Pero Mascarenhas bestowed the island on its former King (who had been dispossessed of it by the late Ruler), upon his undertaking to become a friend of, and to be at peace with, Portugal. Mascarenhas then returned to Malacca, where he was received with great rejoicings, and many neighbouring Kings entered into treaties of peace with the Portuguese on account of this great victory they had achieved. After this Malacca enjoyed a long spell of peace and prosperity.

About this time Dom Garcia Henriques was sent to relieve Antonio de Brito at the Moluccas. On arrival at Ternate, he sent a Portuguese in a small vessel to discover the Celebes Islands, where it was reported quantities of gold were to be found. He succeeded in this enterprise so far as the discovery of the island was concerned, but he failed to find the gold. On his return his vessel was carried away by a storm to the eastward, and was driven to a large island, which was evidently New Guinea, and here the natives gave him to understand that gold was to be found, but they themselves made no use of it. He then returned to Ternate after an absence of eight months.

Dom Henrique, after sending Heytor da Silveira to the Red Sea, engaged himself in extensive preparations for an attack on Diu, giving out, however, that the expedition was intended for Aden. In due course he set out with seventeen large vessels, intending, on his way, to clear the coast of pirates. He reduced Chaul, and burnt the town; but was unsuccessful in an attack on Bacanor, being obliged to retire in the face of superior forces, after having lost forty men. Shortly afterwards Dom Henrique fell ill, and expired about the end of January, 1526, at Cananor (where he was also buried), having held the government of India for a year and a month.

CHAPTER XIV.

Lopo Vaz de Sampayo installed as Governor—Revolt at Kalhat and Muscat—Attack on Tidore—Defeat of Portuguese by Spaniards at Tidore—Pero Mascarenhas proceeds to Goa to assume the Government, but is Imprisoned—Rival Claims of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo and Pero Mascarenhas to the Government—Expedition to the Red Sea—Capture of Purakkat—Arrival of Nuno da Cunha as Governor—Destruction of a Cambay Fleet—The Lord of Thana made Tributary to Portugal—Tidore made Tributary to Portugal—Sale of the Moluccas Islands to Portugal—Treaty of Saragossa—Imprisonment of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo—Land Revenue Settlement of Goa—Banishment of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo to Africa.

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On the death of Dom Henrique de Menezes (21st February, 1526), the first for succession to the governorship of India was Pero Mascarenhas, then commanding at Malacca; but as the distance thither was so great, and the season unfavourable for the journey, it was necessary to make an acting appointment. It is known that in a sealed paper left by Dom Henrique de Menezes he had named Francisco de Sa, then commanding at Goa, as his immediate successor; but as this paper could nowhere be found, Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, who was the second named in the patent, was installed as Governor, after having solemnly pledged himself to deliver the office to Pero Mascarenhas so soon as he should arrive from Malacca. His first action was to dispatch captains to several places, and he then sent a force to destroy some vessels belonging to the Zamorin, which were at anchor at Cananor. Lopo Vaz then sailed to Goa, where Francisco de Sa refused to receive him as Governor, on account of the title that he himself had to the temporary appointment. The Council of the city, however, sided

with Lopo Vaz, and he was duly admitted as Governor. From thence he sent a message to Pero Mascarenhas informing him of his appointment.

After making certain appointments, and dispatching fleets to the island of Sunda, to the Maldives, and elsewhere, Lopo Vaz sailed for Ormuz with five ships and 300 men, and on his way thither he reduced the towns of Kalhat and Muscat, which had revolted in consequence of the exactions of Diogo de Mello, who was then in command at Ormuz. At the latter place, Lopo Vaz did nothing but compose the differences between Diogo de Mello and Raez Xarafo, which had been the cause of the revolt of Kalhat and Muscat. Having collected the tribute due from the King of Ormuz, and received the ambassador from Prester John, who had gone there with Heytor da Silveira, Lopo Vaz proceeded to Chaul, and gave orders for fortifying several places in expectation of the arrival of a powerful expedition of Turks. He then returned to Goa, and on the way thither he learned that fresh orders had arrived from the King, in accordance with which he was given the priority over Mascarenhas in the government of India. On his arrival at Goa he was for the second time welcomed as Governor, and thence he proceeded to Cochin, whence he dispatched the homeward-bound vessels, in which also Prester John's ambassador was embarked, who proceeded to Rome, where he submitted himself to the Pope, and having received several favours from Pope Clement the Seventh, he returned to Abyssinia. After this Lopo Vaz set out with an expedition to the Red Sea against the Turks, who, it was reported, had fortified themselves on the island of Kamaran. It would appear—although the account is not very clear on this point—that Lopo Vaz obtained some success in this undertaking, since Antonio Tenreiro conveyed the intelligence to King John by land, being the first who had attempted that journey, which, until then, had been deemed impracticable.

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As soon as Pero Mascarenhas received at Malacca the news of his succession to the governorship of India, he was proclaimed as Governor, and proceeded to issue orders and make appointments. He then embarked, with the view of proceeding to India and formally taking up the appointment. The weather was, however, adverse, and he was driven back to Malacca, whereupon he determined to await a more favourable season for the journey, and in the meanwhile he fitted out an expedition against Bintam, of which an account has already been given. (See p. 377.)

Francisco de Sa had been dispatched to the island of Sunda, whose King had, on the occasion of its being visited on a former occasion by Anrique Leme, offered a place for the erection of a fort, and a yearly tribute of 350 quintals of pepper to the King of Portugal, in consideration of receiving his support against the Moors. When, however, Francisco de Sa arrived there with the intention of erecting a fortress, the Moors had regained their former influence with the King, and placed such obstacles in his way that he returned to Malacca without accomplishing his object. In the Moluccas, also, the Portuguese were not very fortunate. Antonio de Brito had quarrelled with the King of Tidore, but Dom Garcia Henriques made peace with him. This action, however, caused a difference between Dom Garcia and Cachil Aeiro—the youth who had been placed on the throne of Ternate by Tristão de Ataide—who, to revenge himself, made peace with the King of Tidore. Dom Garcia, however, fearing that this union might be disadvantageous to the Portuguese power, fell suddenly upon the city of Tidore, and entering it at the time of a great public funeral, took away all the cannon it possessed, and then burnt this place. This act of treachery gave a great blow to the reputation of the Portuguese for good faith in all the neighbouring islands. Just at this time

Martim Inhigues* arrived at Camase, a port in the kingdom of Tidore, in command of a Spanish vessel, on the last day of the year 1526. Dom Garcia, as soon as he understood that the new comers were Spaniards, endeavoured to come to terms with the King of Tidore, but without effect; and as these new rivals caused a rise in the price of spices, Dom Garcia endeavoured to expel them, but they being joined by the natives, obliged the Portuguese to retire. In a subsequent engagement with the Spaniards at Tidore, the Portuguese were again defeated, and the former maintained their position on the island.

At this juncture, Dom Jorge de Menezes arrived at the Moluccas, and a serious difference soon sprang up between him and Dom Garcia; he obeying Pero Mascarenhãs as Governor, whilst Dom Garcia recognised Lopo Vaz. The dispute between them became so acute that Dom Jorge put Dom Garcia in irons; he, however, succeeded in regaining his liberty, and retaliated in a similar manner upon Dom Jorge, but afterwards set him at liberty. Dom Garcia then retired towards Banda, whereupon Dom Jorge sent Vicente da Fonseca in a vessel to capture him and his ship. This he succeeded in doing, but only after a fight in which Dom Garcia had two of his men killed; he himself, however, escaped, and embarking in a vessel laden with goods for Malacca, narrowly escaped capture at that port. Hence he proceeded to Cochin, where the vessel sank, with goods to the value of 50,000 crowns which he had on board, and he escaped with merely the clothes he stood upright in. Here he was taken and imprisoned by Nuno da Cunha, who was then Governor, and subsequently sent home to Portugal to answer for his proceedings at the Moluccas.

Lopo Vaz de Sampayo was at Cochin when intelligence

* This name is elsewhere given as ...n Yanez, a Biscayan navigator, ...ok the command of the vessel on the death of Father Loyosa and Del Cano, who had successively commanded the expedition.

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reached him that Pero Mascarenhas was on his way from Malacca to assume the government. A council was thereupon held, whereat it was decided not to recognise him as Governor. Lopo Vaz then proceeded to Goa, leaving Affonso Mexia* to carry out what had been determined on. Pero Mascarenhas arrived on the last day of February, 1527, and, after some controversy with Mexia, he resolved to land unarmed; he was met by Mexia accompanied by a well-armed escort, and forced to return to his ship, Mascarenhas himself being run through the arm with a lance, and several of his company wounded. Mascarenhas then proceeded towards Goa, but was met on the way by Antonio da Silveira, who, by order of Lopo Vaz, took him prisoner, and handed him over to Dom Simão de Menezes, the commander of the fort of Cananor.

* Affonso Mexia was a great intriguer, Controller of the Treasury, and Captain of Cochin. On the 30th December, 1528, he wrote the following letter to the King of Portugal, giving his Majesty interesting news about India:—

"News has reached me from Jorge Cabral, captain of Malacca, and from Dom Garcia, captain of the Moluccas, to the effect that a Castilian ship had arrived there, and that directly the fact became known they had sent protests, of which the Spaniards not only took no notice, but proceeded to Tidor, an island near the one where your Majesty has a fortress, and on arriving there landed and fortified themselves with palisades and artillery. Immediately those in our fortress knew of it they proceeded to bombard the Spanish ship, which it is said they rendered unseaworthy. At this time Dom Jorge, who was going there as captain, with two ships and sixty men, had not arrived.

"Letters from Malacca also state that Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo was about to start with 100 men in consequence of this news about the Spaniards. The Governor having called a council, in which there was a difference of opinion as to whether a fleet should be sent to erect a fortress at Sunda, or proceed to the assistance of the Moluccas, finally decided to dispatch Pero de Farya, with some good vessels and men, to Sunda, *viâ* Malacca, but on arrival at the latter place it would depend on the news received there from the Moluccas whether he was to assist them or proceed to Sunda.

"A galleon which arrived from Ceylon with cinnamon brought an ambassador from the King to request the erection of a tower on the site of the old fortress, where the factor and a few men should reside. He even offered to pay the expenses of the building, so anxious was he to be on good terms with the Portuguese, in consequence of his being at war against two brothers who were endeavouring to seize his dominions. It seemed to be for the good of your Majesty's service that a tower, capable of being held by a few men, should be erected, and as it will afford a secure shelter to the factor, which is anything but the case now, as when Moorish paraos arrive there he dare not remain, but is compelled to flee for safety to the King's palace. This King is very devoted to your Majesty, and places more confidence in us than in his own people, and only this year, when in terror of his own brother, he placed himself, his treasure, and his jewels under the protection of the factor. He is so much inclined towards us, and our customs, that we may hope soon he will become a Christian."

This treatment of Mascarenhas, and the refusal of Lopo Vaz to bring him to trial in accordance with his request, greatly incensed many of the Portuguese in India, and raised up some strong adherents to his cause, which was warmly taken up by a faction in Goa, and Heytor da Silveira with some 300 others invited Mascarenhas to Goa, where they promised to obey him as Governor, and to secure the person of Lopo Vaz. This, however, became known to Lopo Vaz, who had Silveira arrested.

On the news of what had taken place at Goa reaching Cananor, Dom Simão de Menezes set Mascarenhas at liberty, and he and all the Portuguese there swore allegiance to him as Governor. Christovam de Sousa, the governor at Chaul, and Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo, admiral of the Indian Seas, also gave in their adherence to Mascarenhas. In consequence of this division of authority, both sides agreed to submit the matter to arbitration, and to abide by the result, neither of them acting as governor in the meantime. The arbitrators gave in their verdict on the 26th of December, which was given in favour of Lopo, and thereupon Mascarenhas returned to Lisbon, where he was well received by the King, who gave him the command of Azamor, in Africa. On his return from that appointment he was lost at sea.

Lopo Vaz, being now quietly established in the government, fitted out expeditions to various parts. Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo was dispatched with a fleet to burn the Turkish galleys that were at Kamaran; he sailed for the Red Sea at the latter end of January, 1528, with twenty ships and over 1,000 men. He took several vessels, but failed to reach Kamaran owing to contrary winds. Having burnt the city of Zeylan, he went thence to Ormuz, and then on to Diu, where his fleet was dispersed by a storm, but coming together subsequently they captured a rich Moorish ship, but in the engagement some sixteen men, who were in a long boat, were taken by the fleet of Diu,

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and carried captives to the King of Cambay, where they were put in prison for a while. but subsequently released.

Martim Affonso de Mello Jusarte had been dispatched by Lopo Vaz, with eight large ships and 400 men, to build a fort at Sunda. On his way he touched at Colombo, where he delivered the King of Cotta, who was an ally of the Portuguese, from Pate Marcar of Calicut, by whom he was besieged. He also captured some Moorish ships, and destroyed the town of Core in revenge for the death there of João de Flores, who had been killed by the inhabitants of that place when guarding the fishery there. At Calecare he agreed with the governor of that place about the price of pearls. Proceeding thence he was driven by a storm upon a sandbank near the island Nagamale, opposite to the city Sodoe. Having got into the long boat with fifty men he came to the city Chacuria, in Bengal, where they were taken prisoners, and after being employed by the governor against his enemy, they were subsequently all made slaves until ransomed from that state by a Moor for 3,000 ducats.

Lopo Vaz also sent out several fleets to scour the seas and clear them of Moorish ships. One of these, under the command of Dom João de Eça, captured fifty prizes, laden with all sorts of goods; he burnt the town of Mangalor, and meeting afterwards a fleet of seventy paraos, belonging to Calicut, under the command of the Chinese Cutiale, he fought them, captured most of the vessels, killing some 1,500 Moors, and taking nearly an equal number prisoners, amongst whom was the Commander Cutiale.

Leaving Goa in charge of Antonio de Miranda, Lopo Vaz proceeded to Cochin, where he fitted out an expedition of eighteen ships, which fell in with, off Cananore, 130 paraos belonging to Moors of Malabar. These he encountered, and, after a sharp engagement, succeeded in sinking eighteen, and capturing twenty-two of them. The rest dispersed, and being met by other Portuguese vessels near Cochin, they suffered further loss. Lopo Vaz then set out

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in search of Arel, lord of Porca,* scouring the coasts as he went. Simão de Mello, who commanded the brigantines, burnt twenty-six ships, and razed the town of Chatua. An attack was then made upon Porca, which was assaulted by 1,000 men. Arel was not there, but the Moors defended the place courageously, until the majority of them being killed, the rest fled; whereupon the Portuguese entered the city and plundered it. The wife of Arel was taken, and other persons of note, besides quantities of gold, silver, jewels, silks and other stuffs, a number of cannon, and thirteen large vessels. All the inhabitants found in the city were slain, and the place was then burnt. After this Lopo Vaz returned to Cochin, where he found some vessels just arrived from Portugal, which had brought out Nuno de Cunha to succeed him in the government. Before surrendering his office, however, Lopo Vaz sent out several expeditions against the pirates that swarmed on the coast of India; many of their vessels were destroyed, and Marabia and other towns that they inhabited were captured and burnt. The King of Cambay having sent out a fleet of eighty vessels against Nizamaluco, lord of Chaul, the Portuguese there assisted him against the enemy, but being hard pressed they asked for further aid, whereupon Lopo Vaz set out with forty sail and over 1,000 Portuguese, besides some native troops. He succeeded in reinforcing Chaul with eighty Portuguese under the command of João de Avelar, and then followed the fleet of Cambay which had sailed towards Diu, and coming up with them near Bombay, he engaged and totally routed them, destroying about half the vessels, capturing a number of prisoners, besides a quantity of cannon and ammunition. On land the Portuguese were equally successful, and captured a fort belonging to the King of Cambay, which they handed over to Nizamaluco. Lopo Vaz thought the present a favourable opportunity to attack Diu, and he would have

* Porqua, or Porca, was a city and kingdom on the Malabar coast, situated between the kingdoms of Cochin and Quilon. Its modern name is Purakad, or Purakkat.

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done so had he acted according to his own judgment, but all the captains, with the exception of Heytor da Silveira, were averse to the enterprise, and he did not therefore undertake it. Lopo Vaz then retired to Goa, leaving Heytor da Silveira, with twenty-two vessels, to scour the coast of Cambay of pirates, and Antonio de Miranda to cruise on the Malabar coast. The former captured and burnt the city of Bassein, whereupon the lord of Thana submitted himself voluntarily as tributary to Portugal, after which Heytor da Silveira retired to Chaul.

Whilst these events were taking place in India, Simão de Sousa Galvão was appointed to succeed Dom Jorge de Menezes at Ternate, but on his way there his vessel was driven by a violent storm to Achin, when it was attacked and taken by the King of that place, most of the Portuguese on board being killed, and Simão de Sousa himself was cut to pieces. Dom Jorge de Menezes therefore continued in his command, and sent a force against the Spaniards at Tidore, but, being repulsed, they retired. Having obtained a reinforcement of natives from Ternate, the attack was renewed; this time successfully, and Tidore was plundered and burnt. The Spanish troops having retired to the fort, Dom Jorge summoned Ferdinão de la Torre, the Spanish captain, to surrender, and as he was no longer able to hold out, he agreed to a capitulation, the terms of which were that he and all the Castilians should leave Tidore and go to Camaso, on the coast of Morro, another of the islands of the Moluccas group (for which purpose Dom Jorge undertook to provide them with ships), where they were to remain until instructions should be received from Spain and Portugal as to the future of those islands. Whilst there, the Castilians were to abstain altogether from trade, and not to purchase any cloves; they were to give up the island of Maquiem,* which they had taken from the King of Ternate, and not to go to war again against him or the King of Batjan; nor were they to assist the King of Tidore

* Maquiem is one of the five large islands of the Moluccas group.

or the King of Gilolo against the Portuguese or against their allies. Everything that had been seized was also to be mutually returned to the rightful owner.

The Castilians were duly landed at Camaso, from whence Ferdinão de la Torre dispatched Pero de Montenior with letters to the Governor of India, requesting that he would send him a ship whereby he and all the Castilians might be conveyed to India.

The King of Tidore was made tributary to Portugal in a certain quantity of bahars of cloves (quantity not specified); he was never to allow the Castilians to enter the river again, and never again to assist them against the Portuguese, their friends or allies. After having accomplished these objects, Dom Jorge returned victorious to Ternate.

The success of this enterprise appears to have turned the head of Dom Jorge de Menezes, for he shortly afterwards became so insulting to the natives, especially to the Moors, and executed such barbarities, that the people of Ternate rose in open rebellion. The leader of the revolt was publicly beheaded, and the barbarities practised on others caused the Queen and the inhabitants generally to fly from Ternate. The atrocities committed by Dom Jorge de Menezes at length led to his being seized and imprisoned; he was subsequently sent to India, and thence to Portugal, where he was condemned to banishment.

No sooner had the news of the arrival of Magellães in the Moluccas reached Spain than the Portuguese Court, jealous of preserving for their subjects the monopoly of the trade in spices, disputed the right of the Spaniards to establish themselves in those islands, basing its claim to them on the bull of Pope Alexander, dated the 4th May, 1493, which, while granting to Ferdinand and Isabella the same rights and privileges in respect to countries discovered by Spain towards the south and west, as had been given to Portugal by the bull of Pope Nicolas V., of the 8th January, 1454, under the same conditions of promulgating the Christian faith, specially stipulated that,

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with the view of preventing any further dispute between the two Powers as to their respective possessions, an imaginary line of demarcation was indicated limiting the pretensions of the two Powers respectively. This line was a meridian drawn from the north to the south pole, running 100 leagues from the west of the Azores and the Cape de Verde Islands, so that all the islands and lands discovered, or to be discovered, to the west of that line, which had not already been occupied by a Christian Power before the previous Christmas Day, were to belong to the aforesaid King and Queen, and to their heirs and successors, as those to the east of the same were to belong to the Crown of Portugal. This demarcation was subsequently slightly modified by the Treaty of Tordesillas.

Charles V. maintained that the Moluccas Islands were situated to the east of the prolongation of the line agreed to by that treaty, and within the 180° which commenced from that line, whence it followed that they were comprised in the lot apportioned to Spain. This, however, was not the case, but nevertheless Charles V. promised, in 1523, in the Cortes et Villadolid, to defend this possession, and to come to no compromise with Portugal in regard to it.

As soon as the Portuguese had turned the Spaniards out of the Moluccas, as above related, King Dom João II., profiting by the pecuniary necessities incurred by King Charles V. by his numerous undertakings, offered him a sum of money to resign his claim to those islands. This was agreed to, and commissioners were accordingly appointed to arrange the terms. They met at Saragossa, on the 22nd April, 1529, and agreed to a treaty by which Spain sold to Portugal her rights to these islands for a sum of 350,000 ducats of gold. It was also agreed to fix the line of demarcation between the two countries by an imaginary line drawn from pole to pole, 297 leagues and a-half east of the Moluccas, that is 17° on the equatorial line. The King of Spain reserved to himself,

by this treaty, the power to annul this bargain; but it was stipulated therein that, in the event of his availing himself of it, arbitrators should be nominated to determine to which of the two—the King of Spain or the King of Portugal—the possessing of the Moluccas rightfully belonged; and in that case, whatever the award might be, the King of Spain should refund the 350,000 ducats paid. In the meanwhile, Spanish vessels were excluded from navigation and commerce in the islands, lands, and seas within—*i.e.*, to the west of—the imaginary line agreed to.

Nuno da Cunha, who had left Lisbon in April, 1528, arrived at Cananor in November, 1529, at a time when Lopo Vaz was at that place. The latter thereupon sent João de Eça, the commandant of the fort, to the Governor on board his vessel, offering at once to resign the government to him, and inviting him to come ashore for that purpose. In reply Nuno requested him to come and resign aboard, which he accordingly did; and, after the usual solemnities attending that ceremony had been completed, Nuno desired Lopo Vaz that he would accompany him to Cochin. On arrival at that port, Nuno da Cunha issued a proclamation inviting anyone who had been wronged by Lopo Vaz to lay their complaints before him. He at the same time ordered Lopo Vaz to be imprisoned and an iventory to be made of all his goods, which were to be deposited into safe hands, and to be delivered at Lisbon as the King should direct. Lopo Vaz said to the officer who took him, "Tell Nuno da Cunha that I imprisoned, he imprisons me, and one will come who will imprison him." This message being delivered to Nuno he replied, "I doubt not but I shall be imprisoned, but the difference between us will be that Lopo Vaz deserves it, and I shall not."

The government of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo is celebrated from the fact that he was the first to introduce a regular land revenue settlement into Goa. This was done in

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consequence of special instructions to that effect that were sent out by the King of Portugal. A preliminary investigation was accordingly held on the 16th September, 1526, with the view of fixing a land revenue system for the island of Tiçoari,* as the island of Goa was then called. It was found to contain thirty-one villages, and each village had a certain number of "gancars," or head men. The principal town of Tiçoari was Goa, which has since given its name to the island. There was a tradition amongst the inhabitants that in ancient times four men had taken possession of the island, then entirely desert; they improved and fortified it, and the population increased in a short time to such an extent that the island became entirely peopled, and sent out colonies to the neighbouring lands. Owing to the talent which these people possessed for improving and governing they were called "gancars." Later on, their lands were invaded by the people of neighbouring regions, and these, being of a more warlike nature, subjugated them, and forced them to pay tribute or rental, in proportion to the lands they occupied. After investigating the question of existing revenues, the committees appointed for this purpose proceeded to fix the rent for each village in the following manner: The "gancars" or head men were annually called together by the head "Thanadar,"† who informed them of the amount which each village was required to pay to the imperial revenues during the ensuing twelve months; the "gancars" then fixed the amount payable by each cultivator, basing their calculations upon a percentage of the gross produce. When the receipts from this assessment were in excess of the estimated sum (as they might be in a year of good crops) any surplus derived

* "*Tiçoari*," is equivalent to "*Tiswâdi*," which means thirty hamlets, the number of villages which, no doubt, the island contained when it received that name.

† A Thanadar is the chief of a police-station. The word was often adopted by the Portuguese in a more military sense at an early date. The first person who was appointed to the post, of which record now exists, was João Machado, who in 1515, was appointed by the King of Portugal Thanadar of Goa to receive taxes and tributes.

therefrom was to be devoted to local improvements; but, in the event of their falling short of the required amount, an additional tax had to be imposed by the "gancar" to make up the deficiency. In the event of any village becoming a defaulter to the State, the lands and personal property of the "gancar" were made liable for the full amount due.

Notwithstanding that Lopo Vaz might have been credited with having successfully performed the duties of his office, he was treated with a marked absence of respect by his successor, in that the worst vessel was allotted him for his journey to Lisbon, only two servants were allowed him, and barely so much of his own property as would suffice for the expenses of his voyage home. Greater indignities, however, awaited him ere he arrived at his destination, for when the fleet reached Terceira (one of the Azores islands) an officer was there to meet him, and put him in irons, in which state he landed at Lisbon, where he was set on a mule and carried, accompanied by the rude rabble, to the castle, and put into a dungeon, while orders were given that not even his wife should be permitted to see him.

It was not until after the lapse of two years that Lopo Vaz was brought up for trial. The charges brought against him were contained in forty-three counts, the principal one being his unjust proceedings with Pero Mascarenhas. He defended himself with great ability before his judges in an eloquent and learned speech, but was nevertheless condemned to lose all his allowances as governor, to pay to Pero Mascarenhas the sum of 10,000 ducats, and to be banished to Africa. Bitterly resenting the unjust treatment to which he was thus subjected, he managed to escape into Spain, where he repudiated his native country and became a naturalised Spaniard. He took up his residence at Badajos, whence he wrote to the King of Portugal, complaining of the great injustice of his sentence, and stating that he was

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resolved to try whether by changing his country he could retrieve his fortune and restore his honour. This letter had the desired effect, and in the end Lopo Vaz was pardoned and permitted to return to his own country.

CHAPTER XV.

Departure of Nuno da Cunha for India—Attack on Mombassa—Arrival at Goa—Attack on Mangalore—Destruction of various Towns—Treaty with the King of Aden—Expedition against Diu—Capture of Daman, Gogo, and other Towns—Erection of a Fortress at Chaul—Capture of Bassein and other Towns—Bassein made over to Portugal by Treaty—Construction of a Fort at Diu—State of India—Treaty with Sunda—Conspiracies at Ternate—Death of Adil Khan—Attack on Rachol—Capture of Repelim—Extension of Portuguese Influence in Bengal—Troubles at Malacca—Discovery of Satigam—Progress at Ternate—Expedition of a Turkish Fleet against Diu—Death of Nuno da Cunha.

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A.D. 1528.

NUNO DA CUNHA left Lisbon in April, 1528, with eleven ships, one of which, however, was lost, together with 150 men, at the Cape de Verde Islands. After passing the line, the fleet was dispersed by a storm, but subsequently rejoined. Nuno put into a port of Madagascar, and whilst here his ship perished in a storm, but the men were saved, although much goods and many arms were lost. Thence he sailed to Zanzibar, where he put on shore 200 sick men, who were instructed to proceed to Melinde as soon as they were well enough. As the winds were not now favourable for the passage to India, he proceeded to Mombassa, and on his arrival there he was informed by the King that he was at liberty to winter there, but that his men were on no account to land. Nuno replied that as he intended wintering there, it was absolutely necessary that his men should land, and take up their quarters in the houses on shore, which he demanded should be cleared of their tenants. The enemy then opened fire from their batteries, and Nuno accordingly determined to land and attack the place. In this enterprise he set out with 800 men, being

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joined by Mumbo Mohamet (son of the man who had so kindly received Vasco da Gama on his first visit there) with sixty men, Cide Bubac, the King's nephew, with a similar number, and also by the lord of Otondo, a neighbouring town, who had a grievance against the King of Mombassa. The King, having obtained intelligence about the contemplated attack, strongly fortified the entrance to the river, and brought 600 archers into the town for its defence. Nuno took his vessels past the batteries, not without receiving some damage from them, and anchored his fleet before the city, with which he carried on an exchange of shot during the night. In the morning the city was attacked, and being able to offer but a feeble resistance to the superior forces of the Portuguese, was speedily taken and plundered. The King of Mombassa had fled from the city, together with most of its defenders; but when he saw the issue of the battle he sent to Nuno, and concluded with him an agreement to become tributary to the King of Portugal and to pay a ransom for the city. The climate of the place proved very fatal to the Portuguese, and amongst others Pero Vaz da Cunha, the brother of Nuno, died there. As soon as the King perceived that the Portuguese could not remain there, he ceased to pay the ransom, whereupon Nuno da Cunha burnt the city and retired to Melinde.

In May, 1529, Nuno da Cunha set out to visit the places where there were Portuguese settlements, between Melinde and Ormuz, making proclamation that all persons who had any cause of complaint against Portuguese should appear before him. All charges preferred against them were duly examined into, and, where they appeared to be just, the offenders were obliged to make restitution. Arrived at Ormuz, Nuno made a public entry into the city, and, acting under instructions from the King of Portugal, he secured Raez Xarafo, the great Guazil—who besides acting as a tyrant over the King of Ormuz, was charged with many acts of rapine and murder—and sent him to Portugal

Whilst Nuno da Cunha was at Ormuz, Belchior Tavarez de Sousa arrived there from Bussora,* whither he had been with a small Portuguese force, to assist the King of that place against the chief of the island of Gizaira. Belchior Tavarez was the first Portuguese that ever ascended the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. Nuno having satisfactorily settled matters with the chief of Gizaira, without being obliged to resort to the arbitrament of war, the King of Bussora refused to deliver up seven Turkish vessels, or to prohibit the Turks from again trading at Bussora, which were the conditions upon which he had received Portuguese assistance; and thereupon Belchior Tavarez burnt two of his towns and then retired to Ormuz. The Governor also sent his brother Simão da Cunha to Bahrein, which place had rebelled and risen against the authority of the King of Ormuz, to whose territories it then belonged. He, however, only sent with him five vessels and 400 men, with but a cask and a half of powder, which proved quite insufficient for the purposes of the expedition. On arriving at the port, da Cunha saluted the place, for which purpose he used half his supply of powder. Having landed, he fortified himself with his artillery and commenced to bombard the walls. This continued as long as the powder lasted, when a discussion arose as to whether the walls should be stormed. It was, however, decided to send to Ormuz for more powder, which was fourteen days before it arrived, and during this interval an epidemic broke out in da Cunha's forces, by which all but fifty men were rendered *hors de combat.* Simão da Cunha thereupon decided on re-embarking, but his difficulties were by no means then at an end; since, being very deficient in sailors who understood navigation, his ships were tossed about at the mercy of the waves. One fusta, however, managed to reach Ormuz with the

* Bussora, at this time, is referred to as a comparatively newly built city, eight leagues distant from the ancient city of the same name, the ruins of which were then still visible. It is described by some as having been about twice as big as Grand Cairo.

CHAP XV. A.D. 1529. news of the failure of the expedition, and of the critical state in which the survivers were then in. The Captain of Ormuz sent out some vessels in search of the fleet, which succeeded in bringing it to that port, but Simão da Cunha and many others had died at sea, and the survivors of the crews were all ill.

After this, Nuno da Cunha set out for India, arriving at Goa the latter part of October, 1529, where he made a solemn entry into the city. Here he found a fleet ready, of nearly 140 vessels, all well stored with arms and ammunition, which had been prepared by the care and forethought of Lopo Vaz. He also found all the forts equally well equipped. From Goa, Nuno proceeded to Cananor and Cochin, and, having been duly installed as Governor at the latter place, he sent his predecessor home a prisoner, as has already been related in the preceding chapter.

The instructions which Nuno da Cunha brought out with him were that he should make an attack upon Diu, but, as he found nothing ready for that purpose at Cochin, he contented himself for the time with dispatching three fleets; one of thirty sail, under Diogo da Silveira, to scour the coast of Malabar; another under Antonio da Silveira de Menezes, to cruise off Cambay; and a third, consisting of ten sail with 600 men, under Heytor da Silveira, for the Red Sea. The first of these caused such devastation that the King of Calicut sent ambassadors to Nuno da Cunha desiring peace, but declined the conditions offered. Diogo da Silveira then proceeded to Mangalore, to punish a rich merchant of that place who was in league with the King of Calicut, and who had done some wrong to the Portuguese. He arrived there in March, 1530, having received instructions to destroy the stockade and fortified positions of the Mangalore river, and on the approach of his fleet a force of 4,000 of the enemy made its appearance. Diogo da Silveira, who had with him fifty-one sail and 800 Portuguese, lost no time in forcing the attack by entering the river and destroying the stock-

ades. The Moors defended them most stubbornly, but were at last forced to retreat with a heavy loss to the stronghold of the Chatim, from which place they were dislodged, the Chatim being amongst the killed. On entering the Chatim's house the Portuguese found a great quantity of copper, coral, quicksilver, and other valuables, which they seized. Diogo da Silveira then burnt all the enemy's shipping, and embarked all the artillery, which, being useless to him, was thrown overboard as soon as the fleet got out to sea again. Antonio da Silveira then proceeded up the Tapti river, and burnt the city of Surat and the ships in the arsenal there, killing everything that had life within it, and taking away everything of value. Further up the river he treated the city of Reyner (? Randa) in a similar manner, destroying twenty ships and many smaller vessels which he found in that port. He then proceeded, accompanied by Francisco de Vasconcellos and his vessels, to Daman, the inhabitants of which place fled at their approach, and it was thereupon burnt by the Portuguese. The town of Agashi was also subsequently captured and destroyed, together with a large fleet of vessels that was lying there. Whilst Antonio da Silveira was thus engaged, Francisco Pereira de Berredo, commander at Chaul, rashly went out and attacked a vastly superior force belonging to the King of Cambay, when he was defeated, and Chaul itself would have been captured but for the timely arrival of Antonio da Silveira. This coming to the knowledge of Nuno da Cunha he deprived Francisco Pereira of his command and bestowed it upon Antonio da Silveira. Heytor da Silveira captured several vessels off the Red Sea, and arrived before Aden about February, 1530. He approached as near to the shore as he could, when the King, unaware that the fleet was in command of the same person with whom he had concluded a treaty in 1523, sent his regedor (governor) on board with a white flag and many presents. The regedor was sent back by Heytor da Silveira, who commanded him to tell the King that he could not accept

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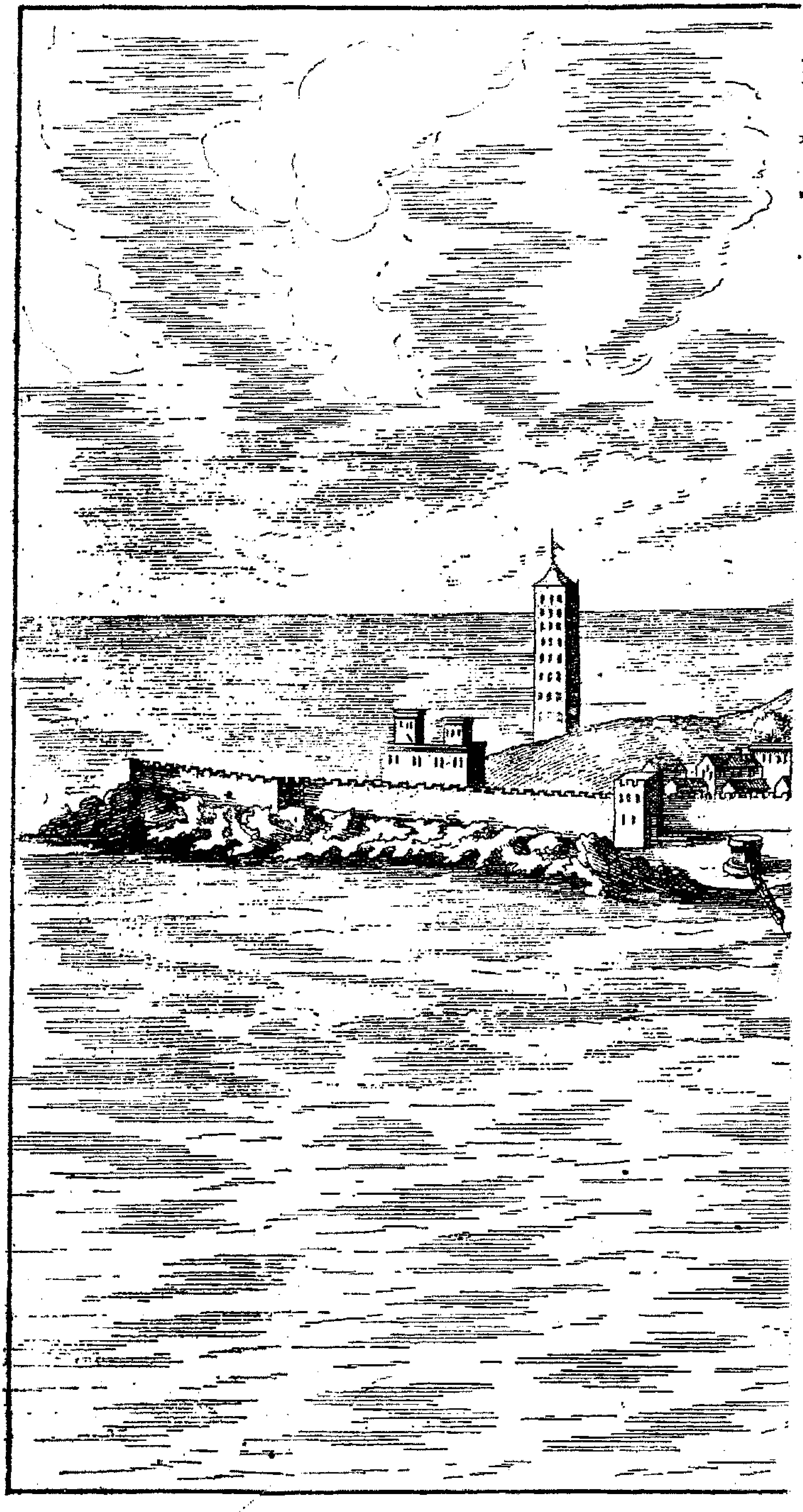
his presents, but that having broken his word he would have to submit to a severe punishment. The result of this visit, however, was that Heytor da Silveira succeeded in concluding a second treaty with the King of Aden, by which the latter acknowledged himself to be a vassal of the King Dom João and his descendants, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 pardaos in gold, 1,500 pardaos to be paid down at once, for the cost of manufacturing in Ormuz a golden crown for the King of Portugal, which was to be sent home in an early ship as a firstfruits of the annual tribute. The vessels belonging to the King of Aden were, under this treaty, to be at perfect liberty to navigate wherever they pleased, with the exception of to Mecca. In a similar manner the King of Xael also consented to become tributary to Portugal.

One Melique Saca, captain of Diu, on behalf of the King of Cambay, having been deprived of his position, approached Nuno da Cunha and made overtures to assist him in the capture of that city, to which end he requested to be supplied with a pass, and with ships for himself and retinue, to be commanded by Gaspar Paes, whom he had previously known at Diu. Nuno readily complied with his request, but instead of fulfilling his agreement, Melique Saca made use of the pass to be restored to the King of Cambay's favour, and excused himself to Paes by various frivolous excuses for not accompanying him in his ships. Meanwhile Nuno da Cunha was engaged in making the most complete preparations for an attack on the place, and he had collected together a fleet of over 400 sail, including many large ships, but mostly consisting of small vessels fitted out by natives. In these were 3,600 soldiers and 1,460 seamen, all Portuguese, besides about 2,000 Malabarese and Canarese, 8,000 slaves and nearly 5,000 native seamen. A general review of the fleet was held at Bombay, whence it proceeded first to Daman, which place was speedily captured, and the Governor there promised three rewards to the first three who should



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mount the walls of Diu when they came to be scaled.

A.D. 1531.

On arrival at the island Bete (Shial Bet Island, eight leagues to the east of Diu), on the 7th February, 1531, Nuno da Cunha sent Manoel de Albuquerque, captain of the fleet, ashore to parley with the natives, but his advances were responded to by a volley of musketry, whereupon Manoel de Albuquerque returned to the Governor's ship, and another boat was sent ashore with a flag of truce, and returned soon afterwards with a chief Moor on board. Being asked by the Governor what he was doing with so many men on the island, he replied that they had been sent there by the King of Cambay to erect a fortress. The Governor then informed him that he was about to wage war against the King of Cambay, and take the city of Diu by force, in the event of his being unwilling to conclude a treaty of peace. Should he be compelled to resort to force of arms, the enemy would be sure to retreat to this island and prepare themselves for a final defence, which would necessitate their dislodgment, and therefore he, Nuno da Cunha, could not allow them to continue the erection of the fortress on the island. The Moor replied that he was quite unable to come to a decision on the matter without consulting his companions on shore, and he was therefore landed for that purpose. On stepping on shore he sent back a message to the Governor saying that if he wanted a reply he would have to come for it. The Moor then lowered the white flag, and made all preparations for a defence. At two o'clock the next morning the Portuguese landed, and after a fierce fight almost annihilated the Moors, who lost 800 killed, and about the same number were made prisoners. The Portuguese losses amounted to nine killed, amongst whom was Heytor da Silveira, and many wounded.

After this, the Portuguese fleet appeared before Diu, and literally covered the sea in front of it. Diu, situated on a rocky island, was defended by 10,000 men and a large

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A.D. 1531.

quantity of heavy artillery, whilst the mouth of the channel between it and the mainland was crossed by massive chains suspended between vessels, which latter were filled with archers and musketeers to defend them. Notwithstanding the strength of the position, it was decided at a consultation of the captains to deliver the attack. Accordingly, on the 16th February, 1531, the signal was given, and the whole fleet commenced to attack the town, and continued to bombard it without intermission the entire day, until at last the Portuguese guns began to burst with the incessant firing, whilst no appreciable damage was done to the fortifications. A consultation was accordingly held in the evening, when it was decided that the enterprise was not practicable, and the siege was thereupon raised. Nuno da Cunha then retired to Goa on the 1st March, 1531, leaving Antonio de Saldanha with sixty vessels to cruise in the Bay of Cambay, and do what damage he could to the enemy. It was, however, the general opinion that Diu might have been taken had it been attacked at once, for, in the interval, whilst Shial Bet was being assaulted, the Moor Mustapha had entered the city with considerable relief. Nuno da Cunha arrived back at Goa on the 15th of March.

Antonio de Saldanha proceeded first to the city Mahuwa, five leagues distant from the island Shial Bet, and burnt it, with small opposition. Thence he went to Gogo, twenty-four leagues distant from the last, a place of great trade, and formerly populous and strong. This place was also taken after some sharp fighting, and the city and many ships were burnt. The same happened to the towns Bulsar, Tarapur, Mahim, Kelva, Agashi, and Surat, which last named place was but just rising again after its recent destruction. Saldanha then went to Chaul, where he handed over the whole of his fleet to Dom Antonio da Silveira, and then proceeded to Goa, where the Governor had arrived. Nuno da Cunha also ordered Manoel de Albuquerque, with a fleet of twelve small ships, to watch

the coast and prevent all wood and supplies from entering Diu. This duty he carried out successfully until April, 1531, when he returned to Chaul by order of the Governor. Nuno da Cunha also dispatched a fleet of eight sail, under the command of Dom Antonio da Silveira, to the Straits. They found nothing at Aden, and proceeded to Muscat and Ormuz, where Dom Antonio died, and was succeeded in his command by Jorge de Lima. In the middle of August the fleet sailed for India, and on the way captured a ship from Mecca with a cargo worth 60,000 pardaos, and 200 slaves for the galleys. The fleet then proceeded to Chaul, where everything had been collected for the purpose of fitting out vessels for an attack on Cambay in the following spring.

Twenty-seven richly-laden ships belonging to the King of Calicut having been captured by the Portuguese cruisers, the King of Chaul sent to Nuno da Cauha proposing an accommodation. Diogo Pereira was accordingly sent on shore with presents for the King of Chaul, and to ask for permission to erect at Chaul, at the mouth of the river, a house for a factory for the purchase of pepper and ginger in exchange for merchandise from Portugal. The King seemed pleased at the idea, but did not give an immediate reply, as he feared the King of Calicut might make war against him. In order to delay matters, the King of Chaul kept the King of Calicut well informed in respect to these negotiations, who cautioned him to be careful, as a fortress there, at the mouth of the river, would be more detrimental to his interests than one at Calicut. While the King of Chaul was thus putting the King of Calicut off his guard he was arranging matters satisfactorily with the Governor, with the assistance of the King of Thana, who was friendly towards the Portuguese. The Governor having eventually obtained permission to erect a fortress, set to work and soon had a strong stockade built. In the centre he erected a square fortress, which contained also a church and dwelling-houses for 120 men, and armed it

CHAP. XV. A.D. 1531-33. with heavy artillery. The time occupied in building this massive stone fortress was not long, as it was begun in October, 1531, and finished at the end of March, 1532. The Governor gave it the name of Santa Maria do Castello, and appointed Diogo Pereira as captain, and Manoel de Sousa had command of a fleet of twenty-two ships to protect it by sea.

Diogo da Silveira having plundered and burnt Patam, Pate, and Mangalore, Nuno da Cunha resolved, if possible, to obtain sanction for the construction of a fort at Diu by investing that place and cutting off all supplies; and because the growth of Bassein seemed calculated to interfere with this design he determined first to destroy that city. He accordingly set out early in 1532 with a fleet of 150 sail, 3,000 Portuguese, and 200 Canarese. The place was strongly fortified and garrisoned with about 12,000 men. Nuno divided his men into three companies, and attacked the fort simultaneously from three different points. The enemy were discouraged at the first attack, and retired to the fort, whence they were speedily driven out, and they then fled to the mountains, after having lost 600 in killed. The Portuguese then entered the fort, and in it were captured above 400 pieces of cannon and a large supply of ammunition. Having ravaged the surrounding country and razed the fort, Nuno sent Manoel de Albuquerque with twelve vessels and 300 men to destroy the fort of Daman. In this he was unsuccessful, but he burnt all the towns from Bassein to Tarapur, and having brought Thana, Bandora, Mahim, and Bombay under tribute, he returned to Chaul with much booty and many vessels which he had taken in those parts.

About April, 1533, a fleet of six vessels arrived in India from Portugal, a seventh having been lost on the way. These brought orders that the commanders of forts should all be sworn by the Governor-General, from which it would appear that, up to then, they each acted independently as soon as they had received their appointments.

Nuno never lost sight of the one special instruction he had received to construct a fort at Diu, and in the year last mentioned Melique Tocam, the lord of that city, sent to him requesting that a responsible officer might be sent thither to treat about an affair of importance to the King of Portugal's service. As it was well known that Melique was not then in good favour with the King of Cambay, it was hoped that terms might be arranged with him to deliver over the city to the Portuguese. Accordingly, Vasco da Cunha was sent in compliance with this request, and although he returned without having concluded any definite arrangement in the matter, the interview was not thought to have been fruitless, and hopes were entertained that the desired object might yet be accomplished. At the same time Tristão da Ga, who was then at Cambay, urged the same matter upon the King, who expressed a desire for a personal interview with Nuno da Cunha. The latter accordingly proceeded to Diu with one hundred sail, in which were 2,000 Portuguese, but although the King was at Diu at the time, he evaded an interview by various pretexts, and Nuno accordingly returned to Goa.

In the following year, 1534, two fleets arrived from Lisbon, the one consisting of twelve ships with 1,500 fighting men, under the command of Dom Pedro de Castello-Branco, and the other of five ships commanded by Martim Affonso de Sousa, who also had a commission as Admiral of the Indian Sea. Martim Affonso having been joined by other fleets then in Indian waters, proceeded against Daman with 500 men in forty vessels. The town was, on his approach, destroyed by its own commander, who then retired to the fort, which he prepared to defend; it was, however, soon taken by the Portuguese, and most of its defenders slain, after which the fort was razed to the ground. The King of Cambay thereupon requested terms of peace, being anxious, at the same time, to secure the friendship of the Portuguese

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against the Mughal. These Nuno da Cunha granted, on condition that Bassein, with its dependencies by sea and land, should be made over to the King of Portugal for ever; that all ships bound for the Red Sea, from the kingdom of Cambay, should set out from Bassein, and return thither to pay the duties; that no vessels should go to the other ports without leave from the Portuguese; that no ships of war should be built in any ports belonging to the King of Cambay; and that he should no more give assistance to the Rumes. These terms having been agreed to, the Portuguese had at last succeeded in obtaining a footing in the province of Cambay.

The King of Cambay having been engaged for some time in a war with the Mughal, whose armies had overrun his territory and taken several places, desired to secure the active assistance of the Portuguese in recovering his kingdom, and to this end he sent a message to Martim Affonso de Sousa, who was at Chaul, offering permission to the Portuguese to erect a fort at Diu. At the same time, too, it appears the Mughal sent a similar offer.

Having dispatched a message to the Governor; Martim Affonso proceeded to Diu, where he was met by Simão Fereira, secretary to Nuno da Cunha, who had been sent on the same business by the Governor. They arrived together at their destination on the 21st of September, 1534, and very speedily settled the terms of an agreement, which were to the following effect: The King confirmed the previous agreement with regard to Bassein, that a part of the trade agreed to with regard to that port should be transferred to Diu; that there should be a league, offensive and defensive, between the King of Portugal and himself; that a fort should be raised at Diu where and in what manner the Governor might appoint; that a bulwark on the sea should be immediately handed over to the Portuguese; and that the latter should not interfere with the King's revenues at Diu. News of the conclusion of this agreement was at once sent by special messengers to the

King of Portugal and to Nuno da Cunha at Goa. The latter at once repaired to Diu in order to commence the construction of the fort, and was received by the King with much honour.

At this time there was at Diu a Portuguese named Diogo Botelho, who was in disgrace with King João because it was suspected that he was disposed to show to the French the way to India. Having succeeded in getting a copy of the agreement entered into with the King of Cambay with regard to Diu, he embarked with a few men in a barque only 16½ feet in length, nine feet broad, and four and a half feet deep, keeping secret his real intentions until well out at sea. Having then divulged his scheme, he persuaded the men to bear him company, which they agreed to until, after a time, being reduced to considerable straits, they plotted his death, in attempting which they killed a servant, which occasioned all the sailors to be slain. Without seamen or pilot, Botelho held on his course, and in due time arrived at Lisbon, where the barque was immediately burnt, in order that it might not be discovered that it was possible to perform the voyage in so small a vessel. The King was greatly pleased with the news he brought, and restored Diogo Botelho to the royal favour, but made him no other reward for his venturesome journey.

Nuno da Cunha set vigorously to work to construct a fort at Diu, which was speedily completed, and placed under the command of Manoel de Sousa with 900 Portuguese and an armament of sixty large cannon.

At the request of the King, Nuno sent Vasco Pires de Sampayo, with 250 Portuguese, to recover the fort of Varivene, on the Indus, which had been taken from him by the Mughals. Early in the morning, after arrival off that fort, the Portuguese landed with ladders, and commenced the attack; but the place was so vigorously defended by the Mughals that at sunset Vasco Pires ordered his men to retire for the night, in order that the wounded might be

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attended to. More cannon were landed, so that the walls might be demolished and the necessity of an escalade avoided. All was prepared for an attack at dawn the next day, but the Mughals retired from the fortress during the night, and when the Portuguese landed the next morning they found the place deserted. Having hoisted a flag for the Bedur (King of Cambay) and handed the fort over to the Coje Cafar with instructions to put it in a proper state of defence, Vasco Pires left for Diu. Nuno also sent Manoel de Macedo to the relief of Broach, but the force which accompanied him was too small for the purpose, and he returned without accomplishing anything. At the instance of Nuno da Cunha, Nizamaluco made peace with the King of Cambay, and assisted him against his enemy. The presence of the Portuguese at Diu also prevented King Humayun from attacking that place, as he had otherwise intended to have done.

The King of Cambay, having succeeded in recovering portions of his territory by the aid of the Portuguese, began to regret having given them permission to build a fort at Diu, and commenced the construction of a wall between it and the city. This, however, after some argument, Nuno persuaded him to discontinue. Nuno, at the end of March, 1536, went to Bassein, where he found all the materials ready for the construction of a fortress, and having fixed upon a site, the work was at once commenced. Having left a considerable quantity of artillery there and appointed Garcia de Sa as captain, the Governor proceeded to Chaul.

Whilst these events were taking place in India, the King of Achin was acting very treacherously towards the Portuguese in Malacca. Under the plea of desiring peace, he induced the Governor there to send ambassadors, whom he waylaid on the high sea and murdered; he also took a second Portuguese vessel, sent on a similar errand, and murdered all on board. After this he joined with the King of Aru in an attempt to capture Malacca, and

entered into correspondence for this purpose with Sinaya Raja, a wealthy Moor, who lived in that city. The conspiracy was, however, discovered; Sinaya was taken and thrown headlong from a tower, and the danger to Malacca was, for the time, removed.

Under date the 15th January, 1530, Affonso Mexia, captain of Cochin, wrote a letter to the King of Portugal, in which he gave a very unsatisfactory account of the state of affairs in the East, which throws some light upon the failure of the administration at that date; the substance of this letter was as follows:—

"As regards affairs in Malacca, the King of Bintam is no longer there, and everything is quiet. The captains of those parts have the same habit as those in Africa of always making out that they are either being besieged or that they are suffering from famine. This is merely a way of making out that their duties are heavier than they really are, in order that their services may be the more remembered and rewarded. The trade also is much more profitable for the captains and Portuguese officers there than for your Majesty, as the Malacca trade is entirely carried on by junks and native craft which are controlled by these very Portuguese, who pay your Majesty no duties or taxes. The trade and revenue of your Majesty's factory is thereby on the decline, and your Majesty's revenues from Malacca will be almost *nil* as long as these captains remain there.

"As regards the Moluccas, it is going from bad to worse, and were it not for your Majesty's instructions to remedy the evils there, it would almost appear advisable to abandon those islands. The cause of all this evil is to be attributed to avarice, jealousies, and differences between the captains there, whereby they have neglected their duties, and your Majesty's interests have suffered. Your Majesty up to the present has not been kept informed of the affairs at the Moluccas, as information would necessarily have to come from people there who, were they to write, would naturally incriminate themselves.

CHAP. XV. A.D. 1530.

"The Governor in Council having decided not to go this year to Diu, has divided your Majesty's fleet into three squadrons; one to guard the Malabar coast, one to war against Cambay, and the third to capture prizes near Cape Guardafui.

"What we require now to fully equip the various craft we have here is as follows: 100 *falcœs pedreiros* (swivel guns); 200 *bercos* (a species of ancient cannon), 50 *camellos pedreiros* (swivel guns), the necessary carriages for the above guns, besides 200 extra carriages for the *falcœs*, and 500 extra carriages for the *camellos* already in use, the carriages of which are eaten away with rust.

"The principal reason we have no pepper is because the coast is not well protected, and it is taken to Mecca, Diu, and elsewhere.

"Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, who was Governor, leaves here as a prisoner, and his estates have been confiscated to your Majesty; in my opinion not without cause. I was one of the witnesses at an enquiry respecting his conduct, but what I gave evidence for was one of his minor faults. He and I endeavoured to be as friendly as possible for the sake of your Majesty's service, but at times there were differences and disputes between us. Last year we had a great dispute, because he had drawn a considerable sum above the amount he was entitled to. On looking into the accounts, before the arrival of Nuno da Cunha, I found he had received four contos (4,000,000 reis) more than he had a right to. I requested him to refund the money, and on his refusing to do so, I placed the matter in the hands of Nuno da Cunha, who will, no doubt, write to your Majesty on the subject.

* * * * *

"We have received news from Calicut that certain Rumes from Jedda are now in the River Chalé, where they have a ship laden with pepper ready to sail. If they can only manage to put our ships off their guard for twenty-four hours they could manage to get safely away,

so they have offered the King of Calicut 10,000 fanœs* to send certain fustas out to sea, in order to attract our attention. The King did all he could to get this arrangement carried out for the sake of the money, but the crews would not venture out.

"Between Baticala and Goa there are certain places called Onor, Mergen, and Ancolá, from which I hear 5,000 crusados worth of pepper are annually shipped to Diu, Ormuz, and Jedda, carried by Moorish vessels. These places are under the dominion of the Queen of Guarçopa, who in her turn is subject to the King of Narsynga. This pepper is larger than that in Cochin, but is lighter and not so hot. It appears to me that we ought to secure this pepper (although it is not of the best quality), and this might be done by concluding a treaty with the Queen."

In August, 1530, Gonçalo Pereira went from Malacca to the Moluccas, and on the way visited the King of Borneo, offering him liberty to trade at Malacca. On arrival at Ternate, Dom Jorge de Menezes delivered over the fort to Pereira, together with King Cachil Dajalo, the King of Ternate, who was confined therein. The Queen, his mother, brought serious charges against Dom Jorge de Menezes on account of his cruelty, and having examined into the circumstances of the case, Gonçalo Pereira agreed to set the King at liberty; he relieved the King of Tidore of the excessive tribute imposed upon him by Dom Jorge, which he was quite unable to pay; and he also effected an honourable accommodation with the Spanish captain Ferdinand de la Torre. He then sent Dom Jorge de Menezes as a prisoner to Goa, whence he was dispatched to Portugal, and was on arrival banished to Brazil, where he was killed in a fight with the natives.

Lopo Vaz de Sampayo had sent Dom Martim de Mello Jusarte to Sunda in the year 1528, and in 1532 Nuno da Cunha concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of that

* About £48.

CHAP. XV. A.D. 1532.

island, under which it was made over to Dom João III., King of Portugal. This is referred to in a document* preserved in the archives at Lisbon, which is to the following effect:—

"Be it known to all that on the 27th January, 1532, in the island of Sunda, at the port of Agasim, Dom João III., King of Portugal, &c., by his duly appointed representatives, contracted with the Sabamdar of the place and Ai Talapo, the Captain Abidola, besides other chiefs and merchants of Agasim, a treaty of peace, and thereupon sailed to the port of Panaruca, where they erected a stone memorial on which were carved the royal arms of Portugal as a remembrance of the discovery of that island by the subjects of the King of Portugal, three crosses being also placed close to it; the stone memorial with the royal arms being a token of the King of Portugal's acquisition of all rights, possession, and seigniorage over the whole island of Sunda. The said representatives of the King of Portugal then sailed to the islands of Timor and the islands of Banda, where they remained during the monsoon, and concluded treaties of peace and commerce with the inhabitants, under which the bahar of cloves was to be purchased for three pieces of red cloth, and the bahar of mace, or seven bahars of nutmeg were to be exchanged at the same price. These representatives of the King of Portugal also confirmed and ratified the rights of Portugal by reason of the stone memorials bearing the Portuguese arms, which previous captains had erected there. The representatives of the King of Portugal left on the island of Sunda, as a testimony of friendship, two flags, one with the cross of Christus, and the other with the emblem of Hope."

Gonçalo Pereira, having discovered serious defalcations of revenue at Ternate, the Portuguese officers concerned conspired with the Queen to get rid of him, and he was

* *Corpo Chronologico*, Part I., Maço 48, Doc. 47.

accordingly murdered. The conspirators then elected Vicente da Fonseca, one of their companions, to succeed him, and this appointment was followed by a series of conspiracies and intrigues which kept the islands in a continual ferment. This coming to the knowledge of Nuno da Cunha, he sent Tristão de Ataide to command there in October, 1533, where he was well received both by Vicente da Fonseca and by the King Tabarija, who was then at war with the King of Gilolo. Subsequently, Tristão de Ataide seized Vicente da Fonseca and sent him in irons to Goa, charged with the murder of Captain Gonçalo Pereira and the exiling of King Dagalo, besides other evil deeds. The charges were duly laid before the Governor, but Fonseca was not punished. In his passage to Goa, Fonseca was accompanied by the Castilians from Gilolo, who proceeded thus to India in order to be sent home to Spain in the Portuguese ships. The change in the government of the Moluccas was not followed by any improvement. Tristão de Ataide sent many prisoners to Goa for crimes for which he was himself responsible, and, instead of endeavouring to promote the interests of Portugal in these islands, his thoughts were only how he could best enrich himself. Intrigues with reference to the native governments continued as before, which were only put a stop to by the arrival of Antonio Galvão to take possession of the command.

The Adil Khan, having engaged in war with Cotamaluco, a neighbouring Power, whose headquarters were at Golconda, which stronghold he attacked with an army of 500,000 men, was killed, whereupon a contention arose between his two sons relative to the succession. Nuno da Cunha seized upon the country on the mainland opposite to Goa, for the protection of which a fort was erected at Rachol, but not without opposition, since Solyman Aga did all he could to prevent its construction, and had several engagements with the Portuguese, but without effecting his object.

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A.D. 1536.

The Acede Khan (a powerful chieftain near Goa) being very much pressed by the Adil Khan to enter upon a war against those Goanese territories, and to demolish the fort of Rachol, he sent his captain, Soleymagá, with 300 horse and 8,000 picked foot soldiers, besides a large number of archers, to invade those territories. This fact coming to the knowledge of Dom João Pereira at Goa, he started, in the beginning of February, 1536, with a force of 300 horse and 600 infantry to oppose him. Soleymagá pitched his camp about a league from the fort of Rachol, and, perceiving Dom João's advance, moved towards some hills two leagues further off. Dom João Pereira went in pursuit, engaged them for some time, and finally drove them towards a river, in which many were drowned in the attempt to cross it. Dom João and his forces returned to the enemy's camp, where they found a large supply of provisions, arms, horses, and cattle. The Portuguese losses amounted to several wounded, but not one killed. The enemy left over 1,000 killed on the field, among the number being the Moorish captain's nephew and three other chiefs. The Portuguese then returned to Goa, where they were received with great rejoicings. Soon after this the Governor arrived at Goa, whereupon the Acede Khan sent him a message requesting that the territories of Rachol might be returned to him, and that the castle should be demolished. Nuno replied that, as regarded the territories, he had no objection to hand them over, but that he could not think of demolishing the castle without the sanction of His Majesty the King of Portugal, who had only given him authority to build fortresses, but not to pull them down, and that he need not, therefore, trouble himself about sending any more messages. The Acede Khan immediately declared war, but gave all Portuguese in his territories ten days to leave them, as after that period any found and captured would receive no quarter. The Portuguese within the specified time took refuge in the castle, and the Acede Khan, on-

the tenth day, marched against them with a large army. A pitched battle took place, in which the Moors were defeated with heavy loss.

The Acede Khan, being still pressed by the Adil Khan to carry on the war until he should have succeeded in demolishing the fortress of Rachol, collected a force of 4,000 infantry and 800 horse, the command of which he gave to a Turk named Çarnabeque. This force invaded the province of Bardes, whereupon the Governor called upon all men to be in readiness to proceed to Bardes with Antonio da Silveira. The Portuguese force marched towards the enemy in July, 1536, and attacked them with such determination that they were soon routed, and fled towards a neighbouring jungle. The Portuguese lost in the engagement twenty-seven killed besides fifty Canarese, and they had also a large number wounded. The enemy's loss was over 1,000 killed, amongst whom was the commander, Çarnabeque. The Acede Khan was so disgusted with the results of these two battles that he never again returned to attack the Portuguese in the open. After constructing a strong palisade, and leaving it in charge of fifty men, Antonio da Silveira proceeded to Goa, where he was received by the Governor with great pomp and rejoicings.

As the captains of the Acede Khan had always been defeated in previous battles, the Acede Khan determined to conduct the next war in person, so he collected a large army, and fixed his camp about half a league from the castle of Rachol, with the object of besieging the place. He constructed palisades and stockades round the castle, and having placed a large number of guns in commanding positions, he succeeded in cutting off all communications with the fort. The Portuguese made several unsuccessful sorties, in which they lost heavily in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Acede Khan had the wounded prisoners carefully attended to, and returned them to the Governor, saying he was anxious the war should cease, and that if

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the castle were demolished he would be on friendly terms with Portugal. The Portuguese, finding the struggle hopeless, ceased hostilities, and, having taken all the guns, &c., from the fort, blew it up in several places at once.

Whilst these events were taking place at Goa, the King of Calicut was induced by the King of Cambay to attempt to drive out the Portuguese, for which purpose he marched an army to Kranganur and Vypin. The latter were joined by the King of Cochin with 20,000 Nairs, and succeeded in defending the passes against the enemy during the winter. On the 19th September Martim Affonso de Sousa set out from Goa with 150 men in fifteen vessels, and being opposed by a number of Nairs at Calamute, he defeated them and burnt the town, taking also seven barques. On arrival at Cochin he was joined by reinforcements lately arrived from Lisbon, whereupon the King of Calicut retired, and Martim Affonso then marched against Repelim, which city he captured and plundered, and then burnt. The King of Calicut next made an attempt on the pass of Cambalam, but after being defeated in six battles he again retired. The Zamorin then fitted out a naval expedition against the Portuguese, by which means he drew off their forces from Cochin, and in their absence he advanced against that place with a large army, but Martim Affonso hearing of this at once returned, and the Zamorin's army thereupon retired without striking a blow.

Sultan Bedur, the King of Cambay, having suffered severe losses owing to the invasion of his territories by the Mughal, was at last constrained to apply to the Portuguese for assistance, in return for which he gave the long-desired permission for the erection of a fort at Diu, and he also confirmed the surrender of Bassein to the Portuguese. The conditions of the latter were included in a treaty entered into between Sultan Bedur and Nuno da Cunha in December, 1534, according to which the former gave and bequeathed to the King of Portugal, from

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that day forth and for ever, the city of Bassein, its territories, islands and seas, with all its revenues, &c., in the same way as he, Sultan Bedur, King of Guzerat, held them before, provided that all the vessels from the kingdom of Guzerat, bound for the Straits, should first call at Bassein for passes, and on the return voyage call there again in order to pay the customary dues, under penalty and risk of seizure. No ships of war were to be built at any of the ports in the kingdom of Guzerat, but any number of trading ships might be constructed in them. The King, Sultan Bedur, agreed not to allow any Rumes to enter his dominions, nor assist them in any way with provisions; he also undertook to liberate Diogo de Mesquita, Lopo Fernandes Pinto, Manoel Mendes, João de Lima, and all the other Portuguese held by him in captivity. All horses from the Straits of Mecca, and from other parts of Arabia, during the first three years after the completion of the fortress of Bassein, were to proceed thither, in order that Sultan Bedur and his vassals, might purchase them there on payment of the customary dues to the King of Portugal, and they were not to be taken to the Deccan, Canara, or Malabar. The sum of 5,000 larins* which had hitherto been applied, out of the revenues of Bassein, to the Mosques, was to continue to be so applied; and a further sum of 200 pardaos, paid to the lascars of the two fortresses of Aceira and Coeja, was also to remain a charge against those same revenues.

On the 25th October, 1535, a treaty of peace and commerce was concluded at Diu, between Sultan Bedur and Nuno da Cunha, under which the latter agreed to assist the former against his enemies by land and sea. In this document the surrender of Bassein to the King of Portugal was confirmed, and it was also stipulated that he should be permitted to erect a fortress at Diu, but the revenues of that port were to remain in the possession of the King of Guzerat.

* The larin was a Persian coin worth about sixpence.

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Nuno da Cunha lost no time in the erection of a fort at Diu, which was soon completed, and the command of it entrusted to Manoel de Sousa, with 900 Portuguese and sixty large pieces of ordnance. In fulfilment of his obligations under the treaty, Nuno da Cunha persuaded Nizamaluco not only to make peace with Sultan Bedur, but even to assist him against his enemies. Vasco Pires de Sampayo succeeded in recovering Varivene for the Sultan, and Martim Affonso de Sousa further assisted him in the recovery of other territories, with the aid of 500 troops which Nuno da Cunha lent him.

The King of Cambay (Bedur) had no sooner regained possession of his territories, by the aid of the Portuguese, than he began to regret having granted them permission to erect a fort at Diu, and he accordingly began to make arrangements with the view of driving them out and gaining possession of it himself, for which purpose he intended first to kill the commander, Manoel de Sousa, but he, having been duly warned of the King's intentions, was placed on his guard against them. Thereupon the King wrote to Nuno da Cunha, desiring his presence at Diu, intending to make him his first victim. Nuno accordingly proceeded to Diu accompanied by Antonio da Silveira, where he arrived about the end of December, 1536, fully informed of the King's intentions, and excused himself from landing on the plea of indisposition, whereupon the King went to visit Nuno on board his ship, accompanied by thirteen men of rank. Nothing of importance transpired at this meeting, but whilst Nuno da Cunha fully intended to invite the King to the fort to visit him, with the view of securing him there, the King had it in contemplation to seize Nuno at a dinner he intended to give in his honour, and then to send him to the grand Turk in a cage. As the King was proceeding to land, accompanied by his own and Portuguese officers, each full of suspicion of the other, a chance accident brought about an *émeute*, in which both the King and Manoel de Sousa were killed.

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The following account of this event, from a native source, is taken from the "Akbar-Nama" of Shaikh Abu'-l Fagl, contained in *The History of India, as told by its own Historians*, by the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B.: "When Humayun returned to Agra, Bhupal Rai, the ruler of Bijagarh,* finding the fort of Mandu empty, came up boldly, and took possession of it. Kadir Shah also returned there, and Miran Muhammad Faruki also came up from Burhanpur. Sultan Bahadur remained a fortnight at Champanir, and then returned to Diu. Upon reaching the port he found the Portuguese commander had arrived there with his vessels and fighting men. The Portuguese chief was apprehensive that as the Sultan was no longer in want of assistance he meditated some treachery. So he sent to inform the Sultan that he had come as requested, but that he was ill and unable to go on shore, so that the interview must be deferred until he got better. The Sultan, quitting the royal road of safety, proceeded on the 3rd Ramazan, 943 H. (1536-37 A.D.), with a small escort, on board a boat to visit the Governor. As soon as he reached the vessel he discovered that it was a mere pretence of sickness, and he was sorry that he had come. He sought to return directly; but the Portuguese were unwilling that such prey should escape them, and hoped that by keeping him prisoner they might obtain some more ports. The Governor came forward, and asked the Sultan to stay a little while, and examine some curiosities he had to present. The Sultan requested that they might be sent after him, and turned quickly towards his own boat. A European kazi (priest?) placed himself in the Sultan's way, and bade him stop. The Sultan, in exasperation, drew his sword, and cleft him in twain; then he leaped into his own boat. The Portuguese vessels which were around drew together round the Sultan's boat, and a fight began. The Sultan and Rumi Khan threw themselves into the water. A

* Sixty miles south of Mandu.

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friend among the Portuguese stretched a hand to Rumi Khan and saved him; but the Sultan was drowned in the waves. His companions also perished."

On hearing of the death of the King, the people of Diu began to abandon the city, fearing that the Portuguese would fall upon it for the sake of the plunder, but they returned upon the publication of a proclamation by Nuno da Cunha assuring them of their safety. In the palace were found, besides quantities of ammunition, a large number of brass and iron cannon, including three basilisks of such great size that Nuno sent one of them to Portugal as a curiosity, which was afterwards kept at the castle of S. Julian, at the mouth of the Tagus, and called "The Gun of Diu."

Amongst the King's papers were found letters from Saf Cham, giving an account of the progress he had made towards bringing a Turkish force to attack the Portuguese, and copies of others from the King to the chiefs of Aden and Xael, on the same subject. Having collected a large amount of evidence to this effect, Nuno da Cunha summoned a meeting of all the principal merchants and learned men of the place, and laid before them these evidences of the King's treachery, and he obtained from them certificates of their approval of his action towards the King, in Arabic and Persian, duly signed and attested, which he sent to the Princes of the Deccan, Narsinga, Ormuz, and the coast of Arabia as far as Aden, that they might be duly informed of the truth of the circumstances that had led to the King's death. In order to satisfy the people of Diu, Nuno ordered that the Mohammedans should be allowed the free exercise of their religion and laws; that the constitutions made by Bedur should be observed as in his lifetime; and that all pensions and allowances granted by him should be continued.

After the death of Bedur, Mir Mahomed Zaman,*

* Mir Mahomed Zaman was brother-in-law of the Mughal, and was previously known as Mamedas Khan.

descended from the King of Delhi, who had reigned in Cambay, having robbed the Queen mother of over two millions of gold, collected together over five thousand adherents, by whom he was proclaimed King of Guzerat, and he then entered Novanaguer, whence he sent to Nuno da Cunha, acquainting him of his assumption of power, and desiring his assistance, in return for which he offered the Portuguese all the coast from Mangalor to Shial Bet, he town of Daman as far as Bassein, the royal residence at Novanaguer, and other advantages. This offer Nuno accepted, and caused Mir Mahomed to be proclaimed King in the mosque at Diu, at the same time advising him to raise forces to defend his position against possible pretenders. He, however, neglected this very necessary precaution, the result being that Hahomet, nephew of Bedur, marched against him, with a very large force, and having corrupted his principal adherents by bribes, these deserted him, and he was obliged to fly the country, and proceeded to Omaun, King of the Mughals, of whom he received the kingdom of Bengal. The conquerors called Antonio da Silveira, commander of Diu, to account for the King's death, and, being satisfied of the causes, proposed a peace, but, as they refused the conditions granted by Mir Mahomed, negotiations were broken off.

Pate Marcar, a wealthy Moor of Cochin, in retaliation for the Portuguese having taken some of his vessels, now entered into a league with the King of Calicut, who furnished him with fifty ships, 2,000 men, and 400 pieces of cannon, with which he went to the assistance of Madune Pandar against his brother, the King of Ceylon, who was an ally of the Portuguese. He attacked several Portuguese vessels with varying success, and destroyed a town of the Christians beyond Cape Comorin. Martim Affonso returned to Cochin for reinforcements, and on his way back, on the 15th of February, 1538, engaged Pate Marcar at Beadala, putting his forces to flight, and rescuing several Portuguese he had taken and reduced to slavery. Martim

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Affonso here captured twenty-three barques, 400 cannon, 1,500 muskets, and many prisoners. He then sailed to Colombo, and relieved the King of that place, who was besieged by his brother, Madune Pandar. On his way back, he captured several richly-laden vessels, and then proceeded to Diu, where a great Turkish fleet was expected. About this time Nuno da Cunha commenced the construction of a vast cistern at Diu, and also added new fortifications, the better to enable it to withstand a siege if necessary. Having accomplished these objects, he proceeded to Goa.

About this time attempts were made to extend Portuguese influence in Bengal. The capital of that kingdom was then at Gour, where one Martim Affonso de Mello Jusarte, with several other Portuguese, was prisoner. These assisted the King successfully against the Patanas, with whom he was at war, and subsequently obtained their liberty through the influence of Coje Xabadim, a rich Moor, who promised, if Nuno da Cunha would carry him to Ormuz, he would obtain for the King of Portugal permission to construct a fort in the port of Chatigaum (Chittagong). Nuno at once assented to this proposal, and sent Martim Affonso with 200 men in five vessels for that purpose, who also carried a present for the King. The latter, however, not only refused to receive the present, but seized Affonso and thirteen of his companions.

On this becoming known to Nuno da Cunha, he sent Antonio da Silva Menezes, with 350 men in nine vessels, to secure the release of the prisoners, with the assistance of Coje Xabadim, and he detained a ship of his richly laden as security for his *bonâ fide* action in the matter. Antonio da Silva forwarded a letter from the Governor to the King, accompanied by a present from Chittagong, but as no reply arrived, after waiting a long time for it, Menezes concluded that the King had taken his messengers prisoners, and he thereupon, without waiting to receive

confirmation of his apprehensions, burnt Chittagong and other places on the coast. No sooner had he done this than the King's answer arrived, but the latter, when hearing what Menezes had done, retained his prisoners, and treated them with greater severity than before. Shortly afterwards, however, Shere Khan revolted against the King of Bengal, and was only defeated by the aid of the Portuguese, in consequence of which the King gave them their liberty. Subsequently, however, Shere Khan renewed the attack, and took Gour and plundered it. The King, who was wounded in the engagement, died on his way to Humayun, and the Mughal appointed Mir Mahomed Zaman, who had lately lost the kingdom of Cambay, in his place. Shere Khan, however, soon returned, and drove Mir Mahomed out of Gour. Humayun, the Mughal, then led an army against Shere Khan, but was defeated and forced to fly with only a few retainers to Lahore. Shere Khan then attacked Calijor of the Resbutos, but was himself killed in this enterprise by the bursting of a gun.

At Malacca the Portuguese had trouble during the governorship of Nuno da Cunha. Dom Paulo da Gama, who was in command there, sent ambassadors to Alaudim, King of Viantana,* to settle terms of friendly intercourse, but he, seizing the ambassadors, bound them, and poured boiling water on them till they died, and then gave their bodies to be devoured by wild beasts. A naval expedition sent against him to avenge this cruelty was almost annihilated. Dom Estevam da Gama, however, led an expedition against the King and took the city Tor, which he plundered and then burnt. The King shortly afterwards, however, recommenced acts of hostilities against Malacca, whereupon Dom Estevam returned with 400 men, and having reduced him to submission, forced upon him a treaty under which he was to send to Malacca all

* Viantana is the south-east point of the coast of Malacca, about forty leagues distant from that city.

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the cannon he possessed; to build no more ships of war; to erect no forts; to restore all prisoners and goods taken; and to agree to a free commercial intercourse with Malacca.

At Patane, a Portuguese fleet defeated one led by the Admiral of Ujantana, who was also joined by some vessels from Java. At the Moluccas, Tristão de Ataide was the cause of great disorders by his maladministration, and Antonio Galvão was therefore sent to succeed him. He, on his arrival, first saw to the Portuguese positions being placed in an efficient state of defence, and by his prudence and justice soon restored order there. At Tidore, the Portuguese were besieged by eight Kings. Thither, therefore, Antonio Galvão proceeded, and by skilful generalship obtained possession of the fort, which he burnt, and afterwards entirely destroyed the city; but subsequently, on the conclusion of a treaty of peace, he undertook to rebuild it. By his judicious behaviour, also, he quieted a rebellion which broke out at Ternate against the King of that island, he himself refusing an offer that was made to him of the crown. Being very much reduced in numbers by the desertion of certain mutineers, who left the island because Galvão interfered with their frauds in the matter of the trade in cloves, a large fleet set out from Java, Banda, Macassar, and Amboyna, with the intention of obtaining cargoes of cloves by force from the Moluccas; Galvão, however, sent such a force as he could muster against them, which defeated the combined fleet at Amboyna, and took several vessels, cannon, arms, and prisoners.

On its return from Amboyna, the Portuguese fleet, under Diogo Lopes de Azevedo, called at several islands, intent upon converting the inhabitants to Christianity, in which they met with considerable success. Galvão next sent Francisco de Castro, with two priests, on a similar errand, and these discovered the island of Satigana, where Castro made peace with the King, which was con-

firmed by drinking each other's blood, and the King, Queen, a son, three brothers, and many nobles were baptised. Next they discovered the island Mindanao, where the same happened, and subsequently the Kings of Butuan, Pimilarano, and Camisino were baptised. Francisco de Castro took with him to Ternate many sons of the new converts, for whose instruction Galvão, at his own expense, erected a seminary, which was the first institution of that kind established by the Portuguese in the East Indies. The term of Galvão's command having now expired, many of the neighbouring Kings desired that he might be reappointed for life, but this was not conceded. Before leaving Ternate, Galvão built a fort and several houses after the Spanish fashion, and the King of Ternate, following his example, beautified the city with many buildings, and brought water to the city from three leagues off. He also granted lands to the Portuguese, who began to erect country houses and to plant orchards and gardens. His command at Ternate expiring, Galvão returned to Portugal embarrassed with debts, but hoping on his arrival to be rewarded for his past services. In this, however, he was disappointed, for he only met with contempt and misery, and was left by an ungrateful country to die in a hospital.

Bedur, the King of Cambay, had before his death sent a present to the Grand Turk, desiring his assistance in expelling the Portuguese from his dominions, and a renegade Portuguese at Constantinople encouraged him with the idea that it might easily be accomplished. The Grand Turk accordingly ordered a large fleet to be fitted out for the purpose, and gave the command of it to the eunuch Solyman Bashaw, the Governor of Cairo. It appears that Solyman obtained this command by offering to fit out the fleet at his own cost, although in the end he did this at the expense of others, by putting to death many rich men and seizing their estates. The fleet consisted of seventy sail, and contained 7,000 land-men, besides the sailors,

CHAP. XV. many of which latter he took out by force from Venetian galleys then at Alexandria.

A.D. 1538. Solyman soon exhibited the ferocity of his character by putting to death 200 soldiers because they complained at being put to the oars. At Zebet, after receiving a rich present, he beheaded the King, and he would have taken the King of Gidda and treated him in a similar manner had he not escaped. After receiving a present and relief from Aden, he sent ashore many men who were privately armed, on the plea that they were sick, and these seized the city, whilst he murdered the King, who had come to visit him on board his ship. Solyman then proceeded to Diu, where he arrived about the beginning of September, 1538.

When King Bedur was killed, one of his men, Coje Zofar swam ashore, and escaped the fate that befel the rest of his retainers. He, on several occasions, showed himself so grateful that Nuno da Cunha treated him kindly, and even placed some confidence in him. But, before the arrival of the Turkish fleet, he deserted to the new King of Cambay, offering him his services, and persuading him that, with the aid of the Turkish fleet then expected, the Portuguese might easily be expelled from his territory. The King entered readily into his proposals, and prepared an army at Champanel, consisting of 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot soldiers. Antonio da Silveira, having received notice of these arrangements, made all the necessary preparations for a long and dangerous siege. Coje Zofar headed the first attack with a portion of the army, in which he was repulsed and wounded, but when the remainder of the attacking force arrived, it was clear to Antonio da Silveira that, with the small force at his command, he could not hope to hold the city, and he thereupon retired with all his men into the fort, although he was thereby obliged to abandon some ships and guns. Alu Cham, the King's general, and Coje Zofar thereupon took possession of the city, and began a regular siege of the fort.

As soon as Antonio da Silveira had news of the approach of the Turkish fleet, he sent advice to Nuno da Cunha demanding assistance, and he at once made preparations for relieving him in person. In the meanwhile, however, Solyman arrived with his fleet at Diu, and immediately landed 600 Janisaries to attack the fort, but they were driven back with the loss of fifty men. A sudden storm arising, Solyman withdrew his fleet to Mahuwa, where was a sheltered harbour, and he remained there twenty days, during which time Silveira strengthened his fortifications, and a small relief arrived, which had been sent by Nuno da Cunha.

On his return to Diu, on the 28th September, 1538, Solyman directed his fire principally upon the bulwark commanded by Francisco Pacheco, doing, however, but little harm, whilst the return fire sunk one of his galleys with all hands. The defenders, however, surrendered, on condition that they should be permitted to pass unarmed to the main fortress. The next day the Portuguese gave up the bulwark to the Turks, in the belief that they would carry out their agreement; but in this they were sorely deceived, for they were stopped and told that they must first go and pay their respects to Solyman. These Portuguese, to the number of sixty-four, were accordingly conveyed on board Solyman's galley, and forced to work. Solyman then wrote a letter to the captain of the fortress, advising him to surrender, as the odds against him were so great. Antonio da Silveira sent Solyman a reply couched in such strong language that it greatly enraged him, and he made preparations for a final attack. He now brought twenty-eight big guns into position, with which he did considerable execution, besides throwing a number of shells into the fort and killing a great many of the garrison. The fighting continued with varying success until the 6th November, when the Rumes put to sea, where they remained during the night, about a league distant from the shore. The next morning two vessels with reinforcements

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and ammunition arrived from Chaul, and on their appearance the Turkish fleet sailed away.

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Pacheco and those who surrendered with him had stipulated for life and liberty; but some of them, being clothed as Turks, were sent to summon Silveira to surrender; a demand which he treated as a jest. This so enraged Solyman, that he made extensive preparations against the fort, and erected several batteries which commanded it, in some of which were placed very large cannon, which threw balls of ninety pounds weight each. Altogether these batteries contained over 130 guns. The bombardment commenced upon Monday, the 4th of October, and was carried on without intermission for twenty days, during which time several assaults were made at different points, which, however, were successfully repulsed. Many of the garrison had been slain, others were sick or wounded, powder and provisions were running short, and still the long expected succour to be brought by Nuno da Cunha failed to arrive. The work of defence pressed heavily upon the weakened garrison, and the women who were in the fort, led by Donna Isabel de Veiga, wife to Manoel de Vasconcellos, and Anne Fenandez, wife to a physician, took upon themselves certain duties, thus enabling more of the men to man the bulwarks; they also went about encouraging the soldiers, being present even at assaults.

The Turks now began to undermine the fort, whereupon Gaspar de Sousa sallied out and drove them away, but lost his life at the same time. When the garrison were in extreme distress, four vessels arrived, which, however only brought a reinforcement of twenty men. It appears that Nuno da Cunha had collected a fleet with which he intended to relieve Diu, but before he started Dom Garcia de Noronha arrived (on the 11th September, 1538) to succeed him as Viceroy, and whilst he did next to nothing himself towards the relief of Diu, would not per-

mit Nuno da Cunha to carry out his intentions, or even listen to his advice in this matter.

The siege was now pressed with more vigour, and several assaults were made, which were, however, successfully repulsed, the defenders being now actuated by the valour that comes of desperation, there remaining but 250 of the original garrison of 600 men fit to bear arms. Solyman, who had been led to believe that the place would have fallen at the first or second attack, now resolved to make one more vigorous effort to take it. He first sent away several galleys, hoping by this means to make the defenders think he intended to raise the siege, whilst he had in reality prepared a force of 14,000 men in order to make a final and desperate attack on the place. After a general cannonading, the fort was assaulted on all sides, the enemy occasionally obtaining a footing on the bulwarks only to be hurled back again by the defenders. In the heat of the engagement João Rodriguez threw a barrel of powder, with a slow match attached, among the enemy, which, on exploding, killed over a hundred of them, he himself remaining unhurt. At the end of the day there remained in the fort only forty men able to bear arms; the walls of the fort were all shattered, and the powder was all expended, so that had the enemy renewed the attack the place must have inevitably fallen. Solyman, however, was not aware of the condition of the garrison, and being weary of his want of success, now raised the siege; and Coje Zofar, tired of the insupportable arrogance of the Turk, and considering that the presence of the Portuguese at Diu was, after all, less intolerable than would be that of the Turks, framed a letter, which he caused to be placed in Solyman's hands, to the effect that the Viceroy of India would arrive the next day with a formidable fleet to relieve Diu. Solyman accordingly determined to retire, and sailed away on the fifth of November. The same night Coje's men set fire to the city, and also retired.

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Solyman touched at the ports of Arabia, and taking some 140 Portuguese he found there, he cut off their heads, and then their ears and noses, which he salted and sent to the Grand Turk, to show what he had done. Amongst these was Francisco Pacheco, who surrendered his bulwark at Diu.

Dom Garcia de Noronha, the new Viceroy, treated Nuno da Cunha in such a manner at Goa, that he proceeded to Cochin previously to his return to Portugal. Here he was not allowed a suitable ship for his return home, but was obliged to set out in a merchant galleon hired for himself and his family. He left India in January, 1539, and was taken ill of quinsy on the way, of which disease he died off the Cape of Good Hope. Before his death he protested that he had nothing belonging to the King but five pieces of coin or medals of gold, found among the dead King Bedur's treasures, which, on account of their beauty, he was taking with him to show to the King. He died at the beginning of the year 1539, and had been Governor of India for ten years all but two months. At his own request he was buried at sea.

CHAPTER XVI.

Arrival of Dom Garcia de Noronha as Viceroy—Siege of Diu by the Turks—Attack on Bassein by the King of Cambay—Removal of the Remains of Dom Vasco da Gama to Lisbon—Assistance sent to the King of Ceylon—The King of Pegu assisted against the King of Burma—Treaty with the Zamorin—Death of Dom Garcia de Noronha—Dom Estevão da Gama appointed Viceroy—Treaty with the King of Porqua—Defeat of the King of Cambay's Forces—Expedition to the Red Sea—Suakim Burnt—Arrival at Suez—Encounters with Pirates—Tombs at Calemplouy Robbed—Portuguese driven from Liampo—Arrival of Martim Affonso de Sousa as Governor—Death of Dom Estevão da Gama.

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Dom Garcia de Noronha left Lisbon, as Viceroy of India, in March, 1538, with a fleet of eleven ships, and arrived at his destination on the 14th September of the same year with ten vessels, in which were 2,000 fighting men. One of the fleet he started with had been obliged to put into Mozambique, from whence it sailed to Ormuz for the winter, and arrived at Goa during September, 1539. This fleet conveyed a bishop to India in the person of João de Albuquerque, a Castilian, who carried with him a patent from King Dom João, by which all the conquests from the Cape of Good Hope to India were made subject to his diocese, with power to elevate the church of S. Catharina in Goa to the position of a cathedral. On his way to Goa, Dom Garcia went to Diu, which was being besieged by the Turks, and having bombarded the place, he left without doing anything further, and proceeded to Goa, where he prepared a large expedition for the relief of Diu, consisting of 160 vessels of different sorts, 5,000 fighting men, and 1,000 cannon.

On the 4th October, 1538, news reached Goa of the state of affairs at Diu, whereupon the Viceroy sent a mes-

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sage to the King of Cotta, in Ceylon, to inform him that the Turks were besieging that place, and, as he was short of funds, he requested him, as a brother and as a friend of the King of Portugal, to assist him. The King responded liberally by handing the messenger 3,000 Portuguese gold pieces (or 30,000 cruzados). The Moors were then attacking the bastion defended by Francisco Pacheco with six large cannon, with which they did great execution. A large house adjoining the bastion was demolished, and its beams were resting against the bastion. On perceiving this, the enemy attempted to capture the bastion by escalade, but were prevented from effecting their object by the determined resistance of the defenders, who fought with great courage for over two hours. The bastion was now in a very battered condition, so Francisco Pacheco sent a message to the fort to say that if another attack were made by the enemy he would not be able to maintain his position, and that Coje Zofar, the Turkish captain, had advised him to surrender, promising to allow the garrison to proceed to the fort provided they went unarmed. The captain of the fort replied that he was very much grieved to hear of their precarious condition, but advised them to fight to the last. Finding Francisco Pacheco and his followers did not seem disposed to surrender, Coje Zofar renewed the attack with redoubled energy, and again summoned Pacheco to yield. He replied that he could do nothing without consulting his captain, but, in the meantime, he would like to know the exact terms Coje Zofar was prepared to offer. Coje Zofar's reply was as follows: That he should leave the bastion with his property, excepting arms and ammunition, and proceed to the fortress, for which purpose he would grant them a free pass.

Pacheco again communicated with the captain in the fortress, and asked him what to do. He simply replied that he could say no more, excepting that in whatever they did they should be cautious, as no faith could well

be placed in the promises of such an enemy. Pacheco then consulted his followers, who agreed that the bastion should be surrendered on the conditions specified.

The next morning the defenders of the bastion surrendered to the enemy, who conducted them in boats to Solyman, instead of allowing them to proceed to the fortress as promised, saying that they must first pay their respects to him. Having made their salaams to the eunuch, Pacheco and his companions, sixty-four in number, were put in the galleys with a number of slaves. Solyman then wrote to Antonio da Silveira, requesting him to surrender, and pointing out to him the folly of continuing the struggle considering the heavy odds against him. Silveira's reply was that he and his followers would, like Portuguese, fight to the bitter end against such traitors. This reply so exasperated Solyman that he caused several wounded Portuguese whom he had captured to be beheaded.

The enemy continued the attack on the fortress, and placed the defenders in such straits that Antonio da Silveira was forced to send advices to the Viceroy to inform him of his dangerous position. The enemy's fire was now so heavy that the bastion of S. Thomé was soon levelled to the ground. From thence they transferred their attention to a cuirass near the sea, under the charge of Fernão Velho, and this also was speedily demolished. Another part of the fortifications, in charge of Lopo de Sousa, not long after met with a similar fate. The church was the next object of the enemy's attack, and was soon knocked down.

Three catures now arrived from Goa with thirty-six men, much to the joy of the garrison in the fort. These catures also brought letters from the Viceroy, who stated that he would be with them within a month.

Solyman having been informed that the fortress was now in a very weak state on the river side, he gave his men orders to capture the bastion by the sea. The enemy

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proceeded thence in twenty-six small boats, on the 29th October, and, after engaging the Portuguese for two hours, were repulsed with heavy loss.

On the following day, the 30th October, 1538, at daybreak, several small vessels made their appearance coming down the river. The object of the enemy was now to attack the main fort by land, and this show of boats was only for the purpose of diverting attention to an opposite direction. As the day went on, a force of 1,000 Rumes made a furious onslaught on the bastion, which was defended by a force of eighty Portuguese. The defenders gave a good account of themselves, as they drove the Rumes off with a heavy loss. The enemy returned to the attack with reinforcements amounting to 2,000 men, but met with another repulse. Again a fresh body of about the same number returned to the assault, and met with a similar fate. These onslaughts, in which the enemy lost 700 killed and over 1,000 wounded, took place between daybreak and eleven o'clock in the morning.

Coje Zofar and his commanders now made preparations for another decisive attack, and disembarked a large force for that purpose. Antonio da Silveira, having sent a message to the Viceroy pointing out to him the straits he was in, and requesting assistance, strengthened the various posts, and more particularly one of the bastions, which was so open and unprotected that it might easily have been captured. The bastion in question was attacked the next morning by a force of 700 Rumes with ladders, but so great was the discipline and valour of the defenders that the enemy were beaten back with considerable loss. Again the enemy attacked the bastion, and this time with more success—for a time at least—as a number of them obtained a footing within it. Silveira, however, rallied his men, who, being encouraged by the women within the fortress, returned to the charge with such force that they hurled down the Moors into the trenches below. Amongst these courageous women was one who, having once been

a Turk, had become a Christian: she donned her husband's uniform and a helmet, and with his sword and lance did considerable execution against the invaders. The Portuguese lost in this fight thirty-eight men killed, besides a few Canarese and slaves, and 200 wounded.

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On Sunday, the 3rd November, 1538, two catures, which formed part of a fleet then on its way to relieve Diu, arrived with news that Antonio da Silva de Menezes, who was in command of the fleet, was with the remainder of the vessels in the River Mahuwa, on the Diu coast.

Six days after Antonio da Silva de Menezes had left Goa, Dom Pedro de Castello-Branco arrived there with a fleet of several ships from Cochin. The vessels then assembled at that port numbered 150 sail, with 5,000 fighting men, in addition to the seamen, a force that would have been amply sufficient to have encountered the Rumes off Diu. Having settled on a plan of attack, the Viceroy decided to dispatch his son Dom Alvaro in the galleon "São Matheus," and Martim Affonso de Sousa in the galley "Bastarda," at the head of all the galleys and galliots. Although everything was ready, the Viceroy, for some reason or another, postponed the sailing of the fleet from day to day. The Rumes, however, hearing that a large fleet was being fitted out for the purpose of attacking them, began to lose heart, and having reshipped all their artillery, they departed from before Diu, and putting out to sea on Wednesday morning, the 6th November, 1538, proceeded to the Straits of Mecca. Thus Diu was relieved, and Antonio da Silva de Menezes, feeling that his services were no longer required there, joined the Viceroy at Goa. On the receipt of the news that the Rumes had set sail, Martim Affonso de Sousa requested permission of the Viceroy to proceed to the Straits with twenty or thirty sail in search of them, but as he refused to grant this request Martim Affonso returned to Lisbon.

The Viceroy was much relieved at the news that the Rumes had left Diu, and on the 20th November he sailed

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thither with a fleet of ninety sail. On the 30th he reached Dabhol, where he was informed that Lurcão and Coje Zofar had entered the city of Diu, which they were robbing and burning. He, however, proceeded very leisurely, and, having arrived at Chaul, he apppointed Jorge de Lima captain of the fort, and then sailed for Bassein, where he remained several days without landing. Leaving Bassein on the 1st January, 1538, for Diu, he encountered a fearful storm, which scattered his fleet in all directions, and each vessel sought the nearest port, the Viceroy taking refuge in the River Danda with some other of his vessels. Dom Alvaro, in making for Dabhol, ran his ship aground, but he and the crew were all saved. Eight days later most of the other vessels joined the Viceroy, who, on arriving at Diu, was received with great joy by Antonio da Silveira.

The following day the Viceroy went ashore to examine the fortresses, the walls of which bore strong evidence of the force of the enemy's fire. Work was immediately commenced on the necessary repairs, in which everyone who was capable took part, even the noblemen lending a helping hand. The command of the fort was then given to Diogo Lopes de Sousa, who had been appointed by the King to succeed Antonio da Silveira. The Viceroy's next step was to set about concluding a treaty of peace with Coje Zofar, who was then with Lurcão at the house of Melique Az. The treaty that was agreed to gave Coje Zofar nearly all he had demanded. It was concluded on the 6th day of the month of Shawwâl in the year 945 (26th February, 1539), and allowed the erection of a wall four covados* and over, and stipulated that all the revenues from the Custom House of Gogo and from that of the city of Diu, besides the revenues from the farms in the island, should be divided into three portions, two portions to be the property of the Sultan Mamud Shah and one portion of the Portuguese. In addition to this, it was agreed that

* The Portuguese covado is the same as the Flemish ell, or twenty-seven inches.

the two forts which the Portuguese had built on the island, and which had been destroyed during the late war, should not be re-erected.

From Diu, the Viceroy dispatched his son Dom Alvaro to the Malabar coast, in command of six galliots and twelve fustas, with instructions to watch the coast, and, in the event of the King of Calicut sending him any message desiring to treat with him, he was to proceed to Calicut, but on no account was he to land. Dom Alvaro proceeded with his fleet to Cananor, and from thence to Cochin, passing Calicut and Cranganor *en route*, whence he returned to Bhatkal and Cananor; but he heard nothing from the King of Calicut, and therefore he returned to Goa about the end of April.

Whilst at Diu, the Viceroy received advices from Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, the commander of Bassein, that that fort was being attacked by the King of Cambay, who had come in such numbers that he seriously threatened the safety of the place, notwithstanding that strong palisades had been erected for its defence. The Viceroy immediately dispatched a reinforcement of 400 men to its relief, in a galleon and three well-manned barques, under the command of Tristão de Ataide, late captain of Malacca. These on arrival promptly attacked the Moors with such energy that they were forced to retire to a neighbouring island, where they were surrounded, and finally defeated. Hostilities then ceased for a time, and, on the peace of Diu becoming known, the enemies of Portugal discontinued their attacks.

Meanwhile, however, the Viceroy was prosecuting the works at Diu, and he sent Martim Affonso de Mello to the command of Ormuz, and Pedro de Faria as captain of Malacca for the second time.

In the year 1538, the mortal remains of Dom Vasco da Gama, who it will be remembered died in India, were taken to Lisbon, where they were given sepulture with great pomp and demonstration.

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In 1539, ambassadors arrived at Malacca, the commander of which fort was Pedro de Faria, from the Kings of Bataas and Aaru, in Sumatra, to request the assistance of the Portuguese against the King of Achin. Although in the interests of the Portuguese in Malacca that assistance should, no doubt, have been given, considering that Aaru lay between Malacca and Achin, forming in some sense a bulwark for the defence of that place, no arrangement was concluded with the envoys. It appears that Dom Estevão da Gama, the Governor of Malacca, declined to comply with this request, since he was on the point of surrendering his command to Pedro de Faria, and the latter refused to compromise himself in the matter, as he had not yet taken over that command.

Pedro de Faria did, however, subsequently send assistance to the King of Aaru, but it was insufficient, and also arrived too late to save him, since the King of Achin sent a force of 160 vessels and 12,000 fighting men, with which he captured the King of Aaru's stronghold, and that King was slain in the encounter, owing to the treachery of one of his officers, who had been bribed by the commander of the Achinese forces. The Queen of Aaru not being able to recover her late husband's territories, then retired to Malacca with a small retinue, and claimed the protection of the Portuguese. Here she was received with great pomp and grandeur, and beguiled with promises of assistance, but on claiming the fulfilment of these promises to recover her lost possessions, Pedro de Faria, the Governor of Malacca, treated her with scant courtesy, whereupon she went to the King of Ujantana, who was then at Bintam, and who not only promised her the required aid, but married her in order to have the better title to pretend to the kingdom of Aaru.

The King of Ujantana then wrote to the King of Achin to demand the restoration of the kingdom of Aaru, as being his in virtue of his marriage; but, this request being

refused in a most insulting manner, the King of Ujantana set out with 200 sail, and anchored before the fort of Puneticam, the commander of which place was slain, together with 1,400 Achinese.

The Viceroy, Dom Garcia de Noronha, having escaped from the storm, entered the port of Diu with fifty vessels in safety. Having repaired the fortress, he delivered the command of the same to Diogo Lopes de Sousa, who had been appointed to that post by the King.

When the King of Ceylon sent the Viceroy the loan of 3,000 gold "Portugueses," he accompanied the remittance by a letter asking him to excuse the smallness of the amount, and requesting him, so soon as he should have done with the Rumes, to send him some aid in the war he was engaged in against his brother. He, accordingly, now sent Miguel Ferreira to his assistance with eleven fustas and catures, and a force of 400 men-at-arms, besides musketeers. On his arrival at Ceylon, he received news that Pate Marcar was in a river with fourteen fustas, and that his services had been engaged by Madune Pandar, the King of Sita-wacca, to war against the King of Ceylon, his brother. Miguel Ferreira proceeded at once up the river, and soon engaged the fourteen fustas, in one of which Pate Marcar attempted to escape, but was driven back. The enemy, after a severe fight, abandoned the fustas, and fled inland to the territories of the Madune Pandar, whereupon Miguel Ferreira seized the fustas and handed them over to the rightful King of Ceylon. The King received Ferreira with great rejoicings and ceremonies, but, at the same time, he handed him in writing several serious complaints against the Portuguese factor, upon which Ferreira remarked that he had nothing to do with the actions of the factor, but had merely come to assist the King in defeating his enemies.

Seeing that he could obtain no redress in the matter of the Portuguese factor, the King joined with Ferreira, and

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the united forces went in pursuit of the enemy, who were in a camp 6,000 strong. The Portuguese marched in three different directions, and the enemy, being taken by surprise, fled into a jungle behind the camp; Ferreira followed, and scattered them in all directions. The Madune, seeing that the Moors dared not to face the Portuguese, sent a message to the King suing for peace; but Ferreira would listen to no proposals unless they were accompanied by Pate Marcar and his brother Cunhale Marcar, together with his captains and followers, either bound hand and foot, or their heads only. Two days later Madune Pandar sent back word that he would sooner die than deliver up those who had given him their assistance; but in the end Madune Pandar agreed to hand over the heads of these Moors to the tender mercies of Miguel Ferreira. Accordingly he had them removed one night to a distance, and, coming upon them unawares, had the majority of them massacred. The King of Sita-wacca then sent Miguel Ferreira nine Moorish heads stuck on spears, which were those of Pate Marcar, his brother Cunhale Marcar, a nephew, two uncles, and some other captains. Peace was then concluded between the Madune Pandar and his brother the King, the former paying his brother the sum of 60,000 pardaos towards the expenses of the war. The country was now pacified; the King returned to his fortress, and sent the factor, Pero Vaz Travassos, to the Viceroy. He was, however, killed on the journey by some robbers.

The Viceroy, on arriving at Goa at the end of March, 1539, received news by a ship from Ormuz that the Rumes, on their way to the Straits, had encountered the same storm that overtook him on his voyage to Diu, which had forced them to seek refuge in the port of Xael. From thence they proceeded to Aden, where those who landed were maltreated by the natives, and Solyman, leaving six galleys there with 300 men, sailed up the Straits with the

remainder of his fleet as far as the island of Kamaran. From Kamaran he went to Thor, and thence to Suez, where he gave orders for his vessels to be beached, and then went to the King of Misey,* his master, to report himself. Solyman gave a most glowing account of his actions against the Portuguese at Diu, and related how he had destroyed their fortress, and how he had managed to return without being seen by the Viceroy, who had, he said, three large fleets with a force of 20,000 men.

Dom Alvaro de Noronha arrived with his fleet at Goa, from the Malabar coast, in May, 1539, that being about the beginning of winter, when he found the people of the city suffering from great want, because the Viceroy had paid nobody for some time past, with the result that the poorer inhabitants had taken to robbery as the only available means of relieving their distress. At the end of the winter, in which the inhabitants suffered greatly from hunger and want, the Viceroy gave instructions to the judges and various law officers to hand over to him all the moneys they had received as fines, bail, &c., for the purpose of rebuilding and decorating the Sabayo palace for the residence of the governors. He received for this purpose, from these two sources, over 20,000 pardaos, and gave the contract for the work to a certain Antonio Correa for 3,500 pardaos, appropriating the balance of 16,500 pardaos to his own use.

In the year 1539 the Viceroy dispatched a trading galleon, under the command of Fernão de Moraes, to Pegu. On arrival at that port, the King with promises and favours induced him to aid him against the King of Burma, who was invading his territories with such a force that the combined armies are stated to have numbered over 2,000,000 men and 10,000 elephants. Moraes embarked in a galliot and took over the command of the Pegu fleet,

* "Misey," according to the *Lendas da India*, is supposed to have been an ancient name of Cairo.

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with which he made great havoc among the enemy's ships. At the same time the Burmese land-troops came on like a torrent, carrying all before them, and easily gained the city and kingdom of Pegu. The rival fleets engaged in a desperate encounter, but the Pegu ships, finding themselves overpowered by the superior numbers of the Burmese fleet, deserted Moraes, who alone in his galliot performed wonders single-handed, but was finally killed.

Ruy Lourenço de Tavora was now being hard-pressed by the enemy at Bassein, notwithstanding the fact that with 350 men he had made a sortie and defeated them. Coje Zofar came against him with his troops, and placed Bassein in a state of danger when Jorge de Lima, commander of Chaul, becoming aware of Ruy Lourenço's critical position, dispatched 100 men with all speed to Bassein, and with this help the beleaguered Portuguese were successful in repulsing the enemy.

The late successes of the Portuguese arms, especially in Cambay, struck awe in the hearts of all the Eastern Princes to such an extent that the Nizamaluco and the Adil Khan at once sent ambassadors to ratify the last treaties of peace concluded with them. The Zamorim, in order to obtain a more favourable reception by the Viceroy, requested Manoel de Brito, captain of the fort of Chalé, to act as intercessor. Brito having promised him his interest, accompanied the ambassador, China Cutiale, who went to Goa with a splendid retinue, and was received by the Viceroy with great courtesy and pomp.

In order that the proposed treaty might be the more binding and lasting, the Zamorin expressed a wish that the Viceroy would go in person to negotiate the terms. Dom Garcia excused himself, however, on the plea of ill-health, and sent his son Dom Alvaro in his stead. Dom Alvaro sailed with one galleon, four galleys, and ten fustas, with a large retinue, and, on arriving at Chalé, sent his ambassadors to the King, who proceeded to Ponani, and requested Dom Alvaro to meet him there. A treaty

was accordingly concluded in January, 1540, the principal terms of which were to the following effect:— CHAP. XVI.

No rowing boat in the kingdom of Calicut to have more than five oars aside; no vessel to navigate to or from Calicut without having first obtained a pass from the Captain of Chalé; no vessel to trade with Mecca, or in pepper or drugs, without the special permission of the Viceroy or Governor of India; the King of Calicut to restore all the Portuguese artillery which might be in his territory, and to return all slaves and fugitives who might have escaped into his dominions; the King to supply all the pepper in his dominions at the Cochin prices, and to deliver it at a specified place, and to sell all the ginger at the rate of ninety-two fanœs;* the Zamorin to be the friend of the Portuguese friends, and to assist the Viceroy with men whenever he might require them. This treaty lasted for thirty years, and proved one of the greatest blessings the Portuguese experienced in India. A.D. 1540.

João de Sepulveda, having wintered at Ormuz, arrived at Diu in August, 1539. Here he was informed that Lourenço de Tavora was being pressed by the enemy at Bassein, and he accordingly proceeded thither with two vessels and a number of men, and having landed, joined Tavora's force, which then attacked the Moors and drove them from the neighbourhood.

Antonio de Carvalho with eight small ships went in pursuit of some pirates who were committing depredations between Bhatkal and Anjediva, and having overtaken them, captured and burnt their ships.

The Viceroy died on the 3rd April in the year 1540, and on the first Patent of Succession being opened, it was found that Martim Affonso de Sousa, who had only recently departed to Portugal, was therein named. The second opened appointed Dom Estevão da Gama, who at the time was unwell and resided without the city. His election

* Twelve fanœs were equal to a pardão of 300 reis.

CHAP. XVI. was received with joy by the people, as few grieved at the death of his predecessor.

A.D. 1540. Dom Garcia de Noronha was the third Viceroy and eleventh Governor, and governed India for one year and seven months. His son, Dom Alvaro, who returned to Portugal, was accompanied by two ambassadors from the King of Cotta, who desired of King Dom João that, in the event of his leaving no son, his granchild might succeed him and be sworn as King. For this purpose the ambassadors brought with them a golden image of his grandson, and a crown set with precious stones, in order that King Dom João should crown the image. This the King did publicly amid great solemnity, much to the gratification of the ambassadors, who returned to their King.

Dom Estevão da Gama, son of Vasco da Gama, assumed the government in the beginning of April, 1540. He had acquired considerable property in Malacca, and his first act was to have that property publicly valued, so that it might not be said of him afterwards that he had obtained his estates at the expense of the government, although, as a matter of fact, at the end of his term of office his property was found to have been considerably diminished. The next thing he did was to advance the large sum of 20,000 pardaos to the Public Treasury, which was then at a very low ebb, for the purpose of refitting the fleet. He also founded the *Seminario de Santa Fé* for such native youths as might be converted to Christianity.

He sent his brother, Dom Christovão to superintend the repairs to the fleet at Cochin, and instructed all the commanders of the various stations to be in readiness to oppose the Turks, who, it was reported, were preparing for an attack on the coasts.

News having reached Dom Christovão da Gama, who had wintered at Cochin, that the King of Porqua had attacked some Portuguese vessels commanded by Sebastião de Sousa while on a voyage from the Maldives, he sent a message to him demanding the return of all he had taken.

The King, however, replied that the vessels which attacked the Portuguese were not his, but belonged to a Caimal over whom he had no control. But Dom Christovão, having received authentic information that both the King of Porqua and the Caimal were joint perpetrators of the robbery, again demanded of the King the return of the stolen property, but, as he only made further excuses, Dom Christovão determined to obtain redress by force of arms, and he accordingly invaded the Caimal's territories—situated between those of Porqua and Cochin—with a company of 600 men. The Caimal prepared to resist, and a fierce fight ensued, in which his army was completely defeated, whereupon the Caimal fled, and Dom Christovão proceeded to burn and pillage indiscriminately, and he cut down over 2,000 palm-trees. On perceiving this wholesale destruction, the King of Porqua went in person to Dom Christovão to beg him to desist, telling him at the same time that the Caimal had repented. Dom Christovão accordingly stayed further vengeance with the view of entering into negotiations for a peace; but, while the Portuguese were resting, the Caimal with some of his followers rushed on a party of them unawares, whereupon other Portuguese came to their assistance, and the enemy were all slain, including the Caimal. The King of Porqua then agreed to a treaty of peace and friendship with the Portuguese, notwithstanding that the King of Cochin, who was not friendly to Dom Christovão, did all in his power to prevent it.

Having received advices that the Turks would not be able to carry out their plans this year (1540), Dom Estevão da Gama gave his attention to other matters. Manoel de Vasconcellos was dispatched with twenty sail to the Malabar coast, and another fleet of thirty ships, under the command of Antonio de Castello-Branco was sent to Cambay.

The Governor then prepared to set out for the Red Sea, in order to burn some Turkish galleys at Suez.

When Bedur, the King of Cambay, made over to the

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Portuguese the territories of Bassein, he took them from Bramaluco, a brave warrior, to whom he had previously given them. The latter now thought the death of the Viceroy, Dom Garcia de Noronha, furnished him with a favourable opportunity to regain them by surprise. He therefore set out from Daman in the very depth of winter with a force of 300 horse and 5,000 foot; but Ruy Lourenço de Tavora considering that, if Bedur once obtained a sound footing in the vicinity, it would be a difficult task to drive him out, marched towards the enemy with 600 foot and fifty horse, all picked Portuguese, besides 400 blacks. He divided the foot into four battalions, reserving to himself the fifty horse and the blacks. Hearing that the enemy were lodged in Baylam, a village about two leagues up country, he determined to surprise them at noon, their customary hour for bathing. Having halted half a league from the place, in order to give his troops a rest, the enemy, who had received intelligence thereof, came on with such haste, and yet so secretly, that they would have been all put to the sword had not Fernão da Silva, who courageously led the van, given a check to their furious onslaught. Antonio de Soutomayor, who was wounded in the leg, with his battalion rendered him important assistance and did great execution. Thus Tavora was given time to make ready, and while the Portuguese, back to back, were facing the enemy all round and doing wonders against overwhelming odds, Ruy Lourenço was harassing the enemy with his fifty horsemen, till finally he fell on their flank and did such execution that they fled completely routed. Lourenço's next resolve was to capture a large vessel belonging to Bramaluco, which had been recently built, and was then lying in the port of Agashi, so he marched thither overland, D. Luiz de Ataide going by water. D. Luiz landed his force, which, being joined by that of Tavora's, defeated the enemy with great loss, and, having burnt the city, carried off the ship to Bassein, and for many years

afterwards it traded to Lisbon. Bramaluco sued for peace, but, being a suspected subject of Cambay, Dom Estevão da Gama treated with that King, and secured from him a treaty of peace, whereby he obtained a grant of half the Customs receipts, whereas only one-third had been offered before.

Returning now to the fleet in which Dom Estevão da Gama was to sail to the Red Sea,—the liberality of the Governor had been such that a greater number of men offered him their services than he actually had need of, and he therefore had no difficulty in collecting a force of 2,000 picked men, whom he distributed among the eighty ships which composed his fleet.

While the vessels were being fitted out, the King of Achin fell upon the King of Bataas unexpectedly, and, besides slaughtering large numbers of his people, killed his three sons. The latter, wishing to avenge himself, sent his brother-in-law as ambassador to Pedro de Faria, who was then Captain of Malacca, to confirm the treaty of peace, which had been previously concluded, and to request Portuguese assistance of arms and ammunition; and in order the better to obtain such help, he sent him a rich present, and offered him a free trade in his dominions, which abounded with gold, peper, benzoin, and camphor. Faria, who was as intent upon profit as upon service to his King, promptly supplied him with a large quantity of arms and ammunition and offered him all assistance. The King of Bataas attacked his enemy with great energy, but was completely defeated and forced to retire to his city Panaaju. Arriving here, he dispatched a certain Jorge Pinto (sent thither by Faria to trade), who brought news of the Ilha do Ouro, or Gold Island.

The Governor left Goa for the Straits in the beginning of January, 1541. He first touched at the Ilheos Queimados (to the north of Goa), and proceeding thence reached Socotra in thirteen days. Whilst there, Anrique Mendes de Vasconcellos arrived with Moorish pilots, who

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were well up in the navigation of the Straits. He sailed again on the 19th of January, and found most of the islands and cities had been abandoned, as advice had been received by them of his approach. On arrival at Massuah he found that the King of that place had also fled up country, but he afterwards returned, and entertained the Governor with professions of peace. From thence the fleet sailed to a small island thirty leagues distant, where a camel was killed, and the name of "Camel Island" was given to it in consequence. Thence he proceeded to Suakim, a distance of 100 leagues, where he arrived on the 22nd February. The city of Suakim is described at this time as being well built and very rich. The King was a Moor, and, being a rich man, had deposed the previous King, and paid the Turks half the Customs revenue, equal to 30,000 xeraphins per annum. Antonio Pereira was sent with a message to the King, requesting that someone of authority might be sent on board with whom negotiations might be discussed. The Governor demanded pilots to carry him to Suez, but this the King refused to comply with, as he was in great fear of the Turks. Incensed by this refusal, on the 8th March, 1541, a Portuguese force was landed, and on its approach the Moors fled in every direction. Having seized everything of value they could lay their hands on, the Portuguese marched to the city and burnt it. On the 10th March they left Suakim, and arriving at a large bay where were abundance of cattle and water, the Governor gave it the name of "Agoada" (watering-place). Thence he proceeded to Alt Koseir, 120 leagues distant. On the 7th April the fleet arrived off a promontory to which he gave the name of "Ramos" (Palms), because it was discovered on Palm Sunday; the next place reached was Toro,* and on the 14th April the fleet anchored in the bay of Alt Koseir. On entering the port they discovered a large unprotected city, lying off which was a formidable-looking ship of about

* Toor, a port on the coast of the Sinai peninsula.

300 tons, which belonged to some Turks, and was taking in a cargo there. CHAP. XVI.

The town was found to possess a wonderful supply of wheat, butter, honey, almonds, raisins, flour, figs, oil, olives, and various other commodities which were sent thither for shipment from the city of Ryfa, an inland town distant about three days' journey. Having taken on board all they could lay hands on, the Governor gave orders for the city to be burnt, together with over 100,000 candis of wheat that was stored in it. Owing to unfavourable winds, the Portuguese fleet was detained here for four days. It left on the 18th April, 1541, and arrived again at Tor, where some Turkish ships were captured, and leaving again on the 22nd April, it anchored at Suez on the 26th *idem;* but, owing to the delay incurred on the voyage, news had reached here of the Governor's approach and his designs, so that when the Portuguese fleet arrived they found no Turkish ships in that port. A.D. 1541.

The Governor left Suez on the 28th April, 1541, for Tor once more, and reached that place on the 30th *idem*, where he proposed to take in water. On attempting to land, however, he was received with a heavy fire from a large force which had collected there since his last visit. Finding he could not land here, the fleet proceeded to a place a league distant, where there was a good supply of water. The enemy becoming aware that the ships had run out of water, hastened to this well to fill it up, and were in the act of doing so when the Portuguese landed and drove them off after some resistance. They then took in the necessary supply and remained there for the night, sailing the next morning for Alt Koseir, where they found Tristão de Ataide with some vessels. Here the Governor was informed that messengers had started for Cairo, three days previously, to carry the news of the approach of the Portuguese. Having taken supplies on board, the fleet sailed again for Suakim, reaching Agoada, which is ten

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leagues from Suakim, on the 14th of May, 1541. Thence the Governor sailed to Massuah, where he was well received by the people, who supplied him with cattle and other necessaries. From here he went to Arquico, and then back again to Massuah, which latter place he left on the 8th July for India. On the 11th July he sighted Dalaca, and anchored for the night among some islands near by. On the next day he sailed again, and passed Aden on the 25th of the same month. After a very severe passage, in which he encountered furious gales, the Governor and his fleet reached Goa in safety.

About this time attempts were made, direct from Lisbon, to come to some terms of agreement with the Turks, and we find, in the *Corpo Chronologico*, a copy of instructions to that effect, given to Duarte Catanho (called in the *Lendas* Micer Catanho), a Turkish spy, under date the 10th February, 1541. These were to the following effect:—

"What you, Duarte Catanho, are to arrange with the Turk is as follows: You say that, in order to be at peace with the Turks, you propose entering into an arrangement with them whereby they should be supplied with 2,500 cwt. of pepper delivered at Bussora, in exchange for 20,000 quarters of wheat; such arrangement to be in force for ten years. I cannot, nor ought I, to sanction such a contract without two conditions: The Grand Turk shall not permit the importation into his territories of any pepper, in addition to what we are to supply him with per annum, and also not to allow any pepper to go to any States which are subject to him, nor to allow any of the pepper we supply him with to be exported. Also to permit me to have ships in the Straits of Mecca, wherever I may deem fit, to prevent any imports or exports of pepper, he, the Turk, to have no ships in those waters, nor hinder in any way my vessels in the execution of their duties; to have no more men in Aden than are actually required to its defence; and neither party to war against the other either by land or sea. All Portuguese ships, both trading

and war vessels, to have a free entrance into the ports of Aden, Zebid, Jedda, and other Arabian ports, with power to trade with those places on payment of no more than the customary dues. As long as this peace remain in force, the Turk not to manufacture any war material, nor build any ships of war, or anything of a warlike nature for the purpose of hostilities against India. The Portuguese trading vessels that may at any time be sent to Jedda and Bussora to be allowed to dispose of their drugs, &c., at the best prices which may be obtainable. That all vessels going to the Turkish ports without any licence from the King of Portugal, or his governors in India, may be liable to be seized and their cargoes confiscated. And finally, the Turkish Government shall, when required, supply to the Portuguese 10,000 quarters of wheat at the market price of the day." Nothing appears as to the result of these proposals, the acceptance of which could only be expected from a defeated enemy, and this was not yet the position of the Turkish Government.

Finding on his return that no ships had come to Goa from Portugal, the Governor was compelled to ship the goods provided for the vessels which were expected from Lisbon, on board four galleons, one of which was commanded by Pedro de Castello-Branco, and was captured by the French off the Azores.

After this the Governor proceeded to Panjim to settle some business matters, and from thence he despatched Lionel de Lima as captain of the Moluccas, and Diegalvares Telles as captain of Cananor. He then returned to Goa, and having made all the necessary arrangements, sailed with twenty fustas, on the 24th January, 1542, for Diu, where he remained a few days, and then sailed to Bassein and Chaul. Having made provision for the requirements of these places, he returned to Goa, and sent Anrique Mendes de Vasconcellos to the Straits, with five small ships, to obtain news of Dom Christovão da Gama. These vessels duly arrived at Socotra, the Sheikh of which place

CHAP. XVI. A.D. 1542. advised Vasconcellos to return to India, as there were a great number of Turkish galleys in the Straits. Vasconcellos, however, did not allow himself to be influenced by this counsel, but proceeded to Massuah, where he arrived on the 20th February, 1542, but saw no one there, as the inhabitants had received advice of the approach of the Portuguese and had fled away. From thence the fleet went to Suakim, where they arrived on the 6th March, and found the place well fortified. On landing, the Portuguese were greeted with a heavy fire by the inhabitants, but they finally succeeded in driving them off.

From Suakim the vessels went to Jedda, about ten leagues from Suez, where Vasconcellos received information that the Turks were fitting out a large fleet at the latter port, where they had already got ready 120 galleons, besides a large number of smaller craft, that the number was daily increasing, and that they had also collected a great quantity of artillery and ammunition. From Jedda, Vasconcellos returned to Massuah, and from thence sailed on his way back to India, without having heard anything of Dom Christovão da Gama. On the 8th April he arrived at Zeilah, where the inhabitants all fled at his approach. Having taken in some sheep and other supplies for the voyage, he left on the 24th April. When off Socotra the fleet fell in with a large ship, on board of which was Martim Affonso de Sousa, the newly-appointed Governor, who was on his way to Goa to take up his appointment. Vasconcellos then continued his voyage, and reached Goa in safety on the 13th May, 1542.

Nizamoxa, desirous of possessing the forts of Sangaça and Karnala, which were held by subjects of the King of Cambay, attacked and captured them in person. The previous owners, being anxious to recover these formidable strongholds, sought the assistance of Dom Francisco Menezes, then commanding at Bassein, promising to hold them of the Portuguese should the enterprise prove successful. Menezes accordingly went with 300 Portuguese

and a party of natives, and, having scaled Fort Karnala, it was speedily abandoned by the defenders, while those of Sangaça fled even before it was attacked. These forts were then left in the possession of the Moors, but in charge of Portuguese garrisons. Nizamoxa was so enraged at the turn of events, that he sent a force of 5,000 men which devastated the whole country around, and the owners, despairing of holding out against such a power, gave up their title to those forts to the Portuguese, and retired to Bassein for safety.

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Nizamoxa again dispatched a force of 6,000 foot and 800 horse to attack Fort Sangaça, but were several times repulsed by the defenders, who, with great difficulty, sent advices to Dom Francisco at Bassein, who went to their relief with 160 Portuguese, twenty horse, some Naiques, and 2,000 natives, when, after some slight engagements, the enemy, acting under the impression that further reinforcements had arrived to the Portuguese, raised the siege and fled, leaving behind them a large quantity of arms and ammunition. Dom Francisco, having replenished the forts with stores and ammunition, returned to his command at Bassein.

The Governor, being of opinion that these forts were of little value after all to the Portuguese, handed them over to Nizamoxa, in consideration of the sum of 5,000 pardaos, much to the regret of Dom Francisco de Menezes, who had by his skill and ability captured and maintained them.

Pedro de Faria, the Commander of Malacca, having received information respecting the Ilha do Ouro, situated in the River Calandor, about 150 leagues from the point of Sumatra, communicated all the information he had been able to obtain regarding it to the King, who thereupon sent Francisco de Almeida to conquer the island. Almeida died on the voyage, and Diogo Cabral succeeded him, but he was displaced by the Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa, who appointed Jeronymo de Figueiredo in his

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stead. The latter set out in the year 1542 with eighty men and three ships, but, being a covetous man, he abandoned the undertaking, and went in search of some Mecca vessels on the coast of Tenasserim, which he captured, and with them took a large booty. As he refused to grant the crews a share of the spoil, they bound him hand and foot, and left him on the sands at Galle, in Ceylon.

Pedro de Faria, Captain of Malacca, sent Antonio de Faria e Sousa to the King of Patani to conclude a treaty of peace. He took with him goods to the value of 12,000 ducats, but finding no sale for them there, sent them to the port of Ligor, in the kingdom of Siam, where, he was informed, they could be disposed of to great advantage. He entrusted the business to Christovão Borralho, who, having arrived at his destination, was attacked by Coje Hazem, a Moor of Guzerat, in a well-armed ship manned by eighty Turks and Moors. Borralho escaped falling into the enemy's hands by leaving his ship and swimming ashore. He carried the news to Antonio de Faria (at Patani), who, vowing he would never desist until he had destroyed that Moor, fitted out a small ship in which he, with fifty men, sailed from Patani on Saturday, the 8th May, 1540.

Taking a N.E. course towards the kingdom of Champa, he discovered the island of Pulo Condore, and entered the port of Bralapisam. Thence he coasted as far as the River Cambodia, which divides the kingdoms of Cambodia and Tsiampa, and proceeding further along the coast he anchored at the mouth of the River Tubasoy, where he captured two vessels belonging to a certain pirate named Similan, who, with other prisoners, was put to death. Going further on he anchored off Tayquilen, a small town on the river Tinacoren, or Varela. Sailing thence he proceeded to the island of Hainan, where he fell in with a large vessel riding at anchor. Antonio Faria thought he had at last found Coje Hazem, so fell on the ship and took it; but among the prisoners he found

a Christian, who informed him that the vessel belonged to Quiay Tayjam, another pirate, who then lay concealed in the forecastle with his followers, whom Faria instantly dispatched. In the vessel he found 70,000 cwt. of pepper besides other spices, ivory, tin, wax, and powder, valued altogether at about 60,000 crowns, as well as some good cannon, ammunition, &c. In the hold he found nine young children in irons, and in a very emaciated condition. Further on, in the River Tananquir, he was attacked by two large vessels which, however, he captured, and in the hold of one he found seventeen prisoners, of whom two were Portuguese, besides a valuable cargo and seventeen brass guns, most of them bearing the arms of Portugal. He then sailed to Mutipinam, which he found a convenient place to sell his prizes, which were paid for in silver to the amount of 200,000 crowns. These events occurred during the beginning of the year 1541.

In the port of Madel, in the island of Hainan he met another celebrated pirate named Hinymilan, whom he engaged, and, after a bloody fight, captured and put to death. On this occasion Faria secured booty valued at 70,000 ducats. This action struck such terror in the hearts of the people in that locality that they sent a message offering him the sum of 30,000 crowns if he would take them under his protection and grant them passes for trading purposes. Their petition was granted, Faria received the money and issued the passes.

The crews were getting weary of the search for Coje Hazem, so by mutual agreement Faria directed his course to the kingdom of Siam; but being overtaken by a terrific storm, his vessel was wrecked on one of the Ladrones Islands, and of 500 souls only eighty-six reached the shore in safety. Here they remained for fifteen days with scarcely anything to eat, and some of their number died from want and exhaustion. A Chinese vessel arrived when they were in this condition, and while their crew were on shore the Portuguese took possession of the ship and put out

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to sea. They arrived at Liampo, where they captured a Chinese vessel, and then proceeded to the island of Luxitay. Off the coast of Laneau, Faria came up with a large ship belonging to a Chinese who was friendly to the Portuguese, and they agreed to proceed together to make an attempt on the mines of Quamjaparu, where they expected to acquire some vast treasure. They refitted at the River Anay, and then went to Chincheo, where Faria hired thirty-five Portuguese he found there. Having put to sea again, he fell in with a fishing-boat, in which he found eight Portuguese, whose ship had been seized by the celebrated pirate, Coje Hazem, in the port of Cumbor island. Faria was overjoyed at this unexpected news of his long sought-for enemy, so turned back to Layloo, where he exchanged his old vessels for new ones. He fitted out four ships, with 500 men, forty pieces of cannon, and all the necessary arms and ammunition. A day or so after he received information that Coje Hazem was in the River Tinlan, about two leagues off. Faria went in search of the pirate, whom he defeated after a fierce fight, in which he engaged in a hand-to-hand fight with Coje Hazem, and seriously wounded and disabled him. In this engagement the enemy lost over 400 men, the Portuguese losses being forty-three killed. Having landed, Faria had the dead buried, and sailing at night with booty worth 100,000 crowns, arrived at Nanday in the beginning of 1542. After plundering and then burning the town, he sailed to Pulo Hindor, an uninhabited island about fifteen leagues off, thence to the islands of Commolem, where he was attacked by two large ships commanded by the pirate Premata Gundel, whom he defeated after a severe fight, and put all to the sword. On this occasion he secured a prize worth 120,000 ducats. After remaining here for twenty days to heal those who had been wounded in the fight, Faria steered for the "Gates of Liampo," two islands about three leagues from the city of that name, and having obtained permission from the

authorities to visit the city, he proceeded there and was received with great pomp by the inhabitants.

Here Faria remained five months, during which time he was royally fêted, and set sail in the middle of May, and having called at various ports and islands, he, at the instance of a Chinaman named Similan, went to the island Calempluy, where were the ancient monuments of the Kings of China, and in them considerable treasure which he desired to take for his own benefit.

Faria set out about the middle of May with two galliots, in which were 146 men, of whom fifty-two were Portuguese. After a tedious voyage of two months and a half, he reached Nanking, and from thence he proceeded to T. nquilem, where Similan and thirty-six Chinese seamen deserted him. Calempluy, being only ten leagues distant, was soon afterwards reached, and in the evening after his arrival Faria landed with sixty men, four of whom were Portuguese, and began to rob the tombs of bars of silver, notwithstanding the remonstrance of an old man he met there. Having ascertained the contents of the several chapels, Faria returned to his ships, intending to come again the next day and plunder them all. Before the morrow, however, an alarm had been given from the island, and having ascertained that relief was immediately expected to protect the treasures there, Faria at once set sail. But on the 5th of August he encountered a violent storm, in which his vessel foundered and went down with all hands. The other vessel was also lost, but fourteen of the crew managed to save themselves.

About this time, Lancelot Pereira, a judge in the city of Liampo, having lost 1,000 ducats by the Chinese, collected a body of men and proceeded to repay himself by robbing others. This, however, brought the governor of the province upon the place with an overwhelming force, which burnt the city, together with eighty ships that were in the port, killing also a large number of men, including 1,000 Portuguese. The Portuguese were thus driven out

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from this settlement, losing, at the same time, considerable treasure. With regard to them and their proceedings, it was at this time remarked by a Chinaman: "Let them go on, for whatever they gain as courageous soldiers, they will lose as covetous merchants. They now conquer Asia, Asia will soon conquer them." Those who escaped from the massacre at Liampo obtained leave, in the year 1547, to settle in the port of Chinchew.

The fleet which brought Martim Affonso de Sousa to India was detained for some time at Mozambique, owing to stress of weather. This fleet also conveyed out, in addition to the new Governor, a noted father of the Society of Jesus, in the person of Francis Xavier, who afterwards became the patron saint of the Indies.

Most of those who had hitherto governed India had looked upon the appointment with special pleasure if they could only manage to send off their predecessor in disgrace. Martim Affonso was no exception in this respect. On his way to Goa, he fell in with a certain Diogo Suarez de Mello, named the "Gallego," who, having incurred a sentence of death, had escaped and turned a pirate with a following of 120 men in two vessels. Martim Affonso pardoned this man, because he made out he was in a position to say a great deal against Dom Estevão da Gama. The newly-appointed Governor having arrived safely in the port of Goa at midnight, sent news to Dom Estevão da Gama of his arrival in terms that well demonstrated the ill-will he bore him. Da Gama resigned the government to Martim Affonso, who, finding he could not possibly lay any charges against him, became very irate, and vented his malice by withholding from him everything necessary to ensure a comfortable voyage home. Dom Estevão was so disgusted with the whole proceedings that he would never see his face again after having once resigned his sword of office to him.

Dom Estevão da Gama was, on his arrival in Portugal, received with great rejoicing, and many Court favours.

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Dom Estevão da Gama, who was the twelfth Governor of India, made an inventory of what he was worth when he assumed the reins of office, and another one when he gave them up, showing that by the transaction he was a poorer man by 40,000 crowns, the result being due to his great liberality.

He died in Portugal and his tombstone bears upon it this only epitaph, "He who made knights on Mount Sinai, ended here."

CHAPTER XVII.

Assumption of the Government by Martim Affonso de Sousa—Expedition to Bhatkal—Assignment of the Customs' Duties of Ormuz to the King of Portugal—Discovery of Japan—Invasion of Ternate by Spaniards—Amboyna taken possession of—Treaty regarding Tidore and Ternate—Conspiracy against the Adil Khan—Arrival of Dom João de Castro as Governor—Defeat of the Spaniards at Tidore—Unsuccessful Attack on Gilolo—Attack on Diu by the King of Cambay—Treaty with the Adil Khan—Defeat of the Adil Khan's Forces—Treaties with the King of Bisnagá and with King Iniza Moxá—Capture and Destruction of Broach—Defeat of an Achinese Fleet—Death of Dom João de Castro—Garcia de Sá appointed Governor—Agreement with the Queen of Bhatkal—War between Pegu and Siam—Death of Garcia de Sá.

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THE first act of the new Governor, Martim Affonso de Sousa, was to complete the equipment of all the vessels then stationed at the various ports in India with the greatest expedition. He also reduced the pay of the soldiers, a measure which created a great deal of discontent. He, however, succeeded in raising a force of 2,000 men, with which he proceeded in a fleet of seventy vessels, of various sizes, to Bhatkal, on the coast of Canara. The object of this expedition was to enforce a certain amount of tribute from the Queen of that place, and punish her for harbouring pirates in her dominions. On arriving at the port, the Governor demanded the tribute and the delivery of the pirates' ships. The Queen made several excuses in the hope of gaining time, but this artifice did not answer, as the Governor landed with a force of 1,200 men, which divided into two battalions, giving the command of one to Fernão de Sousa de Tavora, and sent vessels of light draught to proceed up the river to attack the city by sea. The Governor, marching with his force through a thick wood, was met by a body of the enemy, who, notwithstanding their gallant opposition, were driven to the gates

of the city, of which at night the Portuguese took possession. The next morning the Portuguese soldiers, whilst plundering the city, fell out among themselves as to the division of the booty, and tumult reigned supreme. The enemy, perceiving this from a neighbouring hill, fell upon them in such numbers that they fled in disorder, and took to their ships in such great haste that several were drowned. The next day a fresh attack was made, and in the end the city was burnt, the country laid waste, and so much terror caused throughout the land, that the Queen, no longer able to resist, submitted, and had to purchase peace at a much heavier sacrifice that she might previously have done.

After this Martim Affonso had to face a serious difficulty, in consequence of a great number of men quitting the service of the Crown of Portugal, in order that they might turn merchants, which, at the same time, offered greater chance of profit and less danger to life and limb. In order to check this, and taking into consideration the extensive frauds which, it was known, were habitually practised at the Custom House at Malacca, he issued orders that the duties payable at that port by strangers should be lowered, in order to encourage their trade, but that they should be raised to Portuguese. This former measure, as might be expected, gave a considerable stimulus to trade, and greatly increased the revenues of the port, but the latter took no effect, as there were plenty of means for avoiding the higher duties payable by the Portuguese, of which they, no doubt, availed themselves to the utmost extent.

In consequence of the difficulties experienced in obtaining the tribute payable by the King of Ormuz, amounting to nearly 100,000 ducats a year, and which were in arrears to the extent of 500,000 ducats, Martim Affonso, having satisfied himself of the inability of the King to pay, agreed to waive all claim to back dues in consideration of the King making over to the Portuguese the entire Customs

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duties of the port for the future, and this, owing to his straitened circumstances, he was obliged to submit to. In consideration of the King surrendering the whole of the Customs of the island of Gerun* to the King of Portugal, the latter agreed to forgive him all his outstanding debts, and, further, to allow him forty lecques, or 1,800 xerafins in gold, per annum, towards the expenses of his clothing, and 250 lecques, or 9,036 pardaos in gold for his household expenses. It was further stipulated that the Moorish officials employed in the Custom House should be permitted to retain their posts.

About this time Antonio de Mota, Francisco Zeimoto, and Antonio Peixoto, when on their way towards China, were driven by a storm to the islands of Japan, and were the first Portuguese to discover them. Here they were well received, but very few particulars of this visit have been handed down. According, however, to another account, Japan was discovered in the same year, 1542, by Fernão Mendes Pinto, who, with his two companions, Christopher Borralho and Diogo Zeimoto, went there designedly in the service of a pirate, who had taken them on board his ship after they had lost their own and were cast away.

About the end of this year, 1542, four ships arrived from Portugal, and Dom Jorge de Castro, Commander of Ternate, was at variance with the Spaniards, who, under Ruy Lopes de Vilhalobos, had invaded Portuguese territories. Vilhalobos was at Zagala, a town of Camafo, in the kingdom of Tidore, inhabited by renegade Christians, and from thence kept on a correspondence with the King of Gilolo. Dom Jorge protested against this, as he considered he was violating the recent capitulations. Vilha lobos' defence was that he either was there by force of circumstances, such as stress of weather, or that he was really within the Spanish limits. Dom Jorge, having sent an inadequate force against the Spaniards, it was repulsed,

* The ancient name of Ormuz

and then returned to Ternate. Vilhalobos went over to Gilolo, where he was well received by the King, and having fortified himself, approached towards Tidore.

Jordão de Freitas set out from Goa to succeed Dom Jorge in the command of Ternate, and take over the island of Amboyna, which had been assigned to the Portuguese by Tabarija, the King of Ternate, in gratitude for being restored to his possessions. He had been most unjustly sent as a prisoner to Goa, by Tristão de Ataide, but had recently been sent back by the Governor, Martim Affonso de Sousa, and had his Crown restored to him.

On the arrival of Jordão de Freitas at Ternate, Dom Jorge de Menezes handed the fort over to him, and he concluded a truce with Vilhalobos, in order that time might be given for both of them to consult their respective Governments, as to the position which Spain and Portugal held in those parts. This was as follows:—

"A Treaty of Peace concluded between Jordão de Freitas, &c., on behalf of H.M. the King of Portugal, and Ruy Lopes de Vilhalobos, Captain-General of the Western Islands in New Spain, on behalf of Dom Antonio de Mendonça, Viceroy and Governor of New Spain and the Islands of H.M. the Emperor, dated the 8th January, 1545.

"This Treaty to remain in force until either of the contracting parties shall otherwise decree.

"No Castillian shall enter Ternate, nor the other territories of H.M. the King of Portugal or the King of Ternate, without special permission; likewise no Portuguese shall enter Tidore, or its dependencies, without sanction. But although the Portuguese are hereby forbidden to enter Tidore without having previously obtained permission, it is not to be understood that His Majesty the King of Portugal thereby gives up the rights which he had, and has, in Tidore and its dependencies."

Meanwhile, the Governor fitted out a fleet of forty-five sail, with a force of 3,000 seamen and soldiers. The object of this expedition, which was kept as secret as

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possible, was to rob the pagoda of Tremcle, twelve miles inland from St. Thomé de Meliapore, in the kingdom of Bisnaga. In this the Governor was disappointed, as, owing to stress of weather, he was unable to carry out the projected undertaking. The Indian treasury was now at a very low ebb, so he sent word to the King of Jafanapatam, in Ceylon, either to submit and pay tribute to the King of Portugal, or prepare for war. The King, being utterly unprepared for such a contingency, was only too glad to submit, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 4,000 ducats. Martim Affonso then went to Tebelicate, near Caleconlam, and sacked some pagodas there, after which he returned to Goa, where he found four ships had arrived from Portugal during his absence. Five vessels had set out from Lisbon, but one was compelled to put back in consequence of a severe storm.

Sultan Mamud, King of Cambay, not forgetful of the death of his uncle, Bedur, aimed now at the recovery of Diu. One of the articles which Dom Garcia had agreed to with regard to Diu, was that which gave the King's subjects permission to erect a wall between their town and the Portuguese fort. The wall was being raised to such a height that it displeased Manoel de Sousa de Sepulveda, who was then captain of Diu. He therefore drove off those engaged in its erection, and pulled down what they had built of the wall. This act greatly incensed the King, who, at the instigation of Coje Zofar, commenced secretly to stir up the neighbouring princes into rebellion against the Portuguese, with the object of expelling them, not only from Diu, but from the whole of Asia.

Complications began now to take place in the neighbourhood of Goa, which demanded the close attention of the Governor. The Acede Khan having entertained designs to depose the Adil Khan, prevailed, by means of presents, upon Dom Garcia de Castro to espouse the cause of Meale Khan, the brother of the Adil Khan; whereupon the latter was very indignant, but endeavoured to

gain the Governor over to his side by liberal offers. The question with Martim Affonso de Sousa appears not to have been as to which side possessed the right, but as to which would offer the greater advantages to the Crown of Portugal in return for an espousal of his cause, and, for the time, de Sousa was disposed rather to favour Acede Khan, who offered the kingdom of Konkan, the revenue of which was over a million, and he prepared to support Meale Khan by force of arms. At the instance, however, of Pero de Faria, who pointed out the gross injustice of such a course of action, Martim Affonso changed his intentions, and secured the person of Meale Khan. Shortly afterwards, Acede Khan, who had been the promoter of this intrigue, died, but his removal did not prevent the Adil Khan from seeking vengeance on account of the wrong which it had been proposed to do him. He came down the ghauts with a powerful army, and having crushed the rebellion, he recovered for himself the kingdom of Konkan.

Fearing lest the conspiracy should again break out against him, the Adil Khan offered to make over the lands of Salsette and Bardes to the Portuguese if Martim Affonso would deliver Meale Khan up to him. Not wishing, however, to act in such a treacherous manner towards the man whose cause he had so recently proposed to support, Martim Affonso promised that, in consideration of those lands being made over to him, he would send Meale Khan away where he should not again disturb the Adil Khan. This the latter agreed to, and having fulfilled his part of the contract by making over Salsette and Bardes to the Portuguese, Martim Affonso sent Meale Khan away to Cananor, but shortly afterwards brought him back openly to Goa. In addition to making over Salsette and Bardes to the Crown of Portugal, the Adil Khan had also given Martim Affonso the vast treasure which Acede Khan had collected for the purpose of carrying out his rebellion, and which is said to have amounted to ten

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millions of ducats, of which, however, only one million came into the hands of Martim Affonso. Some accounts state that he sent about half of this amount to Portugal for his own use, but others aver that he employed a great part of it in the public service in India, besides sending some home for the King's use in Portugal.

The Adil Khan, seeing that he had been deceived, pressed Martim Affonso either to fulfil his promise of sending Meale Khan away, or to restore what had been made over to him on that condition. The Governor, however, endeavoured to temporise, and sent João Fernandez de Negreiros as an ambassador to treat with him on the subject, but the Adil Khan seized him, and all the Portuguese that accompanied him, and put them in prison, retaining them as hostages for the due fulfilment of the agreement. Martim Affonso was thus forced to comply, and gave an assurance that as soon as the season should permit he would send Meale Khan to Malacca.

In the year 1545 four small Portuguese ships were cruising about the coast of Tenasserim, and captured, among other prizes, three large vessels. The inhabitants of those parts having lodged several complaints against the Portuguese with the King of Siam, he sent out against them Heredim Mahomet, a Turk, with one of the royal galleys, four galliots, and five other rowing craft with 800 men, composed of Janizaries, Turks, Greeks, Achinese, Malabarese, and Mughals. A petty King of the neighbouring island of Pulobinor, who had recently been converted to Christianity, gave notice of the approaching danger to the Portuguese, who were thus prepared for the enemy, and defeated them with great slaughter.

The Governor dispatched the homeward-bound trading ships, when some vessels conveying his successor arrived from Portugal. Martim Affonso de Sousa governed India for three years and four months, and was the thirteenth Governor of the Portuguese dominions in the East; he had become greatly dissatisfied with his position, and was

most eager and anxious to resign it, as he saw around him only corruption and dishonesty. He had indeed on one occasion remarked that he dared not to govern India, since the men there had become so changed from truth and honour; and he had sworn that, should a successor not soon arrive, he would open the patents of succession and resign the government to whomsoever might be named therein.

On the 1st September, 1545, six ships arrived at Goa, one of which, the "São Thomé" conveyed Dom João de Castro, who had been sent out to replace Martim Affonso de Sousa in the governorship of India.

Dom João commenced his term of office by dispatching new commanders and officers to the various forts and towns, and amongst these, Bernardim de Sousa was sent to Ternate to replace Jordão de Freitas. He took thither with him King Aeiro with orders to establish him on the throne pending the receipt of definite instructions on the subject from Portugal, since the late King, Tabarija, had, on his death, bequeathed his territory to the King of Portugal.

Fernão de Sousa de Tavora, having been placed in command of an expedition against the Spaniards under Ruy Lopes de Vilhalobos, forced them to surrender at discretion, whereupon a treaty was concluded between them, under date the 4th November, 1545, according to which Ruy Lopes undertook to evacuate Tidore with all his men, and to proceed to Ternate, as a guarantee for the performance of which he undertook to hand over to Fernão de Sousa de Tavora all his artillery and amunition, and any gentlemen de Sousa might name as hostages. The artillery was to be sent to Portugal, and to be ultimately delivered to Ruy Lopes de Vilhalobos or to any person he might appoint to receive it on his behalf. Ruy Lopes and any of his followers who might wish to go to Portugal were to be conveyed there free of charge by the first trading ships leaving India in 1547. Any soldiers of Ruy Lopes who

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might wish to remain in India, in the service of the King of Portugal, were to be at liberty to do so, and these were guaranteed a free passage to India whenever they might demand it. The Castilian soldiers, being destitute, were forthwith to be provided with money for clothes and provisions; and whereas some Castilians had been lost or left behind in the Philippine Islands in 1543, Fernão de Sousa undertook to search for them, and, if found, to convey them to the fortress of Ternate.

In accordance with this treaty, the Castilians elected to make common cause with the Portuguese, and joined them in an attack upon the King of Gilolo, who had killed the rightful sovereign and usurped the throne. The attack was made by 400 Spaniards and Portuguese, and 1,500 Ternatenses, but on arrival at the fort they found it strongly fortified, and in the engagement that ensued the besiegers suffered considerably, whereupon an assault was made, but the enemy was only too well prepared for the attack, and after two days' severe fighting the Spanish and Portuguese forces retired and returned to Ternate, where Vilhalobos died. De Sousa afterwards went to India accompanied by the remainder of the Spaniards.

Coje Zofar in Cambay kept up a friendly correspondence with the Portuguese, but was at the same time endeavouring to persuade the King to shake off the foreign yoke, and to repossess himself of Diu. For this purpose he collected a large force, at the same time, however, placing more confidence in stratagem and manœuvring than in actual force of arms. He made arrangements with a certain Portuguese traitor named Ruy Freire to have the water supply of Diu poisoned, the magazine fired, and, upon a given sign, admit him into the fort. As fortune would have it, however, the plot was discovered by a Turkish female slave, and the Portuguese were put on their guard.

Dom João de Mascarenhas, Captain of Diu, made all preparations for a defence, assigning unto every man a

post, and placed an officer with thirty men in charge of each bastion. His lieutenant was entrusted with the defence of the gate with a force of twenty men, a similar number was charged with the defence of a small outwork, while he reserved to himself a force of fifty men to be held in readiness whenever their services might be most required. Coje Zofar, a Turk, who was one of the King of Cambay's captains, with a considerable force, came against the place, and with a large ship endeavoured, by means of artificial fire, to divert the attention of the defenders in a specific quarter. This device did not, however, answer, for the Portuguese commander sent Jacome Leite to seize the vessel. He fought with it for over two hours in a most plucky manner, and as the tide was ebbing he towed the ship down as far as the fortress. He not only destroyed this ship, but blew up two others, and captured several with provisions and ammunitions, which he conveyed to the fort. Coje Zofar began to rebuild the wall which had been previously pulled down by the Portuguese, a work which the latter could not hinder, though with their artillery they succeeded in killing several of the labourers engaged thereon. Coje Zofar succeeded in bringing this wall to such perfection, that he was able to place thereon sixty large cannon besides a number of smaller pieces.

The besieged continued to be extremely harassed by the enemy, the slaughter and losses on both sides being considerable. The loss of life in the fort was very considerable, owing to its smallness. The courage of the Portuguese within these walls was indomitable, considering the numbers against them, the women cheering the men in every part of the fort, and rendering valuable aid in its defence. As breaches were made in the walls, so were they repaired, the gentry and officers doing the work of soldiers and masons, and with such energy and determination that walls and bastions which were demolished at night, by the early morn were restored. Coje Zofar, finding his batteries had little or no effect on the fortress, erected opposite the

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bastion of São Thomé a very high and strongly-built fort, on the top of which he placed some extremely heavy pieces of artillery, which commanded the Portuguese position, and considerably harassed the defenders. Coje Zofar was in the act of examining a breach which the Portuguese had made in his fort, when a stray cannon-ball took off his head. This occurred on the 24th June, 1546. The body of Coje Zofar was conveyed to the tent of his son, Rume Khan, who that same night had it conveyed to Surat to be interred. Rume Khan succeeded his father, and was as ardent as his father in the wish to capture the fort. The enemy, under Rume Khan, made a general assault, and in an attack on the bastions of S. João and S. Thomé met with such a vigorous resistance, that they suffered very heavily. At length valour was compelled to give way to numbers, and the enemy entered the bastion of S. Thomé. Fury now took the place of despair among the few Portuguese who remained in the bastion, and with one mighty rush, they hurled those who had escaped the sword from the heights above into the ditches below.

Rume Khan, thinking he had incurred the displeasure of the Prophet, spent the night in prayer and fasting, and on the morrow renewed the assault. He again scaled the two bastions, but was forced to retire with a loss of 2,000 men, among the number being Juzar Khan, the cavalry general, while the Portuguese only lost seven. Again and again the enemy attacked the besieged with similar results. Dom João de Mascarenhas and Dom Pedro de Almeida, with 100 men, sallied out to capture some of the enemy's earthworks which commanded the fort. In this they were not only successful, but killed 300 Moors. Martim Botelho on another occasion went out with ten men, and put a body of the enemy to flight. The enemy still continued their daily attacks, till at last the beleaguered were reduced to sore straits, and suffering from great want, were compelled to feed upon vermin of all sorts. Ten thousand men had now joined the enemy, who made a

fresh assault on the bastion of S. João, but were compelled to retire. They had scarcely done so when the bastion blew up, and in it seventy-three men, Portuguese. Thirteen thousand of the enemy attacked the breach they had made, five Portuguese withstood their onslaught for some time, when Mascarenhas arrived with reinforcements and held the enemy in check until evening, when, owing to darkness, they were compelled to retire. The whole night was spent in repairing the damage sustained to the defensive works.

The enemy, owing to their vast numbers, were able to continue their attacks on the fort, and Rume Khan had again recourse to mining operations, without, however, much success, as Dom João, perceiving their tactics, countermined their work, blowing up their own mines and killing numbers of them.

The enemy had now lost over 5,000 men, and the besieged 200, and the latter had but the same number left, only half of whom were capable of undertaking any duties, when Dom Alvaro arrived with reinforcements of 400 men and a large supply of ammunition, having on the voyage captured a richly-laden ship from Cambay. The joy of the besieged at this unexpected relief was soon dispelled, for Dom Alvaro's men, fearing the mines, suggested meeting the enemy in the open. On the Governor declining to meet their wishes, they broke out into open mutiny. Dom João, finding himself utterly helpless, and seeing the danger of perishing in the fort at the hands of his own men, chose rather to die on the field among his enemies, so with 500 men, in three battalions, he sallied out to face them. Having gained their advance-posts, he forced the enemy to retire to their works. The enemy speedily returned in greater numbers, and rushing on the Portuguese, compelled them to retire in disorder. The enemy would on this occasion have captured the fort, had not Mascarenhas with his usual courage valiantly opposed Mojate Khan and his 5,000 men, who attempted to enter

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the bulwark of S. Thomé. The result of this disobedience was a loss of sixty men killed, amongst whom were Dom Francisco de Menezes, Dom Francisco de Almeida, and others, besides Dom Alvaro de Castro, who was mortally wounded in the head.

The siege of Diu had now (the beginning of November, 1546) lasted eight months, when Dom João de Castro equipped a large fleet for the relief of the city.

This fleet consisted of over ninety sail, besides three ships which had just arrived from Portugal. The Governor had already proceeded to Bassein, there to await the arrival of the ships, and in the meantime he sent Dom Manoel de Lima to scour the coast. On the coast of Daman, Lima captured several Moorish vessels. In the Surat river, after a fierce battle, he destroyed all that part of the town known as the Ethiopian portion. He also did the same with the city of Ansote, where he spared no one; and having treated other neighbouring towns in a similar way, Dom Manoel de Lima withdrew, leaving universal and widespread terror all along those shores.

The appearance of this large fleet off Diu, on the 7th November, 1546, evidently had a considerable moral effect upon the enemy, although they had but recently been reinforced by 5,000 fresh troops. The Governor landed the following night with his men at the fort, and at once held a council, at which it was decided to sally forth and engage the enemy in the following manner: Dom João de Mascarenhas, the captain of the fortress, with 500 men, was to lead the van, Dom Alvaro to command a like number, and Dom Manoel de Lima another 500 men. The Governor was to lead the remainder, numbering about 1,000, besides a body of Indians. The fort was left in charge of Antonio Correa, with 200 men, and the Governor promised to give 1,000 cruzados to the first man who succeeded in storming the enemy's works, 500 to the second, and 300 to the third, besides a step in

promotion to each. The Governor arranged to place 200 Canarese in the van of the attack, so that should the enemy have laid any mines, they would be the victims. On this becoming known to the noblemen they were highly indignant, and said to the Governor: "The honour of the deed is measured by the risk the men run. If the Canarese are placed in the van of the Portuguese, they will deserve the greater honour and glory. There is not one man among us who would not risk even seven lives and be to the forefront of the fray." This speech so pleased the Governor, that he decided to leave the Canarese troops in the fortress.

At break of day on the 10th November, 1546, this small army marched out to attack the large force of the enemy, who were strongly entrenched and well provided with cannon. The Portuguese charged the overwhelming forces with such dash and bravery that they reached the enemy's works, which they scaled with heavy loss. Dom João Mascarenhas and Dom Alvaro de Castro together captured a bulwark on which they twice planted the Portuguese colours, which were as often cut down. In the end, however, the Portuguese, cheered and encouraged by the Governor, pressed forward with such determination that the enemy were compelled to give way. The Portuguese having entered the enemy's works, were again attacked by Rume Khan with the whole body of his army, which, after a hot engagement, retired pell-mell, leaving the Portuguese masters of the field.

Rume Khan, having been joined by the forces of Juzur Khan, whom Mascarenhas had worsted, the Governor marched from the works to attack him, giving the command of the van to his son, Dom Alvaro. After a stubborn resistance, Rume Khan was put to flight, but he rallied his men and compelled the Portuguese to retire in great disorder. Once more the Portuguese returned to the charge, this time with such fury that, having done in-

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credible execution, they drove the enemy into the city, where they put to the sword men, women, and children, without discrimination or mercy.

Rume Khan and his officers again rallied their forces, and appeared once more on the field with 8,000 men, consisting of Rumes, Coracanes, Abexis, and Guzerattis. A bloody fight ensued, in which the enemy were routed with a loss of the royal standard and of 5,000 killed and wounded. Among the number being Rume Khan, Acede Khan, Lucan, and other chiefs. The Portuguese, who lost 100 men, captured from the enemy much booty, many standards, 200 pieces of cannon, which included forty pieces of extraordinary dimensions, and a large quantity of ammunition.

The King of Cambay was so enraged at his loss that he caused twenty-eight Portuguese prisoners to be torn to pieces in his presence.

A few days after the departure of Martim Affonso de Sousa, the Adil Khan had some differences with the new Governor over a contract which his predecessor had made with him, which was to the following effect: De Sousa had sent Galvão Viegas, Alcalde-mor of Chaul, to the Adil Khan to ask him for the sum of 50,000 pardaos in gold, in exchange for which he undertook to hand over Meale Khan, who was then in Goa under the protection of the King of Portugal. The Acede Khan duly sent for Meale Khan, who was heir to the Adil Khan's dominions, but Dom João de Castro refused to give him up, and the Adil Khan in consequence broke off friendly relations with the Portuguese. As the Governor feared lest matters might culminate in hostilities, he made his soldiers go through their drills in sight of the Adil Khan's forces on the mainland. He greatly increased and improved the army, and sent a message to the Adil Khan to the effect that if he was determined to come against Goa, he would have the roads cleared and have bridges constructed, in order that his passage might be facilitated.

The lascars in the Portuguese service, seeing that the Governor was in every way preparing for war, became quite elated, and bought themselves guns and other arms, those who had no money even selling their cloaks to obtain them.

The Adil Khan, seeing all the preparations that were being made against him, and finding that the Governor was not to be bribed, sent to request that terms of peace might be agreed upon between them. This Dom João de Castro agreed to, and accordingly, on the 26th February, 1546, a treaty was concluded between the Governor and Adil Khan as follows:—

"Whereas there have been differences between me (the Adil Khan) and Dom João de Castro, Captain Mor and Governor of India, respecting the affairs of Meale Khan, Prince of Balagate, and in order to preserve the peace which has so long subsisted between myself, the Adil Khan, and the most powerful King of Portugal, we have agreed to the following:

"I, Adil Khan, swear by the 'Moçafo'* to be a perpetual friend of the King of Portugal, and confirm hereby the gift to his Majesty of the territories of Salsette and Bardes, and promise faithfully never to make war against them, and also promise never to refer again to the money I paid to the Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa, which money was the property of the Acede Khan.

"Dom João de Castro hereby promises to hold as a prisoner the said Meale Khan and his family, and also undertakes that no person of the Deccan, nor of the Niza Maluco, nor of the King of Bisnagá, nor of the Malabar territories, nor of the Kingdoms of Cambay, shall either speak to, or have any correspondence with, them until the Embassy I am about to send to Portugal returns with a reply.

"Dom João de Castro also agrees to supply the Adil Khan with the same quantity of lead and sulphur which

* Probably meant for "Mustafa," a name or title of Mohammed.

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previous Governors supplied, and exempts him from the payment of duty on twelve horses annually, besides the duty on merchandise up to the value of 2,000 pardaos."

It will be observed that in this treaty no condition was inserted relative to Meale Khan in connection with the surrender of Salsette and Bardes to the King of Portugal, as had been the case in the treaties on the subject formerly concluded with Martim Affonso de Sousa.

Whilst the Governor was giving his attention to the repair of the fortress at Diu, Dom Manoel de Lima was again sent to scour the sea of Cambay with thirty ships, and to destroy all the towns on that coast. The city of Gogo, one of the chief towns in that kingdom, fell an easy prey to him, the inhabitants flying to the mountains. Lima plundered and burnt the city, and pursuing the people, found them at night at a place about a league off, and put them all to the sword. The city of Gandar and several other towns met with a like fate, as well as a number of ships which he captured along the coast of Broach.

Great was the joy at Goa on receipt of the news of the victory at Diu, which was conveyed there on the 15th November, 1546, by Simão Alvares, a Goanese chemist, in a fusta, which also conveyed Dom Alvaro de Castro, the Governor's son, who was very ill. He also carried with him the royal standard which had been taken in the Rume Khan's tent. By him also the Governor sent a request for a loan of 20,000 pardaos wherewith to pay the army, sending as security for the same a lock of his whiskers. The city returned him the lock with great respect and sent him more money than he asked for, the women having assisted in raising the amount by giving their jewels and ornaments for that purpose. The Governor punctually repaid all, having been supplied with the means of doing so from the proceeds of a valuable capture of a Cambay ship made by Antonio Moniz Barreto on the coast of Mangalor.

The fort of Diu was repaired, 500 men being left in it

as a garrison. Dom Jorge de Menezes was left with six ships to guard the coast, and the Governor sailed on the 11th of April, 1547, for Goa, where he arrived on the 19th of the same month, and was received with great demonstrations, and carried in procession through the streets with a laurel wreath on his head. Juzur Khan and other prisoners in chains followed, and the Governor was besprinkled by women from the windows with flowers and sweet waters. When the account of this victory and triumph reached Portugal, the Queen Catherine is said to have remarked that Dom João de Castro "had overcome like a Christian and triumphed like a heathen."

Scarce were the festivities over when the Governor sent Diogo de Almeida, with a force of 300 horse and 400 foot soldiers, to drive out from the provinces of Salsette and Bardes some troops with which those territories had been occupied by the Adil Khan, because the Portuguese had not fulfilled the conditions upon which those provinces had been made over to them.

The enemy, who were assembled 4,000 strong at a place called Colem, fled at the news of the approach of the Portuguese, so that the territories were recovered without a single sword being drawn. The Adil Khan, however, again sent the same troops to invade these territories; but this time with an additional 9,000 men and a company of renegade Portuguese, commanded by a certain Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho, who, flying from the just punishment of his crimes, had entered the enemy's army. Diogo de Almeida marched against the enemy with the same force as before; but owing to superiority of numbers, was forced to abandon what he had acquired. Thereupon, the Governor, with Francisco de Melo and about 1,500 men, went to his assistance, when the enemy, though numerically considerably stronger, on receiving advices of the Portuguese advance, retired to the fort of Pondá. The Portuguese pursued them, and, after a stubborn fight, the enemy was completely routed, and fled.

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In order, apparently, to defend himself against similar incursions into the territories of Salsette and Bardes by the forces of the Adil Khan, the Governor now concluded treaties with the King of Bisnagá, and with the King Iniza Moxá. These were both concluded in Goa. The former, dated the 19th September, 1547, stipulated that the King of Bisnagá should be permitted to take from the city of Goa all the horses that might arrive there for him from Persia and Arabia, none of which were, however, to be permitted to be sent to the Adil Khan; neither was he to allow any provisions or supplies to be sent from his territories, or from the kingdom of Bengnapor to the territories of the Adil Khan. The treaty with Iniza Moxá was dated the 6th October, 1547, and, in accordance with the terms thereof, there was to be friendship between him and the Portuguese, who were to help each other, when necessary, against all the Kings of India, with the exception of the King of Bisnagá. The Governor of India also bound himself not to make peace with the Adil Khan without previously giving notice of the same to Iniza Moxá.

Dom Jorge de Menezes had been left with a fleet to watch the coast of Cambay, but, as he was of opinion that he could render better service on land than by sea, he left Bassein on the 1st September, 1547, with four fustas and six catures, making in all ten sail, and proceeded to the River Broach, where he captured two small vessels, and obtained information from their crews that the city of Broach was not properly defended, as the captain and garrison had gone to the King, and that if the town were attacked at once it could be easily captured. Dom Jorge thereupon decided to act at once, and with a mixed force of 600, divided into three squadrons, he proceeded to the town one night, and, taking the inhabitants by surprise, he put all he found there to the sword. The city was then plundered and afterwards totally destroyed by fire. The cannon which could not be carried away were ren-

dered useless, and after this action Dom Jorge assumed the name of "Broach" in addition to his own.

The Governor, having been informed that the King of Cambay was projecting another attack on Diu with a larger force than ever, prepared a fleet of 160 sail for the relief of that place, for which purpose he had again to abtain an advance from the city of Goa. This fleet proceeded first to Bassein, and on arriving at Broach perceived that the King of Cambay had covered the plains with a force of 150,000 men and eighty cannon. This formidable array of fighting men was in the form of a semicircle, and covered a league of ground round the city. Dom João de Castro, the Governor, boldly landed, not only to show the enemy that he did not fear them, but also with the intention of attacking them. His most experienced officers, however, dissuaded him from such a course, pointing out the foolhardiness of attacking such a large force of 150,000 with only 3,000 men. Against his will he submitted to the advice of his elders and went on to Diu, giving the command of that fort to Luiz Falcão, in place of Dom João de Mascarenhas, who was returning to Portugal. The Governor sailed along the coast of Por and Mongalor, burning and destroying the beautiful cities of Pate and Patane, together with the vessels in those ports. He did the same to Dabhol, and then returned to Goa, laden with a rich booty taken at those places, and was received amid demonstrations of great joy by the inhabitants. Calabate Khan, a general of the Adil Khan, having again occupied the lands of Salsette and Bardes, the Governor now went to meet him with 1,500 horse and 4,000 foot soldiers, but the enemy retired at once, on their approach, to the mountains of Colem, leaving their tents and baggage behind. The Portuguese followed them, whereupon the enemy returned and a fierce battle ensued, in which Calabate Khan was killed, and the Adil Khan's troops having suffered heavy losses, soon afterwards retreated.

CHAP. XVII. A.D. 1547.

Some little time before these events had taken place, F. Antonio del Padron (the first commissary of S. Francisco in India), with some companions, had arrived in Ceylon, and succeeded in making many converts to the Christian faith. Frei Pascalis, one of the number, was so well received by the King Javira Pandor, of Kandy, that he desired to become a Christian, but being deterred from embracing that faith through fear of his subjects rebelling, desired the assistance of the Governor in the event of a revolt, and Antonio Mouiz Barreto was accordingly sent for the purpose. In the meanwhile the King of Cotta convinced Javira that as soon as he had become a Christian the Portuguese would deprive him of his kingdom. Javira now resolved to kill all the Portuguese sent to his assistance, but in order the better to give effect to this resolution, he still pretended he was of the same mind in the matter.

Barreto (it is not known by what means) got wind of the King's designs, and perceiving it more dangerous to return to the ships than to go on to Sita-wacca, the King of which place was his friend, caused the 120 men he had landed to burn all superfluous baggage, &c., and set out on the march. For three days they marched, fighting their way so successfully that they reached Sita-wacca without the loss of a single man.

That irreconcilable enemy of the Portuguese, the King of Achin, had about this period sent a fleet of sixty sail against Malacca, and in this fleet no less than 5,000 men, amongst whom were 500 Orobalones, commonly called wearers of "gold bracelets"; but the best men were those composing the regiment of Turks and Janizaries, commanded by a brave Moor. The enemy landed at Malacca at night, but found nothing but some geese, which the Moor conveyed to his Prince as a proof of his having landed. The geese, however, alarmed the inhabitants, who were thus put on their guard, and the enemy dare not attack them, but embarked and retired, after

CHAP. XVII. A.D. 1547.

having burnt two Portuguese vessels which were on the point of sailing. The enemy, when off Malacca, captured seven fishermen, and having cut off their noses, ears, and feet, sent them to the commander, Simão de Mello, with a challenge written in the blood of these unfortunate victims. The challenge was disregarded, as the force there was insufficient with which to attack the enemy with any prospect of success. But St. Francis Xavier, who was at Malacca at the time, being unable to persuade the Governor to alter his decision, prevailed on some merchants to fit out eight small vessels that were in the port to go in pursuit of the hostile fleet, prophesying at the same time that two galliots would arrive in time to assist them in the enterprise. A little before the predicted time these two galliots, which were bound for Patani, put into Malacca. They proved to be two vessels commanded by Diogo Soares de Mello, called the "Gallego," and by his son Balthasar de Mello, whom St. Francis soon persuaded to take a part in the projected pursuit of the Achinese. Everything being in readiness, Dom Francisco de Eça, with ten ships and 230 men, sailed out in search of the Achinese. They were on the point of returning home after a fruitless search of two months' duration, when they came across them in the River Parles one Sunday morning. A desperate fight ensued, in which the Portuguese behaved with great bravery and earned a complete victory. They killed 4,000 of the enemy, sank several of their ships, and captured the remainder, with 300 cannon and nearly 1,000 muskets. The Portuguese losses were but twenty-five men killed, some say only four.

On the 3rd of September of this year, 1547, five ships arrived at Goa from Lisbon; six having sailed from Portugal, but of this number only five reached their destination, as one had to be abandoned at Angoxa, an island in the Mozambique Channel.

The Governor signalised the commencement of this year by a complete destruction of the coast ports subject

CHAP. XVII.

A.D. 1548.

to the dominion of the Adil Khan. He had the same fleet as before, and commenced operations in January in the River Chapora, about two leagues from Goa, where he spared no living being, burning and slaughtering all he met with as far as the city of Dabhol, which was reduced to ashes, the inhabitants having fled with the greater portion of their belongings at his approach. From Dabhol he proceeded in the same manner as far as the River Cifardão, which divides this kingdom from that of Melique.

The King of Campar, who had taken Aden from the Turks and was now being menaced by them, sought the assistance of the Portuguese, at the same time offering to submit himself to the King of Portugal. Dom Payo de Noronha was therefore dispatched by the Captain of Ormuz to his aid, with men and supplies in three small ships, whereupon Solyman Bashaw, who had hanged the King and usurped the supreme power, received him well, and surrendered to him the city and fortress, on the understanding that he would help him against the Rumes. As Dom Payo de Noronha had only a small force at his disposal, he sent one of his ships to Ormuz to ask for reinforcements. In the meanwhile, however, the Rumes, with a large fleet, arrived one night in such numbers that the Portuguese left the fortress and took to their ships. The Rumes, on hearing that the Portuguese had deserted the city, captured it with the greatest ease, and drove Solyman inland.

On the receipt in Lisbon of the news of the victory at Diu, the King resolved to dispatch a larger fleet than usual, and to honour Dom João de Castro with many favours. This fleet, under the command of Belchior de Sá, arrived at Goa on the 22nd May, 1548, and it carried dispatches from the King, appointing Dom João de Castro Governor of India for another three years with the rank of Viceroy, and a gratuity of 10,000 cruzados.

His son, Dom Alvaro, was also appointed admiral of

the Indian seas. Dom João was dying when the news of the King's favours reached him, and he soon afterwards expired in the presence of Francisco de São Paulo, and of two friars of the order of S. Francisco, on the 6th day of June, 1548, in the forty-eighth year of his age. He was buried in the church of S. Francisco, but in the year 1576 his remains were conveyed to Portugal and laid in the church of Bemfica, situated on a hill not far from Lisbon.

Dom João governed without permitting himself to be overruled by pride as others did before and after him. He asked nothing for himself as a superior, and only valued men according to their merit, and not from fancy. He was the fourteenth ruler of India, and may be considered as having been the fourth Viceroy, and first of the name.

It seems fitting that some mention should here be made of Dom João de Castro's descent and earlier career. He was born in 1500 and was a son of Alvaro de Castro, Governor of the Chancery, and of Donna Leonor de Noronha, daughter of Dom João de Almeida, Count of Abrantes. In his youth he served in Tangiers, and afterwards under the Emperor Charles the Fifth in the Tunis Expedition, on which occasion he refused his share of a present of money that Prince made to the Portuguese officers, saying that "he served the King of Portugal, and of him alone he expected a reward." After this, he commanded a fleet on the coast, and was dispatched with another one to the relief of Ceuta.

When the Viceroy, Dom João de Noronha, went to India, Dom João de Castro was captain of one of his ships. Just as he was stepping aboard, the King offered him the command of Ormuz and 1,000 ducats per annum. He accepted the latter because he was a poor man, but refused the former, saying "He had not yet deserved it." He accompanied Dom Estevão da Gama to Suez, and having returned to Portugal, he lived in retirement in Cintra, where he gave himself up entirely to his studies,

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until, on the recommendation of the Infante Dom Luiz, he was sent to India as Governor.

A.D. 1548.

The first patent of succession, which was opened after the death of Dom João de Castro, disclosed the name of Dom João de Mascarenhas, who, after the long siege of Diu, had departed for Lisbon to seek the reward which he now missed in India. The second name was that of Dom Jorge Tello, and he also was absent. The third on the list was Garcia de Sá, a person who was well acquainted with Indian affairs. Directly he assumed the reins of government he gave sufficient proof of his zeal for the public service, and dispensed much liberality in order to gain the hearts of the soldiers, who were greatly dejected in consequence of the reduction in their pay.

Garcia de Sá received ambassadors from the Adil Khan, with whom he concluded a treaty of peace, much to the advantage of the Portuguese.

On the 6th of August, 1548, eleven ships arrived from Portugal, which brought to India the first Fathers of the Dominicans, who had been sent to found a convent of their Order at Goa. These fathers were six in number, their chief being Frey Diogo Bernardez, a Spaniard, a very learned and pious man.

The Governor sent Martim Correa da Silva to Diu, and having dispatched home the trading vessels of that year, he sailed for Bassein with a fleet of thirty ships, with the intention of obtaining some advantage over the King of Cambay. In this, however, he was disappointed; but he had the satisfaction of receiving advices, whilst there, to the effect that the King of Tanur had become converted, and desired assistance against such as might rebel against him for changing his religion. The Governor sent his nephew and namesake, Garcia de Sá, with 300 men to aid the King of Tanur.

About this time, the Governor also received the ambassadors from the Zamorin, Canara, Nizamaluco, Cotamaluco, and other Princes who wished to ratify former

treaties of peace. Finally, Sultan Mamud, King of Cambay, made overtures, being tired of his ill successes, and he also agreed to terms of peace. CHAP. XVII.

On account of the short tenure of his office, very little has been handed down of the proceedings of Garcia de Sá in India. He would appear to have adopted a conciliatory tone towards the Adil Khan, since he concluded a contract with him, under date the 22nd August, 1548, under which the latter undertook to release all Portuguese captives then detained by him, and renewed the declaration that the territories of Salsette and Bardes were to be the property of the King of Portugal for ever. It was also stipulated that, in the event of the Rumes sending a fleet against the Portuguese, the Adil Khan should help them with men and supplies, which were, however, to be furnished at the expense of the Portuguese. A.D. 1548.

Garcia de Sá also entered into an agreement with the Queen of Bhatkal, at Goa, on the 17th September, 1548, under which the latter undertook to pay the tribute annually to the King of Portugal, and also to pay the amounts due on account of past years. The Queen, under this agreement, was not to permit any pirate fleets to leave the territories of the Pondis, Calatore, or Bhatkal. In the event of pirates arriving at these places from other parts they were to be seized, and, failing this being done, the Queen was to pay the Portuguese the amount of any damage and loss they might in consequence suffer.

The spiritual conquests at this time are stated to have been most successful. Xavier erected many churches and converted many people, besides two Kings and a multitude of people in Malacca. Antonio Gomes, a preacher, converted the King of Tanur with his Queen and children. The former, desiring to see the offices of the Church performed with due solemnity, and to be confirmed by the bishop, went to Goa, where he was received with great pomp, and from whence he departed greatly satisfied, promising to compel his subjects to follow his example.

CHAP. XVII. A.D. 1548.

This year, 1548, a war broke out between Pegu and Siam, all through a white elephant. The King of Siam possessed such an animal, which was coveted by all the Princes of the East. The King of Pegu claimed it by reason of his superiority in rank, but the King of Siam refused to give it up, not so much for its value, as from the insulting tenor of the demand. The King of Pegu entered the dominions of Siam and reduced the King of Siam to sue for peace on any terms. A treaty was concluded, whereby the King of Pegu agreed to marry the daughter of the King of Siam, and have a Siamese noblewoman, as an acknowledgment of his superiority every year. The latter condition not being fulfilled, the King returned with an army of 1,500,000 men, 4,000 elephants, and an enormous retinue, including Diogo Soares de Mello and 180 Portuguese. His advance was disputed by the Siamese at a very narrow pass near the River Menam, but the pass was forced by Diogo Soares with 30,000 men, after some severe fighting, in which both sides suffered considerable loss. With his large force, the King of Pegu appeared before the city of Odia (? Ajudhja), in which the King of Siam held his Court, and which was protected by an army of 60,000 men with 4,000 cannon. There were also in the city of Odia fifty Portuguese under the command of Diogo Pereira. The bombardment of, and general attack on, the city was carried on for some time, but with no avail. The King of Pegu, finding he could do nothing against these brave defenders, and having in vain attempted to bribe Diogo Pereira to betray the place to him, marched his force to the city of Camambee, where the King of Siam kept his treasure. This place was also strongly fortified, and defended by a force of 20,000 men. After many fruitless attempts to capture this city, the vast Pegu army was compelled to retire without having accomplished anything.

The inhabitants of Chinchew, the second Portuguese settlement in China, were now in a very flourishing con-

dition, and seemed quite to have forgotten the fate of Liampo. Ayres Coelho de Sousa, who had been appointed judge in that place, greatly altered the state of affairs. Being of an avaricious turn of mind, he made use of his office to rob everyone, and having appropriated moneys belonging to some native merchants, he provoked the Chinese to do the same there as they had done at Liampo, viz., raze the town and destroy the inhabitants. Of 500 Portuguese in the place, only thirty escaped, and these fled to the island of Lampazau (? Lao-yan-than). Later on, in 1557, they obtained permission from the Chinese Government to settle in the island of Gaoxam, where they founded the city of Macao.

The Governor was suddenly called to his rest about the beginning of July, 1549, after having filled the office of Governor for only one year and a month.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Jorge Cabral appointed Governor—League against the King of Cochin, who was Aided by the Portuguese—Return of Jorge Cabral to Portugal—Dom Affonso de Noronha Appointed Governor—Institution of a Council to Assist and Advise the Governor—Expedition to Bussora—Attack on Gilolo—Attack on Malacca—Disturbances in Ceylon—Capture of Muskat by the Turks—Defeat of the Turkish Fleet—Arrival of Luiz de Camoens in India—Treaty with the King of Pimienta—Appointment of Dom Pero de Mascarenhas as Viceroy—Return of Dom Affonso de Noronha to Lisbon—Death of Dom Pero de Mascarenhas, who is Succeeded by Francisco Barreto as Governor—Meale Khan proclaimed King of Visapur—Disturbances in Ceylon—Expedition to Sind—Destruction of Dabhol—Deposition of the Commander of Ternate—Francisco Barreto Succeeded by Dom Constantino de Braganza as Viceroy.

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A.D. 1549.

On the patents of succession being opened the first person named as Governor was Jorge Cabral, who not long before had taken over the command of Bassein. He at once proceeded to Goa, and assumed charge of the Government, on the 11th August, 1549, and appointed his brother-in-law, Gaspar Fialho, to succeed him at Bassein. No sooner had he entered upon his office than reports were received at Goa to the effect that the Turks were fitting out a fleet of 100 sail at Suez, with the intention of invading India. The Governor at once made all the necessary preparations for resisting the attack, and instructed the captains of the various towns to hold themselves in readiness.

The Zamorin and the King of Pimienta were now joined in a league against the King of Cochin, a league which threatened the latter State with dangerous consequences. The Governor set out with a fleet of ninety sail, but, as the season was unfavourable, he did nothing beyond conferring with the King of Cochin as to the best way of defending himself against these two enemies.

On the weather changing, the King of Pimienta, with a force of 10,000 Nairs, took the field at Bardela (an island and capital of the kingdom of Pimienta), the King of Cochin doing the same with his men, assisted by a force of 600 Portuguese. The two contending armies coming to close quarters fought desperately, and after several courageous charges, the King of Pimienta was carried off the field mortally wounded, and died before the battle was decided. On his death becoming known, his troops fled in great disorder, and were pursued into the city with great slaughter. The palace was burned, and this being considered the worst offence that could be offered, the enemy rallied their forces once more, and fell on their adversaries with such fury and determination that they forced them to retire in great disorder, with a loss of over fifty killed to the Portuguese.

Five thousand Nairs, all sworn to avenge the death of their King, now entered the territory of Cochin, killing a large number and compelling others to seek refuge in the fortress, then commanded by Anrique de Sousa, who marched out and defeated the Nairs with a heavy loss. The joy at this success was soon dispelled by the arrival of the Zamorin and the Princes of Malabar, with a force of 140,000 men. The Zamorin, with 100,000 men, encamped at Chembe, ordering the other Princes (eighteen in number, including the King of Tanur, lately a friend of the Portuguese, but now an enemy), with the remaining 40,000 men, to occupy the island of Bardela. The Governor, Jorge Cabral, on being informed of this state of affairs, made all necessary preparations for the impending storm by sending Manoel de Sousa e Sepulveda with four ships to Cochin, and, having joined the vessels there, to blockade the island until he should arrive. Sepulveda having sailed, the Governor soon followed with a fleet of 100 ships, and nearly 4,000 fighting men, besides seamen. The first place they called at was Tiracole (? Trikolum), a seaport between Calicut and Cannanore, which was reduced

CHAP. XVIII.

to ashes. Coulete (in the kingdom of Calicut) and Ponani suffered the same fate, after a vigorous resistance.

A.D. 1550.

The Governor, who landed at Cochin with a force of 6,000 men (he having been joined by 2,000 men whilst there), found the King of Cochin had collected an army of 40,000 men. These forces having joined, a signal for an attack on the enemy was made, when those on the island showed a flag of truce. The Governor came to the conclusion that those eighteen Princes were prepared to surrender upon their lives being spared. Finding, however, that they delayed in giving themselves up, he determined to attack them the next day. The next day came, and with it a flood which prevented him from executing his plans. As the enemy found themselves completely surrounded by such a large force, the King of Tanur sent a message to the Governor to the effect that he wished to be on peaceful terms with the Portuguese. Many days were wasted in negotiations, and as the King's object evidently was to gain time by delay, the Governor determined to attack the island the following day, viz., 29th November, 1550; but just as all was in readiness, a vessel arrived with orders from the new Viceroy, Dom Affonso de Noronha, to stay all proceedings. The result of this was that those eighteen Princes and their whole army were suffered to escape.

St. Francis Xavier, perceiving how many enterprises were spoilt through the malice and jealousy of the Governors, wrote a letter to the King, in which he pointed out the evils arising therefrom, and recommended his Majesty to meet such actions with severe punishments. This letter was, however, ignored, as a good many others had been.

In Ceylon, Madune Pandar had risen up against the King of Cotta, whom he was besieging, whereupon the King requested assistance from the Portuguese, in return for which he offered to increase the amount of his tribute to the King of Portugal. At the same time also Caralea

Pandar, Prince of Kandy, sought aid from the Governor, as he had been obliged to seek refuge from his subjects in the fort, in consequence of having turned Christian. In reply to these requests, the Governor sent Dom Jorge de Castro to Ceylon with 600 men, and no sooner did he appear before Cotta than Madune Pandar at once raised the siege and retired. The King of Cotta and Dom Jorge followed him, but he had so strongly fortified the passes that his pursuers had to fight their way through them against strong opposition; ultimately the two armies met, and after a sanguinary encounter, the Madune was defeated, and he thereupon fled to the mountains.

After this, Dom Jorge went to assist the Prince of Kandy, but was caught by the enemy in a narrow pass, where he found himself surrounded by 40,000 men. After a valiant fight against such an overwhelming force he was obliged to retire with the loss of 800 men, half of whom were Portuguese.

Having sent Christovam de Sá to succeed Bernaldim de Sousa at the Moluccas, Jorge Cabral returned to Lisbon, after having held the office of Governor for sixteen months. Jorge Cabral had been brought up in India, and was very experienced in all Indian matters. He was extremely zealous in looking after the King's treasure, and has been accounted one of the best Governors of the Portuguese eastern dominions.

Dom Affonso de Noronha, the new Viceroy, who was removed from the governorship of Ceuta to that of India, had more favours bestowed on him than any of his predecessors.

He left Lisbon with four ships on the 1st March, 1550, and arrived at Cochin in November following, where he was received with the usual demonstrations of joy on such occasions. With his appointment the powers of the Viceroys and Governors were somewhat curtailed, as the King now appointed a council to advise and assist them in all matters of the administration.

CHAP. XVIII.

A.D. 1550-51.

On his arrival, Don Affonso immediately dispatched new commanders to the various stations, and sent Luiz Figueira to the Red Sea with five ships. Here Figueira fell in with five galliots of Cafar's, which he attacked with great gallantry, but lost his life in the engagement. The captains of the other four ships stood looking on and saw him killed, never once making an attempt to assist him. One of them, Gaspar Nunes, was so ashamed of his conduct that he, with the whole of his crew went to Ethiopia, and were never more heard of. The other three returned to Goa in disgrace.

The Arabs of El Katiff, a fortress opposite Ormuz, delivered up the fort to the Turks, an act which highly offended the King of Ormuz. The Turks had also expelled from his kingdom the King of Bussora, who, however, still had at his disposal a force of 30,000 men, and had hopes of recovering his kingdom with the assistance of the Portuguese. He therefore sent a message to the Viceroy, asking for assistance and offering him in exchange permission to build a fortress in the harbour of Bussora, and other concessions greatly to the advantage of the Portuguese Crown.

The Governor, therefore, sent his nephew Dom Antonio de Noronha with nineteen vessels and 1,200 men to the assistance of these two Kings. On reaching Ormuz, he marched with 3,000 of the King's men to the fort of El Katiff, then garrisoned by a force of 400 Turks, who, although they defended themselves bravely, evacuated the place in the dead of night, but were the next day pursued and routed. The fort was then taken, but the Captain of Ormuz not daring to maintain it, it was blown up; the work was, however, executed in such a careless manner that forty Portuguese were buried in the *débris.*

Noronha then sailed to the mouth of the Euphrates, in order to relieve the King of Bussora. On his arrival here he was persuaded by a cunning Bashaw that he had only been sent for in order that he might fall into the King of

Bussora's hands, whereupon he returned to Ormuz, and only discovered the deceit that had been practised on him when it was too late.

The Viceroy had sent Dom Jorge de Menezes to the command of Ternate, at the request of the King of that place, who could not put up with Jordão de Freitas, who had been sent a prisoner to Goa. The state of affairs in Malacca, however, prevented Dom Jorge de Menezes from proceeding thither. Bernaldim de Sousa had scarcely resigned the command of the Moluccas to Christovam de Sá, than he returned with orders to remain there a little longer, in case the Spaniards should make any encroachments in the neighbourhood. Christovam de Sá refused to admit him, saying the Spaniards were now very peacefully disposed, and that Bernaldim de Sousa's orders were purely conditional. De Sousa, however, insisted, and in order to prevent any mischief, de Sá at last gave way. Bernaldim de Sousa immediately set out with a force of 180 Portuguese soldiers to Gilolo, with the object of destroying a fortress which was being erected at that place. The King of Ternate and the Prince of Batjan followed with an army of 5,000 men.

The King of Gilolo, with 1,200 men and a large quantity of cannon, awaited with confidence the arrival of the enemy. Balthasar Velloso, who led the van, was unexpectedly attacked by a force under the Prince of Gilolo, which lay in ambush, and, though this sudden onslaught disconcerted him for the moment, Velloso, who was a man of over seventy years of age, defended himself with such courage, and, afterwards, with his troops did such execution, that the enemy were compelled to retire in great disorder.

Bernaldim de Sousa was also severely attacked, but having defeated his enemies and driven them into the fortress, he laid siege to the place. He cut off the water supply, and after a siege of three months he compelled the enemy to capitulate and agree to a Treaty of Peace

CHAP. XVIII. A.D. 1550.

on such hard terms that the King was compelled to give up his royal title and be styled governor, and pay a tribute. The Portuguese entered the fortress in his presence, committing many barbarous enormities, and levelled it to the ground. It is no small credit to the defenders of Gilolo to say that they gallantly held out for four days after their provisions had been exhausted. The losses before and during the siege amounted to 300 killed, of which number eighteen were Portuguese; the number of wounded being greater still. The King of Gilolo died from grief, and his son Cachilguzarate succeeded him.

Bernaldim de Sousa being uneasy about the fortress of Tidor, proceeded thither, and the King of that place, fearing greater damage and losses, agreed to its being demolished.

Sultan Halandim, the King whom Pedro de Mascarenhas had expelled from Bantam, and Dom Estevam da Gama had expelled from Ujantana, resolved now to try his fortune against Malacca. This King was very powerful at sea, but obtained, nevertheless, the assistance of the Kings of Pera, Pahang, and Marruaz, besides that of the Queen of Japara, in the island of Java. About the beginning of June, 1550, these combined fleets, numbering over 200 sail, put to sea. The King of Ujantana had previously sent an ambassador to Dom Pedro da Silva, then commanding at Malacca, on some imaginary pretext, but with the real object of ascertaining the extent of the force at Pedro da Silva's disposal. Don Pedro da Silva was, however informed by Laximena, the ambassador's father, of the King's design, which turned out to be nothing less than to persuade Dom Pedro that his preparations were all intended against the King of Achin. The King on entering the port burnt what ships were in it, and at the same time captured the suburbs. Here the enemy intrenched themselves, and with their cannon kept up a heavy fire for some days against the fortress. The de-

fenders were now in sore straits, when Dom Garcia de Menezes, who was on his way to the Moluccas, put into Malacca, where he at once engaged the enemy's Admiral and sank his ship with all hands. Dom Garcia did not, however, long survive this honour, as in attempting to capture a gun which was doing considerable damage to the fort, he, with more than thirty Portuguese soldiers, was killed. In the meantime the news had spread that Malacca was in danger, and several Portuguese arrived in the harbour.

The enemy now resolved to carry the fort by storm; the commander, Dom Pedro da Silva, however, became aware of their intentions, and made preparations to give them a hot reception. Scarcely had they commenced to mount their ladders than there fell on them such a shower of timber, stones, and grenades, that in an instant above 800 of the enemy lay dead at the foot of the wall. This disaster compelled them to retire to their works, and they determined to starve the defenders. The captain of the fortress now sent some ships away, causing a report to be circulated in the enemy's camp that these ships were about to put the territories of those Kings to fire and the sword. The enemy, believing this report, raised the siege and departed, with the exception of the Queen of Japara and the Javanese, who were totally defeated by Giles Fernandes de Carvalho, who came upon them unexpectedly with 200 men. The enemy lost about 2,000 men, besides many ships, and cannon, and ammunition, of which there was a large quantity. Before leaving, however, the enemy poisoned a well, whereof the Portuguese garrison were in the habit of drinking, and over 200 men died in consequence.

Affairs in Ceylon were at this time in a very unsettled state; Madune, quite contrary to his recent agreement, was now again threatening the King of Cotta, who requested assistance from Gaspar de Azevedo, the Commander of Columbo. Azevedo, with the King's men and

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100 Portuguese soldiers, marched against Madune and completely defeated his force. The King of Cotta was killed in the engagement by a musket shot, and the King of Sita-wacca thereupon renewed his pretensions to the kingdom of Cotta. The new Prince, however, assisted by the Portuguese, defeated the enemy completely, with great loss. In the beginning of September, the Viceroy, Dom Affonso de Noronha, made preparations to go in person and put a stop to these disorders in Ceylon, and started with a fleet of seventy sail and a force of 3,000 men. His first act on arriving at that island was to put to the rack some of the King's subjects, in order that they should disclose the whereabouts of the Prince's treasure. Having searched the late King's palace, he found 80,000 ducats, which he immediately confiscated, and demanded for his expenses the large sum of 200,000 ducats, which was at once paid. He then, with his 3,000 Portuguese soldiers and 4,000 of the King's troops, took the field against the King of Sita-wacca, who engaged him with a like number of men. Sita-wacca's army was again defeated and forced to fly to the mountains, being pursued by a force of only 100 men. His city was plundered, and the booty thereof was very considerable. One half the proceeds should by right have been given to the King whom the Viceroy went to assist, but the wants of the Indian Treasury did not then permit of promises being kept. It would almost appear that the Viceroy went to Ceylon in search of treasure, and not to relieve the King, for when the latter requested that 500 Portuguese soldiers should be left behind to check his enemies if necessary, they were refused him, as the Portuguese had no hopes of obtaining any more treasure.

Meanwhile Dom Antonio de Noronha was scouring the sea of Calicut, and causing great damage to the coast towns. The Viceroy, Dom Affonso de Noronha, returned to Cochin, taking with him a relation of the King of Cotta, who had become a Christian, and was sent to Portugal,

where he was received with great honours, and afterwards sent back to India.

A.D. 1550-51.

The homeward-bound trading ships from Cochin were being detained by the Prince of Chembe, so the Viceroy set out with a large fleet and 4,000 men to punish him. Thirty thousand of the enemy were gathered together to oppose them. The Portuguese force having landed, marched to the city, and met the enemy, whereupon a desperate fight took place, in which the latter were put to flight with heavy loss, the casualties on the Portuguese side being forty killed and several wounded. The Viceroy, having ravaged the country, returned to Cochin, from whence he dispatched the ships to Lisbon, in one of which went an ambassador from Nantaquim, Prince of Tanega Sima, one of the islands of Japan, carrying a rich present to the King of Portugal, to solicit the aid of 500 men to enable him to conquer the island Lequio, in consideration of which assistance he was prepared to pay tribute.

The Turks, offended at what the Portuguese had done at Kishm, El Katiff and Bussora, determined to take revenge, and accordingly sent out one Pirbec, a pirate, with 16,000 men in a number of strong galleys and other vessels. Dom Alvaro de Noronha, then commanding at Ormuz, concluded these movements on the part of the Turks were directed against him, so he sent Simão da Costa to search for the enemy's whereabouts. Simão da Costa fell in with Pirbec's son, by whom he was nearly captured.

The enemy's fleet first attacked Muscat, which held out for nearly a month against this formidable force. Notwithstanding the fortifications of the Portuguese, Pirbec landed with his forces without meeting with any resistance. He sacked the town, and after bombarding the fort for eighteen days, he prevailed upon the captain, João de Lisboa, to surrender, promising him that his life should be spared. Having entered the fort, Pirbec had all the guns removed to his ships, and leaving the fort empty, he put the captain and sixty men to the galleys. This done,

CHAP. XVIII. A.D. 1551-52.

Pirbec proceeded to Ormuz, where Dom Alvaro de Noronha had 900 men in the fort, which also gave shelter to the King, the Queen, and their children, who had sought its protection. The captain had laid in ammunition and provisions for a long siege, and also secured forty sail which were in the bay.

The Turks, having come to an anchor, landed and encamped. They intrenched themselves, erected batteries, on which they placed cannon of heavy calibre, and with which they bombarded the fort without intermission for one month. Finding his losses very heavy, and that he could not prevail against the fortress, the enemy plundered the city and went to the island of Kishm, whither many rich men of Ormuz had withdrawn, and from whom Pirbec secured a valuable booty and then retired, after having liberated some of the captives he had taken at Muscat.

On being informed of the danger which threatened Ormuz, Dom Affonso de Noronha fitted out a large fleet to go in person to its relief. Men of all ranks vied with each other in assisting the Governor in this work. He sailed in September, 1551, and arriving at Diu, was there informed that Ormuz was no longer in danger, so he returned to Goa. About this time Dom Duarte de Eça sailed for Ceylon to succeed Dom João Anriques, deceased. De Eça was accompanied by St. Francis Xavier, carried thither by a great desire to make a spiritual conquest.

A bold Turk, in the service of the Zamorin, scoured the seas with a fleet of fifteen large vessels. He attacked Punicale, a place occupied by seventy Portuguese, under the command of Manoel Rodrigues. A desperate fight ensued, when one Antonio Franco captured the enemy's colours, who thereupon retired, but shortly afterwards sent another force of 1,500 men against the Portuguese, who, being unable to resist such odds, were compelled to quit the town and fly to Bisme Naique, a Canarese subject, who made them all slaves. The Turk, after plundering the town, returned with the booty to his ships.

On the news being received at Cochin, a general desire for revenge was expressed, and one Gil Fernandes de Carvalho offered to undertake an expedition against the enemy at his own expense provided he was found in ships. These having been furnished he set out in search of the Turkish fleet, but before he came upon it, Lourenço Coelho had fallen into the enemy's hands and been slain with all his men.

Carvalho fell in with the enemy on the 15th August, and after a fiercely contested fight boarded all the enemy's ships and captured them. He next ransomed the Portuguese prisoners and Manoel Rodrigues, not only restoring the latter to his liberty, but also goods of great value which the Turks had taken from him at Punicale.

Dom Alvaro de Ataide and Dom Pedro da Silva were at variance regarding the command of Malacca, the former being most at fault, as he was endeavouring to have the latter removed before his term of office had expired. Diogo de Mello Coutinho and Dom Duarte de Eça's actions in Ceylon were worse still, for, having followed the example of the Viceroy, they took money from the Prince on condition that they should supply him with men against his enemy Sita-wacca, and never carried out what they had undertaken in this respect.

St. Francis Xavier died this year, 1552, his body being conveyed to Goa with great solemnity the following year.

At Constantinople Pirbec's head was cut off because he exceeded the instructions he received from the Turk, notwithstanding the fact that he had presented the Turk with all the booty he had captured during his piratical career. Moradobec, who succeeded him, set out with a fleet of fifteen galleys to prevent the Portuguese from taking any reprisals in revenge for the losses they had sustained. This Moradobec was the captain who had been responsible for the loss of El Katiff, and was therefore very anxious to recover his reputation. Dom Diogo de Noronha fell in with him on the Persian coast, when a sharp en-

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gagement ensued, the rival fleets exchanging a continual shower of bullets and arrows. During the height of the battle the wind dropped, so that the majority of the Portuguese ships became unmanageable, and one under the command of Gonzalo Pereira Marramaque became so isolated from the rest of the fleet that the enemy concentrated all their forces against it. Pereira's vessel was riddled in a thousand places, but the commander stood firm, and did a great deal of execution to the enemy. Pereira was always where the vessel was most threatened, and as the whole crew under him fought with the greatest courage and determination, the Turks never once dare board the ship. Towards evening the wind began to freshen, and the admiral, Dom Diogo de Noronha, was enabled to get under weigh, whereupon the Turks, not daring to face the combined fleets, retired. Pereira and his men, almost disfigured beyond recognition, were highly complimented by Noronha, and as Pereira's galleon was not able to proceed, he and his men were sent to Ormuz in some small craft. Noronha pursued the Turkish galleys, which so closely hugged the shore that he was unable to overtake them owing to insufficiency of water for his galleons, and he therefore returned to Ormuz.

Luiz de Camoens, the celebrated poet, arrived at Goa about this time with the hope of advancing his fortune by means of the sword more satisfactorily than he had been able to do by the pen.

The King of Cotta's revenge for the wrongs inflicted on him by the Portuguese was now at hand. Orders had been received from Portugal that all the moneys which had been exacted from the King should be restored to him; and this was ultimately done. Bernardim de Sousa was to be imprisoned for what he had done in the Moluccas, and Dom Diogo de Almeida was to be removed from the command of Diu and dismissed the service, on account of his having refused some favours that had been offered him by the King.

CHAP. XVIII. A.D. 1553.

The differences between the Kings of Pimienta and Cochin were now daily growing more acute, and concerned the Viceroy so much that towards the end of November, 1553, he sailed with a large fleet to assist the latter, who was a friend of the Portuguese. At sea, the Viceroy fell in with Dom Diogo de Noronha and his fleet, with whom was also Gonzalo Pereira Marramaque, who had so distinguished himself in the late action against the Turks. After some consultations it was decided to land at the Alagada Islands, belonging to the King of Pimienta. Crowds of natives opposed the landing with showers of arrows, but after a vigorous resistance the deadly fire of the Portuguese cannon told its tale, and the place was put to the fire and sword, with the loss of only one man on the Portuguese side.

Gomes da Silva was left to carry on the war, which he did with so much success that the King sued for peace. A treaty was concluded greatly to the advantage of the Portuguese, the King being perfectly contented with the restitution of the islands, his wife, and the people which had been captured in them. Having sent some ships to Lisbon, the Viceroy dispatched his son, Dom Fernando de Noronha, with a large fleet to the Red Sea. Dom Fernando attempted to capture the fort of Dofar, but being repulsed with heavy loss, was compelled to return without having accomplished anything.

Dom Diogo de Noronha succeeded Almeida in the Command of Diu, in pursuance of the King's orders, before mentioned. The Moors at Diu became troublesome once more, so Noronha, with a force of 600 men, was compelled to refresh their memories, and forced them to leave the city.

Cide Elal, who commanded in the Castle of Diu, prepared himself to defend it, but perceiving the Portuguese were about to scale the walls he surrendered it, and it was immediately demolished. Scarcely was this accomplished than Abixcan appeared on the scene with 400

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men. Fernando de Castanhoso advanced to meet him with 120 men, but a force of 300 of the enemy's horse compelled his men to retire in great disorder, when he suddenly found himself with only seventeen followers. Castanhoso and this small handful defended themselves back to back with great courage, till one by one they were overpowered and killed; their hearts were cut out and sent to the Moorish general. Dom Diogo de Noronha, who was quite ignorant of the fate which befel Castanhoso's troop, marched on with the rest of his men in great haste to engage Abixcan. Encountering the 300 horse he fell on them with so much fury that they were soon in full flight. On Abixcan coming on with his cannon, however, the tables were turned, for Dom Diogo was now compelled to retreat. The loss of this action, rashly undertaken against the advice of the Factor at Diu, caused Dom Diogo de Noronha to be passed over later on, when he would otherwise have been elected as Viceroy of India.

The Grand Turk on hearing that Moradobec had fared no better than the unfortunate Pirbec, gave the command of fifteen galleys to Alechelubij, who had boasted a great deal about what he could do. Dom Fernando de Noronha who had returned from the Red Sea after his fruitless endeavour to capture the fort of Dofar, went out to meet Alechelubij, and fell in with him on the 25th August, 1553, near Muscat. The enemy, not daring to risk a battle, endeavoured to escape with his whole fleet, but six of his vessels were captured by the Portuguese caravels. Dom Fernando de Noronha then put into Muscat, where he refitted the galleys, purchased slaves, and appointed captains. Alechelubij was pursued by some Portuguese vessels, and driven with seven out of his nine ships into Surat, and there hemmed in by Dom Jeronymo de Castello-Branco, Nuno de Castro, and Dom Manoel de Mascarenhas. The remaining two ships were pursued by Dom Fernando de Monroyo and Antonio

Valladares, who drove them on to the coasts of Daman and Daru respectively, where they went on the rocks and were dashed to pieces.

Dom Affonso de Noronha, the Viceroy, was a modest and easy-going kind of Governor, but was not noted for anything very brilliant. He was the fifth Viceroy and seventeenth Governor. He held the office for four years.

Dom Pero de Mascarenhas, who belonged to one of the best Portuguese families, and had occupied several posts of trust and honour, was seventy years old when he was nominated as Viceroy of India. He set out from Lisbon at the end of March, 1554, with a fleet of six vessels, one of which had to put back, and the one in which he sailed foundered as soon as it reached Goa. These five ships conveyed to Goa, besides arms and ammunition, 2,000 soldiers, arriving there on the 23rd September, 1554. The first action of the new Viceroy was to appoint his nephew, Fernando Martinez, as Admiral, greatly to the dissatisfaction of everybody. Martinez, with thirty-two sail, was sent to bring to Goa the seven Turkish galleys then being blockaded at Surat, but Caraçem, commander of that place, refused to give them up, and having offered what seemed to be satisfactory reasons for not doing so, it was agreed between them that they (these seven galleys) should be destroyed.

The late Viceroy now sailed home with the trading ships, one of which, commanded by Belchior de Sousa, was lost with all hands.

In February, 1554, Manoel de Vasconcellos, with three galleons and five smaller vessels, set out to ascertain what Zofar was doing at Suez. Having spent some time near Mount Felix he returned without having done anything. Vasconcellos was accompanied by the famous Luiz de Camoens, who, finding no employment for his sword, now fell back again on his pen for occupation.

It would appear that Meale Khan had friends and

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A.D. 1555.

supporters amongst the subjects of the Adil Khan, since some influential persons in his kingdom now made overtures to the Viceroy with regard to him, proposing that he should be made King of Vizapore, in return for which they offered to make over to the Crown of Portugal all the lands of the Konkan, with a revenue of a million a year. The Viceroy, attracted by the large accession of wealth that this would bring to the State, readily assented to the proposal without duly considering the probable consequences, and Meale Khan was accordingly duly proclaimed King of Vizapore, and was accompanied by 3,000 Portuguese foot soldiers and 200 horse, besides a body of native supporters, to establish him on his throne. After a slight resistance, the fort of Ponda was taken, where Meale Khan set up his government, supported by 600 Portuguese troops, under the command of Dom Antonio de Noronha. The wife and children of Meale Khan were, however, retained at Goa as hostages for the due performance of that part of the contract which more particularly interested the Portuguese State. After this the Viceroy returned unwell to Goa, where he shortly afterwards died, on the 16th June, 1555, after having held the office of Viceroy for only ten months. His rule was marked by disinterested probity, and it was expected that, had be lived to carry on the government for the usual full term of the office, he would have done much towards the encouragement of truth, justice, and honesty in all branches of the administration.

Dom Pero de Mascarenhas was succeeded by Francisco Barreto, with the title of Governor. He was a man of merit and well qualified for the post, having gained much esteem and having been the Commander of Bassein.

Barreto's first year of office did not, however, commence under good auspices, as a great fire amongst the shipping occurred at Goa, and ten large vessels were totally destroyed. The governor soon made good the loss by

having some vessels built to take their place. He next went to Ponda to assist at the installation of Meale Khan as King, and he appointed officers for the collection of the revenues about Ponda, leaving Dom Fernando de Monroyo in that fort, and sending Dom Antonio de Noronha to receive the revenues of the Konkan. Xacolim Aga, who was collecting the same on behalf of the Adil Khan, opposed Noronha with a force of 7,000 men. The Governor having sent a supply of ammunition to Noronha, he marched to Curalé, of which he easily took possession, and by means of kindness induced the natives to return to the town and neighbouring country, leaving the collection of the revenues only to Portuguese officials. Noronha next proceeded in search of Xacolim Aga, and on the way fell in with two ships, one of which conveyed his wife, children, and property of great value, which he for better security had sent to Cambay. Noronha had no trouble in capturing them, and stayed for the night not far from Achara, where the Portuguese were attacked by a force of 1,000 men. After a sharp fight the enemy were completely routed with a heavy loss. Further up the river the Portuguese encountered another force of the enemy, commanded by Xacolim himself. Here, again, the enemy were routed with a loss of 1,000 killed, the Portuguese losses being only twenty-four.

Meanwhile Meale was solemnly proclaimed King at Vizapore, but he did not enjoy the title for long, as the Adil Khan, with the assistance of 15,000 men of the King of Bisnagá, dethroned and made him prisoner. The Adil Khan next sent a force to recover the territories where Dom Antonio de Noronha was engaged. On the Viceroy becoming aware of the state of affairs, he sent orders to Noronha to withdraw, and similar instructions were also dispatched to Fernando de Monroyo, who was at Ponda.

Five ships sailed from Lisbon this year (1555), but of these one vessel was abandoned off Terceira (Azores), and

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another met with a similar fate off some islands near Madagascar. The captain of the latter vessel left four hundred of his men on shore, and proceeded with the remainder in the long-boat to Goa, where he arrived in safety.

Dom Alvaro da Silveira was now appointed admiral of a fleet of twenty-one sail, which had been fitted out for service in the sea of Calicut, against the Queen of Olala, who had refused to pay her tribute. Silveira, having overrun the coasts with fire and sword, destroyed many towns and ships and everything which came in his way, particularly the city of Mangalore, in which stood a rich pagoda. At the instance of the Zamorin, however, matters were amicably arranged, and a treaty of peace was concluded, after which Silveira returned again to Goa.

In Ceylon, Tribuli Pandar having made his escape from prison, fled to Balande. Madune, now incited him to make war against the Portuguese, and sent him a force of 600 Cingalese, with the aid of which he reduced the towns of Paneture, Caleture, Maça, Berberi, Galle, and Beligam to the last extremities, destroying the churches and killing a number of Christians who had been converted by St. Francis Xavier.

Affonso Pereira de Lacerda now took the field with the aid of the very same Madune who had previously assisted Pandar. Madune sent his son Raju, by way of Caleture, with an army, while Lacerda sent Ruy Pereira with 200 men, and Antonio de Spinola with 100 men, by other routes to attack the city of Palandu, where Tribuli then was. A simultaneous attack on the place by the combined forces ensued, and after a vigorous resistance the Portuguese entered it. The King fled, but his wife was captured, and a large number of the King's men were slain. Madune's end was obtained, for he only desired one of two things, viz., either that the Portuguese should destroy Tribuli Pandar, or that the latter should defeat the former.

A.D. 1556.

In the beginning of 1556, João Peixoto sailed with two galleys to the Red Sea in order to discover how matters stood at Suez. He found all quiet there, but being loth to return without accomplishing anything, he arrived one day at the island of Suakim, with the King whereof the Portuguese were at variance. In the dead of night Peixoto landed, and finding everyone asleep, he fell upon the islanders, of whom a great number were killed, including the King. Having captured many slaves and much booty, Peixoto returned to his galleys. The next day he sailed for Goa, but keeping close to the coast he was enabled to destroy a number of towns *en route*.

The King of Bussora, being again oppressed by the Turks, sought the assistance of the Portuguese. Dom Alvaro da Silveira started for the purpose with a fleet of twenty sail, but a terrible storm so disabled him in the port of Bussora that he was not in a condition to render any help at all. Miguel Rodrigues Coutinho fared better, as, going to the territories of Salsette and Bardes against some troops of the Adil Khan, who sought revenge in consequence of the action of the Portuguese with regard to Meale Khan, he destroyed all the seaports with fire and the sword, and captured a large number of ships. Having killed a number of the enemy, made many prisoners, and captured some valuable booty from a large Mecca vessel at Dabhol, after a sharp engagement, he returned with honours and riches to Goa.

The Adil Khan became so enraged at his misfortunes that he sent another large army into those territories, whereupon the Governor set out with a strong force to oppose him. The war lasted all the winter, but no action worthy of note occurred.

The Governor afterwards sailed with a large fleet, of 150 vessels of all sorts, to visit the northern forts. He obtained possession of the mountain and fort of Azarim for a small sum by means of Coje Mahomet, a trusty Moor, living at Bassein. Antonio Moniz Barreto was

CHAP. XVIII. A.D. 1556.

sent to take possession of this place, where he left a captain and sixty Portuguese soldiers. Going on from thence to the fort of Manori, not far distant, he found it deserted, and he accordingly occupied it, leaving there Jorge Manhans with 120 men. Barreto then returned to Bassein, where he found the Governor giving an audience to some ambassadors of the King of Sind, who desired the assistance of the Portuguese against a tyrant who was persecuting him. As it was deemed politic to obtain the Prince's friendship, it was decided to purchase the same by sending him relief. Seven hundred men were therefore dispatched to Sind in twenty-eight ships, commanded by Pedro Barreto Rolim. The fleet arrived safely at Tatta, the Court of the King of Sind. The Prince having visited Barreto, sent word of his arrival to his father, who was absent with his army. Barreto stayed here a short time, and on hearing that the King had come to terms with his enemy, asked the Prince to pay him the expenses of fitting out the fleet as agreed to by the ambassadors. On this being refused, Barreto landed his men, entered the city, and in his rage killed over 8,000 people, and destroyed by fire property valued at more than two millions of gold, and loaded his vessels with one of the richest booties ever taken in Asia. Barreto, who did not lose one man in this action, spent eight days in the neighbourhood, destroying everything on both sides of the Indus. The fort of Bandel made some resistance, but was eventually captured and demolished. Barreto returned to Chaul, where he received orders to proceed to Dabhol, and join his forces with those of Antonio Pereira Brandão, admiral of that coast, with the view of destroying that place, in revenge for the actions of the Adil Khan. Having attacked the city, which was vigorously defended for some time, it was captured and reduced to a heap of ruins. Barreto and Brandão did the same to all the villages along the river of Chaul.

The Adil Khan's general, Nazer Maluco, now invaded

the territories of Salsette and Bardes with an army of 2,000 horse and 18,000 foot soldiers. The Governor, with 3,000 Portuguese, 1,000 Canarese, and 200 horse, met him near Ponda with 17,000 of his army, and having attacked the enemy with great determination for some time, he put him to flight and then returned victorious to Goa. Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, who commanded the fort of Rachol, was engaging a large force of the enemy, and João Peixoto was vigorously opposing Morate Khan in the territories of Bardes. Nazer Maluco entrenched himself again at Ponda, but the arrival of five vessels with reinforcements from Portugal, coupled with the losses the Portuguese had already inflicted on the Adil Khan, induced him to sue for peace, which was granted, and a fresh treaty was entered into with him.

Dom Duarte de Eça, the Commander of Ternate, was a harsh and cruel man. He imprisoned the King, his mother, and his brother, Cachil Guzerate, submitting them to the worst indignities; his great desire being to kill them, he was base enough to poison the water, but this was discovered by the King in time. The people of Ternate then took up arms, and called in the assistance of the people of Tidor, so that the fort was in great danger. Dom Duarte de Eça having obtained reinforcements, determined on fighting the enemy; but the Portuguese soldiers being no longer able to endure his harshness and cruelty, arrested him and released the prisoners, thus putting an end to the dispute. Antonio Pereira Brandão was compelled by the people to accept the command of the fort until the Governor should either confirm the appointment or make other arrangements for filling it.

The war at Goa still continued. A small body of Portuguese soldiers was surprised by 500 Moors in the island of Choram, but others coming to the rescue in time, the enemy were driven off. Things in the island afterwards became quiet, and Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas was left there with a force of 300 men.

CHAP. XVIII. A.D. 1558-59.

The Governor, desiring to secure the promontory of Chaul, asked leave of King Nixamoxa to build a fort there. The King not only refused to grant his request, but seized the Governor's messenger, and sent 30,000 men to the spot to erect an impregnable fortress at that place. The Governor, Francisco Barreto, sent Alvaro Peres de Soutomayor with some ships to blockade the port till he arrived, which was soon after. On the arrival of the Governor, with an army of 4,000 Portuguese soldiers, besides a number of natives, the enemy thought better of it, and sued for peace, which was concluded on condition that the work of the fort should not proceed. The Governor then returned to Goa.

On his arrival at Goa, Francisco Barreto employed himself in fitting out a large fleet against the King of Achin, who was then a great danger to Malacca. In a few months he had ready twenty-five galleons, ten galleys, and eighty galliots, all so well found that the hopes of firmly establishing a Portuguese Empire in India were renewed. But all this labour was in vain; Dom Constantino de Braganza had arrived to succeed him, and it appears to have been a prevailing custom in India, that new Governors never put into execution the plans of their predecessors.

Francisco Barreto embarked for Portugal on the 20th January, 1559. He was a courageous, discreet, and generous Governor. He later on returned as Governor and conqueror of the Empire of Monomotopa, where he died.

Barreto governed India for three years, and was the nineteenth Governor.

CHAPTER XIX.

Death of King João III.—Arrival of Dom Constantino de Braganza in India—Capture of Daman and Bulsar—Attack on Cannanore—Relief of Behrein—Abandonment of Bulsar—Treaty with the Luccadive Islanders—Subjection of the King of Jafanapatam—The Sacred Tooth of Buddha—Death of Dom Diogo de Noronha—Assumption of Sovereign Rights over Ternate—Retirement of Dom Constantino de Braganza—Appointment of Dom Francisco Coutinho as Viceroy—Treaty with the Zamorin—Amboina ceded to Portugal—Siege of Colombo and Cotta—The Moluccas ceded to Portugal—João de Mendoça appointed Governor—Commencement of the Malabar War—Dom Antonio de Noronha Appointed Viceroy—Attack on Cannanore—Attack on Colombo and Cotta by the Raju—Dispatch of an Embassy to Constantinople—Attack on Mangalore—Attack on Malacca by the Achinese—The Caves of Salsette—Expulsion of the Portuguese from Amboina—Death of Dom Antonio de Noronha—Return of Luiz de Camoens to Portugal.

ABOUT the period of the expiration of Francisco Barreto's government, King João III. died. With this King ended the good fortunes of Portugal, not only in Europe but also in India. Those who managed the affairs of the State, during the minority of Dom Sebastião, sent out as Viceroy Dom Constantino, brother of Theodosius Duke of Braganza. He was thirty years of age when he accepted the post of Viceroy. He sailed from Lisbon on the 7th April, 1558, with four ships and 2,000 men, and reached India about the beginning of September of the same year.

CHAP. XIX. A.D. 1558.

On his arrival at Goa, the Viceroy commenced, as was usual, by sending commanders to the various fortresses. Dom Payo de Noronha went to Cannanore, but by his rudeness to the King of that place, the Portuguese were forbidden to enter the town. The Viceroy sent fourteen sail to their assistance, under the command of Luiz de Mello da Silva, who was, on landing, attacked by 3,000 Moors, whom, however, he speedily put to flight.

The Viceroy had resolved to get possession of Daman,

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A.D. 1559.

in order to give greater security to the territory of Bassein, of which place Francisco Barreto had obtained a grant from the King of Cambay. A difficulty, however, existed in getting the town out of the hands of Cide Bofata, who, having rebelled against his Prince, had occupied the place himself, and made every preparation to defend it against all comers. The Viceroy determined to lead an expedition for its recovery, and set out with a fleet of 100 sail for that purpose. Having arrived off Daman, he sent Dom Diogo de Noronha to reconnoitre the enemy's works, which he found strongly defended by 4,000 men; but no sooner had the Portuguese landed than the enemy fled, abandoning both the city and the fortress, which the Viceroy immediately occupied.

The enemy, after their flight, encamped at Parnel, a place about two leagues off, from whence, with 2,000 horse, they threatened the Portuguese. Antonio Moniz Barreto offered to dislodge them with the assistance of 500 men. Having marched during the night he attacked the enemy in his own camp, and having driven him from the same in great disorder, with a loss of 500 killed, he captured thirty-six large cannon, some copper money, and various other plunder.

The Viceroy, by liberality and other means, induced the country people who had fled to return; he also confirmed to the neighbouring King of Sarceta the Customs of Daman. The Viceroy next sent Dom Pedro de Almeida to capture the island of Bulsar, close by, with a force of 150 horse, and the same number of foot soldiers. The inhabitants of the island fled at the approach of the Portuguese. The Viceroy then proceeded thither, and leaving Alvaro Golçalves Pinto in command, with 120 men and some cannon, he returned to Daman. Being informed that Zofar was fitting out his galleys in the Red Sea, the Viceroy dispatched thither Dom Alvaro da Silveira, with twenty sail. The fleet was dispersed by a series of storms, and compelled to put back to various Indian ports, without

having accomplished anything. Dom Diogo de Noronha, having been appointed Commander of Daman, with a garrison of 1,200 men, the Viceroy returned to Goa. CHAP. XIX. A.D. 1559.

Luiz de Mello da Silva, who had sailed the previous year, 1558, for the Malabar coast, did much harm there, and ruined the trade of the Moors in those parts. At Mangalor, in consequence of a ship from Cannanore having successfully resisted an attempt to capture it, Luiz de Mello attacked the town, which he set fire to, after having put all the inhabitants to the sword, and then returned to his ships and retired.

Thirteen vessels from Calicut and Cannanore set out in pursuit of Luiz de Mello, who on becoming aware of the enemy's plans went to meet them with only seven vessels. De Mello and the Admiral of Calicut, a Turk, were in the van of the respective fleets, and, as soon as their two ships came within gunshot, a well-directed shot from the Portuguese flag-ship swept the Turkish vessel from stem to stern, and in a few minutes she foundered with all hands. The Portuguese having, after a desperate fight, captured three of the enemy's ships, the Admiral of Cannanore retired with the remainder of the fleet. The enemy's loss during this engagement amounted to 400 men killed.

Luiz de Mello returned to Goa victorious, but was imprisoned by the Viceroy, on the plea that he had taken part in these actions when his presence was so much more urgently wanted at Cannanore. The Viceroy's action in the matter being highly censured, he went in person to make friends with de Mello at Pangim, released him, and sent him back with his fleet to Cannanore, where Dom Payo de Noronha was greatly in need of assistance. Manoel de Vasconcellos was dispatched with three ships and some smaller vessels to Ternate.

Luiz de Mello was the saving of Dom Payo de Noronha, who was in extreme danger at Cannanore. He was threatened with a siege by all the Princes of Malabar, who had been stirred up by Ade Rajao. The enemy with an army

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of 100,000 men attacked the fortress and occupied the trenches. De Mello with sixty men, and Antonio de Vilhena, with fifty, did wonders against the enemy, who were defeated, it is stated, with a loss of 15,000, while the Portuguese, whose numbers were only 500 in all, lost during this engagement, which lasted twelve hours, only twenty-five killed.

Luiz de Mello played the part of soldier as well as that of commander. The enemy retired full of admiration for the valour displayed by the small handful of Portuguese soldiers, and peace was, once more, restored to Cannanore.

The Viceroy commenced to build a large church at Goa, in honour of St. Francis Xavier, but it was never finished, and a heap of ruins, for a long time afterwards, marked the site, as none of his successors took any steps towards the completion of the work.

The Turks, desiring to possess themselves of the Arabian ports on the Persian side, sent a fleet of two galleys and seventy barques, with 1,200 Turks and Janizaries, against the fortress of Bahrein.

Rax Morado was then in command of the island, and he at once sent advices of the danger he was in to the King of Ormuz and Dom Antonio de Noronha, who was then in command of the Portuguese fort there. Dom João de Noronha was speedily sent with ten ships to relieve him, who on his way fell in with some Turkish galleys, which he forced to take shelter in the creeks along that shore. The next day Dom Alvaro da Silveira joined him with some more vessels, and together they succeeded in capturing the galleys. On arriving at Bahrein, they found the fort there closely besieged. At a council it was determined to besiege the besiegers, but the soldiers, becoming impatient, forced on a battle. Rax Morado joined the Portuguese with 300 well-armed Persians, and attacked the Turks, who gradually retired, and drawing them into an ambush, threw the Portuguese in great disorder in

spite of all Dom Alvaro da Silveira could do. The latter fell by a musket-shot, and although the Portuguese fought desperately in order to recover the body, they were unsuccessful. About seventy Portuguese were killed and several taken prisoners, and Rax Morado then retired to the fortress.

Pero Peixoto now succeeded to the command, and he so closely invested the island and hampered the Turks that they were compelled to sue for mercy. Dom Antonio de Noronha having received intelligence of the Portuguese losses, set out from Ormuz to avenge them. The siege continued for a little longer, and ultimately the Turks surrendered on condition that they delivered up the prisoners in their hands (of which there were about thirty), all their cannon, arms, and horses, that they paid the sum of 10,000 ducats, and retired to Bussora.

At the latter part of the year 1559 five ships arrived from Portugal, which conveyed to India Fr. Jorge de São Luiz and Fr. Jorge Themudo, who had been appointed by the Queen to the Bishopricks of Malacca and Cochin respectively, which had recently been instituted by the Pope to relieve the See of Goa.

Being informed that the enemy were fitting out a fleet on the Malabar coast, where Luiz de Mello then was, the Viceroy sent to his assistance seventeen ships with 600 men. De Mello distributed these at the mouths of the various rivers, whilst he himself destroyed the towns and villages on their banks. Seven strong well-manned paraos came down the river Maine, at the mouth of which Gonçalo Peres de Alvelos was stationed. By a well-directed shot from Alvelos' ship, one of the enemy's vessels was sunk, but, owing to an explosion on board one of the Portuguese ships, by which it was blown up and sunk, the remaining paraos escaped.

De Mello carried on the war during this year and the following one with success against the enemy, desolating the whole of the Malabar coast.

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Bofata, who had not long since been defeated, now marched against the fortress of Bulsar with 600 horse and a large army of foot soldiers. The commander of Bulsar, Alvaro Goncalez Pinto, with twenty horse, 100 Portuguese foot, and 500 natives, marched out to engage him. At the first encounter fifty of the enemy were killed, but being overpowered by numbers, the Portuguese troops were ultimately routed, and they retired to the fort with the loss of their captain, most of the Portuguese, and 150 natives killed. Bofata next made an attack on the fort, but was vigorously opposed by Gomes da Silva, who, on the death of Alvaro Pinto, assumed the command and successfully defended the fort until the arrival of Tristão Vaz with ten ships from Daman, who came to his relief. Notwithstanding the determined opposition of the enemy, Tristão Vaz succeeded in landing his force and entering the fortress, whereupon Bofata, seeing he had no hopes of prevailing against the Portuguese now that they had been reinforced, drew off, but returned again shortly afterwards with a larger force to continue the siege.

Affonso Dias Pereira thereupon marched out to attack the enemy, but in the first encounter he was killed, and the Portuguese being thrown into confusion, the enemy rushed into the fort pell-mell with them, but they were driven out again by the bravery of Vicente Carvalho and Calisto de Sequeira, the sword of the latter being answerable for twenty Turkish lives. The defenders were becoming quite knocked up with the fatigue of such continual fighting, when Luiz Alvares de Tavora arrived with further relief from Daman, at the sight of which the enemy retired.

Notwithstanding the success of the Portuguese in its defence, the Viceroy ordered the fort of Bulsar to be abandoned, whereupon the enemy returned, razed it to the ground, and then proceeded to pillage the villages. On arriving, however, at Tarapur, which was garrisoned by forty men under Martim Lopes de Faria, they attacked

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the works, but were repulsed with heavy loss. Faria was seriously wounded in this engagement, and afterwards retired to Daman, where he died. Dom Diogo de Noronha then went in pursuit of the enemy and found them at Vypin, and falling on them with great fury he utterly routed them, captured many prisoners, much money and baggage, besides horses, arms, and ammunition, with which he returned victorious to Daman.

Jorge de Sousa Pereira having been sent with a fleet to the Islands of Mamale * by the Viceroy, came to the Island of Ameni,† the chief one of that group, where he landed and destroyed the place, killing a large number of people, besides making many prisoners. It is not certain what was the subject of this attack, but it is more than probable that these islands harboured a number of pirates, who preyed upon vessels passing that way. After having punished the inhabitants, Jorge de Sousa Pereira, on the 4th February, 1560, concluded a treaty with the governors of those islands, whereby, in the name of the inhabitants, they swore vassalage to the King of Portugal and his heirs, and undertook to pay an annual tribute of 500 bahars of "coir" to be delivered free of cost at Cochin.

Christovão Pereira Homem, sailing to Ethiopia with three vessels, early in 1560, fell in with four galleys of Coje Zofar, near Arquico, and with great difficulty managed to escape them. The admiral's galliot, however, overtook him, and a fight could not now be avoided. Pereira boarded her with thirty men, but the Turks were 150 in number, and killed every one of the Portuguese. The other two vessels fled away instead of assisting him, and arrived in due course at Goa, where their commanders, Vicente de Carvalho and Roque Pinheiro, were put in prison for their cowardice, for it was conjectured that if they had

* By this is clearly meant the Luccadive Islands. The Mamale Channel, according to Moors' Voyages, is that between the Maluive and Luccadive Islands.

† Ameni is one of the Luccadive Islands.

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done their duty Zofar would most certainly have been captured.

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In the year 1560, Goa was elevated to an archbishoprick, and the first Archbishop of Goa arrived in the vessels that went to India that year, accompanied by the first Inquisitors, who were despatched thither principally to suppress the Jews.

The Viceroy was now preparing to make war against the King of Jafanapatam, and lord of the island of Manar, because he persecuted the Christians, and had usurped the Crown from his brother, who fled in consequence to Goa to seek the assistance of the Portuguese to recover his kingdom, and there embraced Christianity, being baptised by the name of Affonso. The Viceroy landed near the city of Jafanapatam with 1,200 men, forcing the Prince, who opposed him with 2,000 men, to retire. The Portuguese then entered the town, and street fighting continued between the forces until night, when the King retired to his palace, but not considering himself safe there he set fire to it, moving on to the fort, about a league off. The Viceroy was thus left in possession of the city. He marched in pursuit of the King, who left the fort and moved further off, whereupon it was immediately occupied by Dom Constantino with some troops, and several parties were sent off in pursuit of the King, who was eventually captured by Luiz de Mello. He at once pleaded for mercy, and offered in return to restore the treasure taken from Tribuli Pandar, to pay a certain sum to the Portuguese Crown, and to give up the island of Manar. The Viceroy accepted these conditions, and considering how difficult it would be to deprive him entirely of the Crown and restore it to his brother, he sacrificed the interests of the rightful owner, on whose behalf he had embarked on this expedition.

Whilst the conditions of the treaty were being finally arranged, the natives treacherously fell on the Portuguese, killing a great many. The Viceroy had a narrow escape,

and just managed to get on board his ship, from whence he despatched Dom Antonio de Noronha with 400 men to relieve the fort, which was then abandoned.

The Viceroy afterwards set sail, taking with him the Prince as a hostage for the carrying out of the articles of the treaty, and proceeded to the island of Manar, where he built a fort and conveyed thither the inhabitants of Punicale, so as to free them from the tyranny and oppression inflicted on them by the Naique of that place. Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho was left in command of the fortress of Manar, and Belthazar Guedes de Sousa was appointed to the command in chief of Ceylon.

A curious incident is mentioned by some early Portuguese historians in connection with this attack on Jafanapatam. It is stated that amongst the treasure taken from the King of that place was an idol, which was adored throughout all the coast of Asia, and so highly esteemed, particularly by the King of Pegu, that he sent ambassadors every year with rich presents to its shrine. This relic was reputed by some to be the tooth * of a

* The Dalada, or sacred tooth of Buddha, is traditionally believed to have been rescued from the flames after the cremation of the body of Gotama Buddha, at Kusinara, B.C. 543, and to have been preserved for 800 years at Dantapura, in Kalinga, whence it was taken to Ceylon in the fourth century after Christ. It was afterwards captured by the Malabars about the year 1315 and again carried to India, but recovered by the prowess of Prakrama Bahu III. During the troublous times which followed, the original tooth was hidden in different parts of the island, and the account of its capture by the Portuguese and subsequent destruction is believed to be perfectly authentic. The circumstances under which the two teeth were subsequently set up in its place are thus stated by De Couto. The King of Pegu, in 1566, having been told by the astrologers that he was to wed a Cingalese Princess, sent to demand her in marriage, but the reigning sovereign, Dom João Dharma Pala, having unfortunately no child, the prophecy was on the point of failing, when his chamberlain, a nobleman of the blood-royal, suggested the substitution of his own daughter, and added impiety to fraud by feigning to the envoys of the King of Pegu that he still held in secret the genuine *dalada*, falsely supposed to have been destroyed by the Christians at Goa. The device was successful, the supposititious Princess was received at Pegu with all the nuptial honours of royalty, and ambassadors were despatched to Ceylon to obtain possession of the sacred tooth, which was forthwith transferred to Arracan. The King of Kandy, Wikrama Bahu, on learning of the deception which had been perpetrated by his cousin of Cotta, appraised the King of Pegu of the imposture which had been practised on him, and to redress it he offered him his own daughter in marriage, and proposed as her dowry to send the veritable tooth, affirming that both the one recently obtained from Colombo, and the other formerly pulverised at Goa, were counterfeit, his

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white monkey, and by others that of a man. The King of Pegu, hearing that this tooth had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese Viceroy, sent to offer him 300,000 ducats for it, and it was deemed not improbable that h might have been induced to extend this offer to the sum ot 1,000,000 ducats. Most of the Portuguese were in favour of closing with the offer, and making the most they could by the bargain, whilst others desired to be employed in conveying the tooth to Pegu, in the expectation that they would be able to realise a good round sum for themselves by exhibiting it by the way. The Viceroy, however, had the tooth removed to Goa, where he summoned a meeting of the chief of the clergy and laity to consider the matter, and after a long and somewhat warm debate, it was decided to reject the offer and destroy the tooth, and it was accordingly reduced to powder in a mortar and then burnt. This did not, however, entirely accomplish the object in view, since, at a later period, two teeth were set up, for each of which it was claimed that it was the original tooth.

Dom Jorge de Menezes Baroche did much about this time in Ceylon in defence of the King of Cotta, against his brother Madune. Dom Jorge was a man accustomed to endure hardships, and as he refused luxuries of all kinds to his men, some of the soldiers deserted, intending to join the King of Cotta. He went in pursuit of them, and finding on his return that Jorge de Mello, his lieutenant, had attacked the enemy with great success, he became jealous, and attacked them in a different quarter, killing 200 of them; he then proceeded up a river in pursuit of Madune, till a cannon-ball killed twenty of his seamen at one stroke, when he retired. He then marched against Raju Madune's son, who had a force of 3,000 men with him, and put him

alone being the genuine relic of Buddha. The King of Pegu, however, refused to recognise that he had been duped, and so, whilst giving the ambassadors a courteous reception, he politely declined their offer, or to recognise the authenticity of their information.

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to flight, killing 150 without losing one man. Dom Jorge pursued the enemy for some distance, but falling into an ambush, and having exhausted all his powder, he was compelled to retire with a loss of seventy killed.

Madre Maluco, King of Cambay, taking advantage of the Viceroy's absence from Daman, resolved to recover that city, and was ready to march against it with a formidable army. Dom Diogo de Noronha, receiving intelligence of his designs, and finding he could not fight with success against such odds, had recourse to stratagem. He persuaded Cedeme Khan, Lord of Surat, that his brother-in-law, Madre Maluco, was about to drive him out of his city (Surat), although he professed to be contemplating an attack on Daman. Cedeme Khan, believing that this statement was true, went to visit his brother-in-law in the camp, and invited him, together with the principal chiefs of his army, to supper with him in the town. Scarcely had they stepped into the house when he killed them all, and falling on the camp routed the whole army with great slaughter. Thus Noronha escaped the danger he was in without drawing a sword, and Cedeme Khan unwittingly brought great troubles on himself by this action, for Chinguis Khan, with a large army, marched to Surat to avenge the death of his father, and having entered the city, Cedeme Khan retired with his forces into the fortress. Chinguis Khan commenced bombarding the fortress with great vigour, when ten ships under the command of Luiz Alvarez de Tavora, sent by Dom Diogo de Noronha, opportunely arrived. Luiz Alvarez de Tavora had orders to so manage affairs that either of the two contending parties might think he came to their assistance. Dom Diogo de Noronha wrote to Chinguis Khan informing him that he was sending that fleet to his assistance; and Tavora had also a letter from the Viceroy to Cedeme Khan, giving the latter to understand that these ships were sent to his aid. All these preparations were, however, of no avail, for the besiegers, hearing that another enemy had invaded

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their territories, came to terms with the defenders, and speedily returned home. Luiz Alvares de Tavora did the same, and parted from Cedeme Khan, whom he left under the impression that he was under an obligation to the Portuguese for a promise of timely assistance. On arriving at Daman, Alvares found Dom Diogo de Noronha at death's door, and he expired soon after, at the age of forty-four. He died a poor man, having spent all he received in the service of his King and his country.

The Viceroy, who was now at Cochin, dispatched three vessels to Portugal, two of which only reached their destination, and then he returned to Goa.

On arriving there he sent commanders to the various forts, and a fleet of twenty-one sail, under the command of Sebastião de Sá, to assist the King of Bussora against the Turks, in return for which the King had promised to permit the Portuguese to erect a fort there. This fleet was, however, overtaken by a storm, and the various ships being dispersed, sought safety in different ports.

The Viceroy now received news from Cedeme Khan that Chinguis Khan was again marching against him, and he not being in a position to defend himself, offered to hand over the fort of Surat to the Crown of Portugal on condition of his being conveyed in safety, together with his family and treasure, to such a place as he might select. Dom Constantino fitted out fourteen ships at once and gave the command to Dom Antonio de Noronha. Dom Antonio was accompanied by Luiz de Mello, who was to take over the command of Daman in place of Dom Diogo de Noronha, deceased. On arriving at Daman, they found Sebastião de Sá with four galliots of his dispersed fleet. Having joined these vessels, the whole fleet sailed on to Surat, and the united force, comprising 500 men, proceeded up the river for some distance amid a shower of bullets. The Portuguese force then landed, and, after a determined fight, totally defeated Chinguis Khan, who had with him an army of 20,000.

Cedeme Khan, repenting of his bargain, now refused to give up the fort as he had promised, as much, it has been alleged, through fear of what his own people might do as from any other cause. There seem good grounds for believing that this may have been the case, for no sooner had Dom Antonio de Noronha left for Goa, and Cedeme Khan's intention of surrendering the fort became known to his followers, than he was obliged to fly. In making his escape from his own people, however, he fell into the hands of Chinguis Khan, who had his head cut off. He was succeeded in Surat by Caracen, his brother-in-law, who managed to conciliate Chinguis Khan, who accordingly left him in peaceable possession of that city.

Manoel de Vasconcellos, having arrived at the Moluccas, prevailed upon the King of Ternate to give up his claim to that kingdom, on the ground that it had been left by its rightful possessor, who died a Christian at Malacca, to the King of Portugal. King Dom Sebastião was then proclaimed in the whole neighbourhood as the rightful sovereign, but the King was permitted to retain his title, and to carry on the government on behalf of his Suzerain. Vasconcellos then made war against the King of Tidore, but shortly afterwards died, and was succeeded by his lieutenant, Sebastião Machado. His first act was to send Jorge Ferreira against the Sangaje of Gilolo, and reduced him to submission. The Christian religion was now making rapid strides in those parts, through the industrious labours of the Jesuits.

The Government of Dom Constantino de Braganza was now ended. He was endowed with those qualities which make a great man, and was fortunate in most of his undertakings. His government was such that King Dom Sebastião offered him the post of Viceroy for life, but Dom Constantino refused the honour; and when that excellent and worthy Viceroy, Dom Luiz de Ataide, returned to India for the second time, the King bade him govern as Dom Constantino had done.

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A.D. 1561-62.

Dom Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, the new Viceroy, who sailed from Lisbon in the beginning of the year, arrived at Goa early in September, 1561. Having sent commanders to the various ports, the Viceroy dispatched five ships to Portugal, one of which conveyed Dom Constantino de Braganza. He next sent Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, with 650 men in twenty-three ships, in search of Zofar's galleys, but after a fruitless journey he returned to the Malabar coast.

In February, 1562, the Count sent Jorge de Moura, with three galleons and some smaller craft, to convoy some ships from Ormuz, in order to protect them from Zofar's galleys. Off Kishm he met with a large ship belonging to Achin, of great strength, and containing a valuable cargo, which he attempted to capture. She was boarded by Pedro Lopez de Rebelo, but after a sanguinary encounter both it and de Rebelo's vessel caught fire, and were destroyed. Antonio Cabral, coming up with his ship, saved de Rebelo and his men, but most of the Achinese perished, only a few of the crew escaping in their long boat.

In September, 1562, six ships, with 3,000 troops, arrived from Lisbon. At this time the Viceroy was preparing to set out for Calicut, whilst Cide Meriam was marching against Daman with 800 horse and 1,000 foot soldiers, destroying the villages he passed through. The Portuguese went out to meet the enemy and defeated them with considerable loss both in killed and prisoners, and they also captured their camp, in which was found a very large amount of booty.

Early in December the Viceroy went from Goa with 140 sail and 4,000 men, in order to meet the Zamorin at Tiracole, to ratify the treaty already agreed to between their respective representatives. After this the Conde de Redondo returned to Cochin and despatched the homeward-bound fleet.

Jordão de Freitas, when commander at Ternate, having

converted the King of Amboina to Christianity, the latter made him a present of the island for himself, and it subsequently fell to the Crown of Portugal as a possession. Vasco de Sá having been sent thither to build a fort, he conducted himself with so much want of judgment that he entirely estranged the inhabitants from the Portuguese, and they offered to place themselves in subjection to the Queen of Japarra, in Java, if she would assist them with her shipping to drive the Portuguese out of the island. Certain of the neighbouring islands made common cause with the inhabitants of Amboina, and sent some vessels to their assistance. All this took place in the year 1562, and early in the following year the Viceroy sent Henrique de Sá with reinforcements to the island, and he not only speedily quelled the rebellion, but also administered due punishment to the leaders in it, amongst whom were two renegade Portuguese.

In Ceylon, Madune, always aiming at the deposition of his brother, the King of Cotta, from his throne, had a large force in the field under the command of his son Raju, who, with 30,000 men, besieged the fortress of Colombo, which was then commanded by Balthasar Guedes de Sousa. For several days he bombarded the place without any practical result, and then drew off and marched to the city of Cotta, about two leagues distant, being confident in his ability to capture it, as he believed the Portuguese were not in a position to send adequate relief. But Balthazar Guedes, with 400 men, arrived there as soon as Raju. The city was besieged and attacked with such fury for several days, that it could not have held out had not Diogo de Mello Coutinho, the Captain of Manar, arrived at an opportune moment with 400 men and provisions. On perceiving this relief, Raju raised the siege, having sustained during the same a loss of 2,000 men, whilst the Portuguese only lost twenty men. After repairing the fort, Coutinho returned to Manar.

On the 12th February, 1564, the King and grandees of

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the Moluccas Islands executed a deed by which they ceded to the King of Portugal and his successors all the rights and seigniorage of the same in the following terms:—

"Knowing how all the Kings of those parts have profited by their allegiance to the Portuguese flag, and how they have been protected from the attacks of their enemies by the Kings of Portugal, We, Quachil Eiro, King of Maluco, and Quachil Babu, my son and heir, being desirous of coming under your Majesty's protection, do hereby concede to the Crown of Portugal, in perpetuity, the rights, dominion, and seigneurage of these Kingdoms of Maluco, with all the islands subject thereto, we only retaining the *dominio util* of the same Kingdom, our descendants, when succeeding to the Kingdom, being compelled to obtain of your Majesty, or the Viceroy for the time being, the confirmation of such *dominio util* in our names."

The Portuguese being at war with Cannanore, the Viceroy sent thither Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, with a fleet of fifteen sail. Jeronymo Dias de Menezes, who was behind the remainder of the fleet, fell in with three Malabarese paraos, attacked the largest of them, boarded it, and, having slain most of the crew, captured the vessel. The other two paraos, however, came to the rescue, compelling the Portuguese to defend their own ship. The Portuguese were driven to the poop of their vessel, but making a final determined rush on the enemy, drove them off with a loss of sixty killed, and Dias de Menezes then continued his voyage.

On the Viceroy becoming aware of what had befallen Jeronymo Dias de Menezes, he complained to the Zamorin of the continued piracies of the Malabarese as being a violation of the treaty of peace recently ratified between them. His reply was anything but satisfactory, for he merely said: "Those vessels must have been pirates, and whoever should fall in with them was at liberty to punish them." The Viceroy was determined to take revenge,

and hearing that over eighty Malabarese ships were sailing for Calicut, he resolved to destroy them, and should the Zamorin complain he resolved to answer that "they were rebels, and whoever wished might punish them." The Viceroy therefore sent Domingos de Mesquita, a man of great daring but no conscience, with 120 men in three ships. Mesquita cruised about the coast of Carapatan, where he captured, by twos and threes at a time, twenty-four sail in all. The vessels were sunk, some of the men were beheaded and others sown up in sails and then thrown overboard. In all 2,000 men were killed by Mesquita in this manner, and a very tedious war was soon after the result of his action.

Scarcely had the Viceroy become aware of the result of this expedition, than he died suddenly on the 19th February, 1564. Dom Francisco Coutinho was the eighth Viceroy and twenty-first Governor, and held office for two years and five months.

At this time Luiz de Camoens was at Goa, and had received many favours at the hands of the last two Viceroys. The Governor, Francisco Barreto, had imprisoned, and subsequently banished, him for debts, and the Conde de Redondo had, towards the end of his government, again given him up to the law, and he was cast into prison.

João de Mendoça, late commander at Malacca, succeeded Dom Francisco Coutinho with the title of Governor. As soon as he had taken office there came to him ambassadors from the Zamorin, complaining of the harm which Domingos de Mesquita had done to his subjects, contrary to the articles so recently sworn to and ratified. The Governor answered that the misdeeds must have been committed by some Portuguese rebels, and that the Zamorin was at liberty to punish them if he could, as he, the Governor, would himself do if he had the opportunity. The ambassadors had nothing to say, but just before their departure Domingo de Mesquita appeared, and the Governor caused him, in the presence of the

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ambassadors, to be apprehended, but as soon as their backs were turned he released and rewarded him for his services in the matter.

A woman, however, widow of one of the men slain by Mesquita, ran about the city of Cannanore with loud cries and complaints, stirring up the Moors to revenge. They all took up arms, and swore not to lay them down until they had exterminated all the Portuguese from among them. They besieged the fort, which was commanded by Dom Payo de Noronha, and set fire to some thirty ships that were anchored within range of its guns. The Governor immediately sent André de Sousa with six sail to the relief of the fort, which was already being attacked by a large army under the command of Ade Rajao. Thus commenced the Malabar war.

It was now the beginning of September, and some ships arrived from Portugal, one of which conveyed the new Viceroy, Dom Antonio de Noronha, to whom the Governor at once delivered the seals of office. João de Mendoça was the twenty-second Governor, and had held that office about six months.

The new Viceroy, who was received with great rejoicings, immediately sent relief to Cannanore, giving the command of the land forces to Dom Payo de Noronha, and of the sea to Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque with a good fleet. Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, who was at Cannanore with a squadron, delivered it to him, and went to Mozambique to take over the command of that place.

Pedro da Silva e Menezes had the command of seven ships, whose duty it was to convoy vessels bringing provisions to Goa, of which there was a scarcity. He fell in with a Moor named Muri-Muja, who had with him seventeen well armed paraos, which he immediately attacked. Two of the Moors' vessels were sunk, three were captured, and the remainder were pursued as far as the river Pudapatan, where three more paraos and more than fifty almadias (large boats) came to their relief. The

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Moors were repulsed, with a loss of 500 killed, whilst the Portuguese loss was only three killed.

The Viceroy, being anxious about the safety of Cannanore, sent thither D. Paulo de Lima Pereira with four ships. While at anchor in the Bay of Bhatkal, the Malabar pirate, Kunhali, came upon him with seven paraos. Dom Paulo de Lima Pereira at once set out against the enemy. After the usual salutes with their respective cannon, Kunhali, with three of his ships, boarded Dom Paulo's vessel. Dom Paulo's fifty men did wonders, killing over 200 Moors with a loss of thirty on their side. Kunhali then sailed away with his vessels, and Dom Paulo, who was so seriously wounded that he could not proceed to Cannanore, returned to Goa.

The Portuguese at Cannanore were now being sorely pressed by the great numbers of the enemy, who were masters of the field. André de Sousa made a desperate resistance till he died, and Dom Payo de Noronha, who succeeded him, killed in several encounters over 2,000 of the enemy, besides cutting down 40,000 * palm-trees. The people, who were seriously affected by the loss of their palm-trees, now collected in great quantities to take revenge, whereupon the Portuguese retired from the city to the fort, taking with them all their valuables. The next day the enemy attacked the fortress with redoubled energy, and over 2,000 of them entered the city, where numerous encounters took place with the Portuguese, but at sunset the enemy, having lost about 5,000 of their men, retired to their camp.

Gonçalo Pereira now arrived at Cannanore with his fleet, and shortly afterwards Alvaro Paes de Soutomayor came to succeed Dom Payo de Noronha. They both attacked Ade Rajao's city with such vigour that they routed the enemy with great loss, and obliged them to raise the siege.

* The destruction of so many palm-trees was a serious thing for the people of those parts, as the produce of these trees formed their principal source of food and income.

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The tyrant Raju was now disturbing the peace of Ceylon, with the view of making himself master of the whole island. Having collected a large army, he marched against the Portuguese at Colombo, but in order to take them by surprise, gave it out he was marching against Cotta. Having encamped between the two forts he threatened Cotta, but at nightfall made a sudden rush on Colombo, expecting to find the Portuguese unprepared to resist him. The attack was so sudden that 2,000 men succeeded in scaling the walls, but were as quickly thrown down again by the commander, Diogo de Atayde, and his men. The assault was renewed, but with the same result, after which, finding he had already lost 500 men in the assaults, Raju resolved to encompass both forts with his army, and reduce them by starvation. At Cotta the enemy nearly succeeded in draining the ditch by altering the course of the river, and would have effected that object had not Pero de Atayde, with some musketeers, driven off the men employed on the work, killing 300 of them.

Provisions at length began to be scarce at Cotta, and Atayde sallied out with eighty men to capture some elephants in a wood near by, but being overpowered by the number of the enemy, retired with a loss of two killed. Besides the want of food, the difficulties of the situation were for a time increased by treachery within the fort of Colombo, Raju having succeeded in bribing not only the natives, but even some Portuguese. The treason was, however, discovered in time to prevent any serious result from it.

Jorge de Mello, commanding in the island of Manar, now prevailed on the King of Kandy to assist the Portuguese by invading the Raju's territories, hoping by this means to draw him away from Cotta and Colombo. The King accordingly sent 5,000 of his men and thirty Portuguese soldiers, commanded by Belchior de Sousa, who ravaged all the country as they went, and utterly destroyed the city of Chilaw; but Raju not only did

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relax from the siege, but on the contrary made preparations for another night assault on Cotta. A Cingalese woman, however, having become acquainted with this design, acquainted the Portuguese commander of Raju's intentions, and thus saved the city, by enabling the former :o make the necessary preparations for defence.

In the dead of night the enemy attacked Cotta on all ·les, but found its gallant defenders on the alert. Diogo Atayde, as soon as he heard that the assault had been ıade, sallied out from Colombo and fell upon the rear of ıju's army ; the enemy succeeded in gaining an entrance one part of the fort, but were speedily driven out again, d whilst they were thus engaged a force from Colombo ›troyed the Raju's camp. Raju, with the flower of his ıy, attacked the bastion of Preacota, which was deded by only fifty soldiers, but could do nothing inst them, and after having lost more than 2,000 of men, he raised the siege and fled to Sita-Wacca the t morning.

Pero de Atayde, fearing that Raju might return again, l being in great want of provisions, caused 400 of the est men who had been killed to be salted. No use , however, made of this food, for it soon became known Raju would not be in a condition to renew hostilities some time, and provisions were received from Colombo tly afterwards. Thus ended this siege of four months, ng the last forty days of which there was scarcely hing to eat. The credit of the victory was due rely to the Portuguese soldiers, as all the men of the g of Kandy deserted.

What Raju had contemplated, the Portuguese now ried out, for finding that it would be difficult and ublesome to maintain Cotta, it was deemed expedient demolish it and remove the King to Colombo, where he s no less tormented by the covetousness of the Portuse commanders than he had before been by the anny of the Raja Singha.

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Three thousand of the Mughal's horse having made the appearance before the fort of Daman, João de Sousa, commander there, sent information to the Viceroy, and t neighbouring commanders at the same time made prepa ations for a defence. His greatest confidence lay in tl palisade, which was constructed of "lechera" (or mi wood), because when struck it exudes a milk-like liqui which if it touches the eyes, infallibly blinds. Trist de Mendoça came to the relief with 200 men fr Chaul, and the Viceroy sending four ships with reinfor ments, the whole force marched out to engage the ene who were encamped about three leagues off. At t mere sight of the Portuguese the Mughal's force fl leaving a valuable treasure in the camp.

The Bashaw of Bussora, during the Government of Conde de Redondo (Dom Francisco Coutinho), desi that the Turks should have a free trade at Ormuz, m overtures of peace, but as the Count considered i matter of too great importance to be settled without concurrence of the Grand Turk, sent Antonio Teix as Ambassador to Constantinople. Having told what the Bashaw desired, the Grand Turk replied, ask peace of nobody. If the King of Portugal desire let him send some great personage of his Court, anc shall be heard." The Ambassador then left with reply for Lisbon, but it was deemed advisable to tak notice of it.

The war in Cannanore came at length to an end; King being utterly wearied of it, sued for peace, which granted. The concluding events of this war had been capture of several Malabarese ships by Gonçalo Per Marramaque, and the slaughter of many Moors who in with Manoel de Brito whilst convoying the ships fi Malacca, China, the Moluccas, Pegu, Bengal, and Coast of Coromandel.

The trade and the resources of India were now at a v low ebb, by reason of the desolation which obtainec

the kingdom of Bisnagá. The Kings of Deccan—Nizamaluco, the Adil Khan, and Cutubixa—jealous of its grandeur, entered into a league against it. They took the field with 50,000 horse and 300,000 foot soldiers, the King of Bisnagá opposing them with double those numbers of men. The King, who was ninety-six years of age, had the best of it at first, but later on fortune deserted him, and during five months his kingdom was plundered. The spoil consisted of a great number of elephants, besides money, and jewels almost beyond price, and the royal Chair of State, which was also of very great value. The Crown was afterwards divided among the sons and nephews of the late King.

In the beginning of the year 1567, Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque sailed for Amboina with 1,000 men in twelve ships, intelligence having been received from that island that those who had recently embraced Christianity there were in imminent danger. Dom Manoel de Noronha sailed for Banda, but was stabbed on board his galley by the purser, whom he had assaulted with a cane.

The war in Cannanore being now ended, the Portuguese forces were sent in various directions. Alvaro Paes de Soutomayor sailed to the Malabar coast with twenty vessels; Diogo Lopes de Mesquita with three for the Moluccas Islands; Dom Jorge de Menezes Baroche for the Red Sea, with four galleons, one galley, and four smaller vessels; Lisuarte de Aragon for Ceylon, with one ship; Dom Luiz Pereira for Malacca, with six; Jorge de Moura for the north, with the same number; and Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas with twenty-seven sail (João Peixoto having preceded him with eight ships) for Olala, to enforce the payment of tribute from the Queen of that place.

The Viceroy followed Dom Francisco Mascarenhas with a fleet of seven galleys, two galleons, and five smaller vessels, carrying in all about 3,000 fighting men, determined to erect a fort at Mangalor, and bring about the submission of Bucadeoi Chantar, the Queen.

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The fleet having anchored in the bay of the ci Mangalor and Olala, the Viceroy landed his men i battalions on the 4th January, 1567. At night, while Portuguese, quite unconscious of danger, were supping . their camp, the enemy sallied forth in a body of 500 mei followed by another one of 1,500, and fell on them s suddenly and with such fury that for a time they wer helpless and thrown into great disorder. Dom Francisc de Mascarenhas, who held an advance post, received th brunt of the attack, and though he fought well he lo: several men. He was finally relieved by Dom Luiz (Almeida, and the enemy were driven off.

On the eve of the Epiphany, the Portuguese assault(the city, and having forced their way into it, set it on fi and cut down its grove of palm-trees. The Queen fled a mountain. Of the enemy 500 were slain, and of t Portuguese troops about forty. The Viceroy then la the foundations of the fortress, giving it the name of S Sebastian, because the first stone was laid on that Sain day, and also because that day was chosen in honour the then reigning King of Portugal. By the middle March, the fortress with a church and other buildir were completed. The Viceroy gave the command of it his brother-in-law, Antonio Pereira, and having left garrison of 300 men, and ammunition for six months, returned to Goa. Later on, during the government Dom Luiz de Atayde, the Queen sued for peace, which she purchased at the cost of an additional tribute, and the payment of a sum of money down.

The King of Achin had now entered into a league with several other Princes of the East, and with the Turks, for the purpose of driving the Portuguese out of Malacca. So certain was he of success, that he took his wife and children with him to the siege. The secret of this expedition was well kept from the Portuguese, and the combined forces appeared unexpectedly before the city with a fleet of 450 sail, 200 brass cannon, and 20,000 men. Dom

Leonis Pereira, the Commander of Malacca, was at that time on shore, celebrating the King of Portugal's birthday with games and exercises on horseback. Perceiving some of his men were alarmed at the sight of this fleet he ordered the games and sports to be continued, but at the same time he gradually drew his men nearer the shore in view that the enemy should not perceive that he was aware of their approach.

After giving the necessary orders, Dom Leonis reviewed his forces and found he had 1,500 men, of whom, however, only 200 were Portuguese. The King landed his forces, and after a heavy discharge of cannon, above 200 scaling-ladders were laid against the walls amid deafening shouts on both sides. Dom Leonis had appointed all his men to their various posts, the priests having undertaken to defend one position, but no sooner had the enemy commenced the attack, than they fled to the church.

In the middle of the battle, a body of Portuguese sallied out, and marching to the enemy's earthworks attacked them and killed a great number, amongst whom was the King of Aru. The Portuguese captured one cannon, numbers of muskets, scimitars, &c., and lost in the encounter but one Portuguese soldier and six Malays. The enemy, encouraged by the King who was looking on, made a second attack, but as fast as they scaled the works they were hurled down again by the defenders. The King in his rage stamped and blasphemed, and perceiving that after three days' fighting he had not gained a foot of ground, he despaired of success, and accordingly, with great secrecy, re-embarked his men. He set sail, after having set fire to some of his vessels that were not required owing to the numbers who were slain. This great victory cost the Portuguese three men, and the enemy 4,000 killed.

The commander, Dom Leonis Péreira, after this victory distributed money and jewels to the value of 15,000 crowns amongst all those who had distinguished themselves in the defence of Malacca. The Viceroy, on re-

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ceiving advice that the city was in danger, sent João da Silva Pereira with reinforcements and ammunition in seven ships, to the relief of the place, but when he arrived there the siege had already been raised. The King of Ujantana, a friend of the Portuguese, visited the commander with sixty sail and complimented him on his wonderful victory, at the same time expressing regret that he had not enjoyed the opportunity of assisting him against the Achinese and their allies.

The natives of the island of Salsette now began to persecute the newly-converted Christians, whereupon the Viceroy fitted out a fleet against them, keeping, however, his design a secret, and when the inhabitants of Salsette least expected it, he fell upon them and destroyed 200 of their Pagan temples.

A curious account is given in De Couto's work "Da Asiá" (Book III., Cap. x.) relative to a remarkable labyrinth in this island,* which may be thus summarised:

* The account of the labyrinth is believed to be entirely apocryphal. The caves referred to were visited by John Huyghen van Linschoten in the latter part of the sixteenth century, who makes no reference to this long passage, and refers to the caves as follows:—"By the town of Bassayn, which lyeth northwards from Goa, upon the coast of India [and], is inhabited by Portiugalles, there lyeth an Island called Salsette. There are two of the most renowned Pagodes, or temples, or rather holes wherein the Pagodes stand in all India, whereof one of their holes is cut out from under a hill of hard stone, and is of compasse within, about the bignes of a village of 400 houses: when you come to the foot of the hill there is a Pagodes house, with Images therein cut out of the [very] rockes of the same hill, with most horrible and fearefull [formes and] shapes, whereat this day the Gray Fryers have made a cloyster called S. Michaels; and as you go in under the hill, in the first circle you may see many Pagodes, and stepping somewhat higher it hath an other [circle or] Gallerie of Chambers and Pagodes, and yet higher it hath such an other Gallerie of Chambers and Pagodes all out out of the hard rockes; and by these chambers standeth a great cistern with water, and hath certain holes above, whereby the rain water falleth into it; above that it hath an other Gallery with Chambers [and Pagodes], [so that] to be briefe, all the chambers and houses within [this compasse or] foure Galleries, are 300, and are al full of carved Pagodes, of so fearefull, horrible and develish formes [and shapes] that it is wonderful to behold. The other temple or hole of Pagodes in this Island is in another place, hewed also out of hard rockes, and very great, al ful of Pagodes, cut out likewise of [the same] stones, with so evill favored and uglie shapes, that to enter therein it would make a man's hayre stand upright." The architecture of the Salsette caves is supposed to belong to the fourth or fifth century of the present era. Some of the caves of Salsette are said to have been used by the Portuguese as places of Christian worship, and near one of them, at Montpezir, are the ruins of a Catholic monastery built by the Jesuits in the sixteenth century.

In this island is a high mountain, winding about which are 3,000 cells, with each of them a cistern all cut out of the solid rock. Under this same mountain is a way out through the same rock with similar cells on the sides, which is said to go as far as Cambay, in which case it must pass under the sea. Fr. Antonio do Porto, a Franciscan, resolved to investigate the truth of this, and accordingly got together some companions to accompany him, together with quantities of provisions, torches, and strong packthread. Having made one end of the packthread fast near the entrance, they travelled seven days through this subterranean passage, but finding no end to it, and their provisions running short, they returned by means of the packthread, after having travelled, according to their calculations, about fifty leagues. The natives said that this was the work of Bimilamenta, who 1,300 years before was King of all the country between Bengal and the Mughal's territory.

Affairs in the Moluccas were anything but satisfactory. We left Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque on his voyage to Amboina (or Ito, as the island was sometimes called), where on his arrival he found the natives assisted by 600 Japanese in a well-fortified place commanded by one Gemiro. Marramaque attacked the enemy, who defended themselves vigorously, but were finally defeated and retired to a hill, where they afterwards laid down their arms on condition of their lives being spared. The people of Amboina having been the first among those islanders to admit the Portuguese, and to give them permission to erect a memorial with the arms of Portugal, and finally to embrace the Christian religion, and contract marriages with the Portuguese, it will be as well to explain the reason why they became the mortal enemies of Portugal. The unfortunate part of it is that they had a cause, and a just one.

The people of Curon (Ceram?) became the implacable enemies of those of Amboina, for the simple reason that

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they had admitted the Portuguese, adopted their religion, and contracted marriages with them. They therefore resolved not only to expel the Portuguese but also the natives, and came upon them so suddenly with a large force, that they would have been annihilated had not the Portuguese stood by them, and, in short, utterly defeated their enemies.

The people of Amboina, to show their gratitude to their protectors, invited them to a sumptuous entertainment. The wives of those who gave the feast were present at the banquet. One of the Portuguese (doubtless in a state of intoxication) was so charmed with the beauty of one of those women that he attempted to assault her. He was admonished three times without any effect, and had not Genulius (a man of great authority) interposed, not a single Portuguese would have escaped alive. And well they would have deserved it, as not one of them raised his voice in condemnation of such an insolent act.

These people, burning with a desire for revenge for the affront, insisted upon the punishment of the Portuguese. Genulius was only able to appease their anger by expelling them, and as the Portuguese were not then in a position to resist, there was no alternative but to submit. So they accordingly embarked on board their vessels, and retired.

Scarcely had they left the shore than the people of Amboina threatened the inhabitants of Atire and Tavire with war should they admit the Portuguese into their ports. Their reply was they were Christians, and as such would admit their friends the Portuguese into their ports and their houses even at the risk of their lives.

The inhabitants of Amboina were so incensed at this answer that they fell upon them unawares, routed and put to the sword most of the inhabitants of those places, and brought into subjection those towns which had already submitted to the Crown of Portugal. They were not

content to put their enemies to death in a merciful manner, but subjected them to the most cruel and barbarous tortures.

Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque, as has already been stated, arrived at Amboina soon after these events, and defeated the inhabitants and their Javanese allies, who fled, and fortified themselves in the hills. In this action the Portuguese lost five killed, and Gonçalo Pereira having left Dom Duarte de Menezes in command, left the island.

About this time Diogo Lopes de Mesquita commanded at Ternate. Aeyro, King of that island, who had been so unjustly treated by Dom Duarte de Eça, had always been respectful to the Portuguese, but was now at variance with them because they had killed his nephew. The King, to avenge himself, commenced by killing three Portuguese because they refused to do him justice. Their differences were, however, amicably settled through the intervention of some well-meaning persons, and the King and Mesquita solemnly swore to be reconciled. The latter was only acting his part, for before six days had expired he murdered the King at an audience. This was done as they were parting. Mesquita escorted the King to the door, when his nephew, Martim Affonso Pimentel, acting under orders from his uncle, stabbed him.

When this King last swore friendship he swore it by the Portuguese arms, on which are represented the Saviour's wounds, and when he was stabbed he lay hold of a cannon which bore those arms, saying, "Ah, gentlemen, why do you thus kill the best subject my master has?" Neither these words, nor the sacredness of the place assuaged their fury. There they stripped and cut him in pieces, which being salted and put into a chest, were cast into the sea in sight of his Queen and daughters, who only begged for leave to have him decently buried. Such was then the state of Portuguese government that these and other similar cruelties and villainies remained un-

CHAP. XIX. A.D. 1569. punished. A just retribution, however, soon overtook the perpetrators of this act of treachery. Gui Chil Babu, son of the murdered King, succeeded him in the Crown, and showed a strong and just desire to revenge himself for such inhuman oppression. He therefore fortified himself, and entered into a league with all the neighbouring Princes against Portugal; as a commencement of hostilities he began by killing some Portuguese and persecuting the newly-converted Christians in those islands, and finally succeeded in driving them out of those parts.

The Viceroy's last act was to dispatch Dom Luiz de Almeida to cruise in the neighbourhood of Surat to ascertain what ships without Portuguese passes sailed in those waters. Dom Luiz had with him twenty ships, and with this fleet captured three large richly-laden vessels, one of which foundered at sea, and the other two he took to Daman. Having embarked for Lisbon, the Viceroy died on the voyage on the 2nd February, 1569. By his will his right arm was cut off, preserved, and buried with his uncle, Dom Nuno Alvares, at Ceuta, and his body cast into the sea. The cutting off of the arm was the execution of a sentence he had pronounced on himself when a relative having prevailed on him to sign an unjust document, he said, "The hand that signs such a thing deserves to be cut off."

Don Antonio de Noronha was a man of good disposition and sound judgment, and was Viceroy for the term of four years.

Luiz de Camoens, having resided for sixteen years in India, went with Pedro Barreto to Zofala, but, being unable to obtain any suitable employment there, he determined to return to Portugal. A vessel having touched there on its way home, in which were Heytor da Silveira and other gentlemen, he took advantage of the opportunity to return with them. As, however, he was about to depart, Pedro Barreto demanded 200 ducats of

him for expenses incurred on his account. This claim he was quite unable to satisfy, so the amount was paid by Heytor da Silveira and his companions, and Camoens then returned with them, arriving in Lisbon in the year 1569.

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CHAPTER XX.

Dom Luiz de Atayde appointed Viceroy—Differences with Rustum Khan—Capture of the Stronghold of Parnel—Capture and Abandonment of the Fort of Barcelor—Expedition against Cole and Sarceta—Capture of Onor and Barcelor—Destruction of Towns on the Coast of Malabar—Attacks on Amboina and Ternate—Combination of Powers against the Portuguese—Attack on Goa—Destruction of an Achinese Fleet—Attempt to Murder the Adil Khan—Siege of Onor—Siege of Chaul—Attack on Chale by the Zamorin—Abortive Attempt against Malacca—Return of Dom Luiz de Atayde to Lisbon.

CHAP. XX.

DOM ANTONIO DE NORONHA was succeeded by Dom Luiz de Atayde, Conde de Atouguia, as Viceroy of India.

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He left Lisbon in March, 1568, accompanied by five ships, with a large number of men, and arrived in Goa in October following, where he was received with general satisfaction by everybody. Amongst the orders which he took with him was one to the effect that a gentleman should uncover his head when he spoke to the Governor, and be seated on a chair without a back. His first attention was to the shipping, and in a short time he succeeded in sending out expeditions in several directions. Amongst these Luiz de Mello da Silva set out in February, 1569, with a fleet of thirteen sail to relieve Dom Leonis de Pereira at Malacca; Affonso Pereira de Lacerda sailed northwards with six vessels, and Martim Affonso de Miranda was dispatched to the Malabar coast with thirty-six ships in search of pirates, who were infesting those waters. In an engagement with some of them, Martim Affonso, after destroying five large vessels, was wounded

by a cannon-ball, and had consequently to be conveyed to Cochin, where he died. Dom Jorge de Menezes, who set out with two galleys in pursuit of the pirate Kunhale, failed to come up with the object of his search, but he fell in with a large number of vessels in the River Carapatan, which he attacked. Menezes boarded one large galley, and killed the whole of the Moorish crew, which numbered 180 men.

Ayres Telles de Menezes set out with seven sail, and Dom Paulo de Lima Pereira with eight ships for the north. In the River Banda, near Goa, Menezes found four catures, or Malabarese barges, which he attacked, but although they lost many men in the engagement they managed to escape. He then continued his voyage northwards to relieve Rustum Khan, who was being besieged by the Mughals in Broach, which place he had seized during the confusion in Cambaya that followed the death of the King Bedur.

Ayres Telles de Menezes had no difficulty in driving the Moors from Broach, but Rustum Khan, being now out of danger, quite repudiated his part of the contract, which was that, in return for the assistance rendered, he would become a tributary of Portugal. Whilst this was taking place at Broach, Dom Pedro de Almeida, Commander of Daman, went to Surat to call to account Agaluchem, the lord of that town, for having loaded two large vessels without the Viceroy's leave. In consequence of this omission on his part the vessels were confiscated with their cargoes, which were together valued at 100,000 ducats.

Dom Diogo de Menezes, on the coast of Malabar, did such execution that the Zamorin was unable to relieve Agaluchem, who had sent a request from Surat for assistance against the Portuguese under Nuno Vello Pereira, who had come from Daman to clear the Bay of Cambay of its enemies. He burnt two villages and several ships, and carried away several prisoners. Then, with 400 men, he

CHAP. XX. A.D. 1569. pursued a force of Mughals who had fled to an almost impregnable mountain stronghold called Parnel, distant about three leagues from Daman. Nuno neither knew the strength of the place nor the number of his enemies (which was 800), so commenced to mount that difficult ascent, from the summit of which great stones were thrown down by the defenders. The Portuguese, however, climbed on their hands and feet, and reaching the first entrenchments, after a stubborn resistance dislodged the enemy. They next attacked the fortress, but as they strove in vain against it, Nuno retired with a loss of seven men, the enemy's casualties being thirty killed, and a loss of fifty horses, some camels, and oxen.

Having consulted with Alvaro Peres de Tavora, the Commander of Daman, Nuno marched again with 100 Portuguese, fifty Moorish horse, and 650 foot soldiers, half-castes, up this mountain carrying with them three pieces of cannon. They met with considerable opposition, five cannon playing upon them from the fort. Three days were spent in climbing the mountain, but having arrived at the summit, Nuno planted his cannon, and with them battered the fort for six days continuously, at the expiration of which the enemy abandoned the place and retreated. The fortress was then razed to the ground.

The great importance of the impregnable fortress of Azarim moved the Kings of Coles and Sarcetas to attempt the capture of it. Having invaded the country round Bassein, in which this fort is situated, and after having done a great deal of damage, the enemy encamped before the fortress, which they at once proceeded to attack, but André de Villalobos, who commanded there, bravely defended it till the Viceroy sent him relief. Being then 800 strong, he sallied out against the enemy, and not only compelled them to raise the siege, but pursuing them into their own territories, devastated everything with fire and sword, and then returned.

The Viceroy now sent out Dom Rodrigo de Sousa with six ships to Cambay; Pedro Lopes Rabello and Giles de Goes with two ships and three galleons to Aden; Dom Diogo de Menezes with twelve galleys and thirty small vessels to the Malabar coast, and Pedro da Silva e Menezes with thirteen sail to Barcelor.

The Viceroy having taken offence at the King of Tolar, and being anxious to possess himself of the fort of Barcelor, had made arrangements with the commander whereby he was to betray it to him. Pedro da Silva de Menezes, on going to take possession of the fort, entered by the way the River Sanguise, which runs through the territories of the Adil Khan, where he burnt two towns and some vessels. The Captain of Barcelor, in accordance with his promise, delivered up the fort at night, and the Portuguese rushing on the town killed and captured more than 200 of its inhabitants. The Kings of Tolar and Cambolim came up, however, that night with 1,503 men, and the following night were reinforced by 5,000 more. After a hot engagement, in which the enemy lost heavily, the Portuguese came to the conclusion that the fortress was untenable, so they were allowed to quit it with the honours of war, taking with them twenty cannon and a great quantity of ammunition and arms.

Mem Lopes Carrasco sailing for Sunda, with only one ship and forty fighting men, passed in sight of the port of Achin, just at the time that the King of that place was setting out against Malacca with a fleet of twenty galleys an equal number of galleons, and 160 other vessels. Corrasco, finding it impossible to avoid them, resolved to sell his life as dearly as he could. The whole fleet attacked him, tearing all his rigging to pieces, but night coming on the combatants parted. At break of day the fight was renewed with redoubled vigour. The contest lasted three days, and the King having lost forty ships returned with the remainder into the harbour.

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Carrasco then managed to reach Malacca, but his vessel was so completely shattered that but little of it remained above the water-line.

Miran, the King of certain territories between Mughal and Cambay, desirous of possessing the Crown of the latter, to which he considered he had the best title, since it had been usurped from the lawful heirs upon the death of Bedur, requested the assistance of the Viceroy, offering him a sum of money and certain towns in consideration of his assisting him in gaining the kingdom, and expelling Himi Khan, who was an usurper there. The Viceroy granted the request, and made such rapid preparations that in a short time he had collected together a fleet of 140 sail, giving out that he was preparing an expedition against Malabar. Having sent ambassadors to Miran to make arrangements about the campaign, the Viceroy, to keep his men out of idleness until the reply from the King was received, sailed to the rivers of Barcelor and Onor, the banks of which are peopled by Canarese, who, at the instigation of the Malabarese, had refused to pay tribute due to the Portuguese.

Whilst the Viceroy was engaged with these matters, four ships from Lisbon arrived most opportunely at Goa.

Dom Paulo de Lima, with one galleon and six ships, and Martim Affonso de Mello, Commander of Bassein, collected a force of 130 horse and 800 Portuguese foot soldiers for an expedition against the Kings of Cole and Sarceta. The enemy, although they had 400 of the former, and 2,000 of the latter, were defeated and put to flight. The cities of Darila and Varem were then destroyed, and all the countries round about them devastated. Dom Paulo de Lima on his return captured two ships from the enemy, and was received by the Viceroy with great honour.

In November, 1569, the Viceroy set out with a fleet of 130 sail with 3,400 Portuguese soldiers, besides Indians, and having entered the river of Onor, he landed 2,300

men, but not without some opposition on the part of the enemy. The place was by nature very strong, and having been well fortified it presented the appearance of an impregnable stronghold. The Portuguese, nevertheless, commenced to ascend the hill in the face of a shower of bullets, and as soon as they came near the summit the enemy deserted the city, and retired into the fort, whilst the Queen of Garçopa retired inland. The city of Onor, which contained much wealth and many fine buildings, was first plundered and afterwards reduced to ashes. The fort was then attacked, and after four days' bombardment the garrison surrendered upon condition of being allowed to march away without their arms. The Portuguese then occupied the fort, and Jorge de Moura, with 400 men, was left in command.

The Viceroy next went on to Barcelor, a place very similar, as regards strength and position, to Onor. The landing here was more difficult, as the Portuguese were opposed by a force of 11,000 men; but after some hard fighting, in which 200 of the enemy were killed, the Portuguese captured some of their works. This so dismayed them that those in the fort abandoned it and left it in the hands of the Portuguese. Soon afterwards the Kings of Tolar and Cambolim attacked the fortress on a very dark night, but found its commander, Pedro Lopes Rabello, with his 200 men, quite ready for them. The enemy, having lost 300, and despairing of any success, concluded a treaty of peace, in which they agreed to the imposition of a greater tribute than they paid before. The Viceroy, before leaving, had an interview with those two Princes, and with the Queen of Cambolim, after which they parted with great expressions of friendship. More than a month was spent in building a new fortress in a more convenient place, between the city and the mouth of the river; and the command of it was given to Antonio Botelho.

The Viceroy was greatly concerned at receiving no reply

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from King Miran. It transpired afterwards, however, that Miran was just starting for Cambay, when his own territories were invaded by the Mughal, and he was compelled to return and defend them. The Viceroy having now no employment for so large a fleet as he had at his command, divided it into seven squadrons, which he dispatched upon several expeditions. Dom Pedro de Castro was deputed to convoy the trading ships to Goa; Fernando Telles was sent with another squadron to the north, two of the ships being commanded by Ruy Dias Cabral, and Dom Henrique de Menezes respectively. These two vessels became detached from the main body, and falling in with fifty Malabarese ships, the two commanders rashly attacked them, with disastrous consequences, as might have been expected. Ruy Diaz and seventy men were killed, and Dom Henrique de Menezes was carried into slavery and afterwards ransomed. Dom Manoel Pereira and João de Silva Barreto arrived too late to prevent these reverses, but they attacked the enemy and put them to flight.

The Viceroy resented this loss, not so much on account of its magnitude, but because it was the first time that fortune had frowned on him. He went to Mangalore, twelve leagues to the south, to settle some disputes there which were prejudicial to trade. The disturbances arose from the enmity between the King of Banguel and the Queen of Olala, whose kingdoms lay north and south of Mangalore, respectively. The Viceroy was better received than he anticipated. He had an interview with those two monarchs, and settled their differences. On his return to Goa, he left with Antonio Botelho, the Commander of Barcelôr, 600 men, and Antonio Cabral with three well-appointed vessels, to protect that place from the sea. At Onor he gave a reinforcement of 500 men to Jorge de Moura's force, and left the command of those seas to Francisco and Roque de Miranda with six ships, and they by fire and the sword destroyed some ships and towns, which rebelled directly the Viceroy had turned his back.

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At the end of this year, 1569, five ships arrived at Goa from Portugal, and the Queen of Garçopa, who had fled to the hills, returned and came to terms with the Portuguese.

Dom Diogo de Menezes, with forty-two sail, carried fire and sword along the whole Malabar coast, to the terror of all the inhabitants of that empire. The towns of Coulete, Tiracole, Capocate, Padrarigale, Ponani, and Calicut fell victims to his fury, and above 1,000 natives were either killed or made prisoners, more than sixty vessels were captured, and many more sunk and burnt. The Portuguese lost but four men during these actions.

The Zamorin, with the view of putting a stop to the ruin and desolation to his territories, now sued for peace, but a deaf ear was turned to his proposals. The weather, however, effected what he desired, as it was no longer practicable to lay off that coast. Luiz de Mello circumvented the designs of the Queen of Garçopa, who, whilst treating for peace, was secretly making preparations for carrying on the war. He burnt many of her towns, ravaged the country, and demolished the fortress of Sanguise. At the same time Vicente Saldanha captured many trading ships off Mangalore, and Dom João Coutinho scoured the seas off Cambay, Cochin, and Chaul. Dom Francisco de Almeida, at Diu, put to flight six Malabarese galliots, which attempted to enter that port for the purpose of burning some ships which were there.

In the beginning of the winter the Viceroy fitted out two squadrons for the relief of Onor and Daman in case the Mughal should have any design against the latter, and the Queen of Garçopa should attack the former. His greatest anxiety was about Onor, as the enemy had endeavoured to destroy the Portuguese, and effect by treachery what they had failed to do by force. They accordingly bribed some Canarese who were there to poison the Portuguese with the fruit of the Stramonium Datura, a fruit which, it was said, had the effect when

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eaten of making men forget all things, and render them insensible of even their wounds. The treachery was discovered, and the conspirators hanged over the walls in the sight of those who had bribed them, and who then took to open hostility, having failed in their attempts to capture the place by other means. About this time a galley and three other vessels, with some picked troops for the relief of the fortress, entered the port of Onor.

Troubles were in store now for the Portuguese in the Moluccas. The son and heir of the late King of Ternate took up arms to avenge the death of his father, and made his first attack on the Portuguese in the island of Amboina, whither he sent a force under his uncle, Calaccsico, with twelve galleys. The fort there was commanded by Dom Duarte de Menezes, who was away from Amboina at this critical moment, and the place was nearly captured by the enemy, but fortunately a chance musket-shot killed a Caciz of note, upon whose death they withdrew to the island of Varenula. At this moment Duarte de Menezes and Gonçalo Pereira arrived with reinforcements, whereupon the latter went with six ships and drove the enemy out of Varenula.

Whilst this was going on at Amboina, the fort of Ternate was being closely besieged by the enemy, and the garrison were reduced to the greatest straits for the want of food. The son of the late King of Ternate, finding that the fortress successfully held out against his attacks, induced the King of Tidore to join him, and their united forces then assaulted the place. Their troops entered the trenches, and were near capturing the fort, when Gonçalo Pereira, hearing of the situation of the Portuguese at Ternate, hastened from Amboina to their assistance with three vessels and 100 men. On his way he called at Batjan, and induced the King of that place to join with him, and thus increased his fleet to fourteen sail. A combined fleet from Tidore and Ternate, consisting of fifty covacoraes, or large galleys, met Pereira on his way, and

engaged him, but was defeated, whereupon Pereira proceeded to Ternate and relieved the fort. The force there was, however, not sufficient to drive off the enemy, who continued the siege for five years.

Several Princes of India, perceiving the vast increase in power the Portuguese were now obtaining in the East, resolved to give it one fatal blow, and for this purpose entered into a league, the negotiations for which were carried on with wonderful secrecy.

These Princes were the Adil Khan Alecdaxa, Nizamaluco Xaoxem, and the Zamorin. Their aim being to extirpate the Portuguese from India, they raised some powerful armies, and were so confident of success that it is said they agreed beforehand to the division of the territories they imagined they had already conquered. The first named was to have Goa, Onor, and Barcelor; the second Chaul, Daman, and Bassein; and the third Cannanore, Mangalore, Cochin, and Chale; and, further, the Adil Khan had even assigned offices at Goa for his chief men. The King of Achin was at the same time to make an attack on Malacca. The Adil Khan marched to besiege Goa, and Nizamaluco to Chaul, without any regard to the existing treaties of peace between the Portuguese and themselves respectively.

The Viceroy on this occasion showed an undaunted spirit. It was generally agreed that Chaul should be abandoned for the greater security of Goa, but the Viceroy determined that the enemy should have nothing but what they dearly bought. He immediately sent to the relief of Chaul Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas with 600 men in four galleys and five smaller vessels, in which also he was accompanied by a great number of noblemen who had enlisted as soldiers, and started from Goa about the end of September, 1570.

The Viceroy next turned his attention to the defences of Goa. He posted Fernando de Sousa de Castello-Branco, an old soldier, in the Pass of Banesterim with

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120 men; Dom Paulo de Lima at Rachol with sixty, and so on at different places, until he had distributed 1,500 natives on the island. There were barely 700 Portuguese soldiers on the place, and these the Viceroy decided to have in readiness to relieve any point where the greatest danger threatened. The city was left in charge of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and the clergy, who numbered about 300, and these were assisted by 1,000 slaves. Captain João de Sousa, with fifty horse, was to hold himself in readiness to go wherever he might be required. Dom Jorge de Menezes, surnamed Baroche, was to guard the river with twenty-five sail. The Viceroy at the same time caused ammunition and provisions to be brought from all parts, the works to be repaired, and about the middle of December he took his post by the bank of the river.

No sooner had the Viceroy made these arrangements than several bodies of men, under the command of Nori Khan, the Adil Khan's general, were seen coming over the hills and encamping at Ponda, where they stayed until the end of December, 1570, when they advanced to the Pass of Banesterim. These formed the advanced guard of the army, and made preparations for the reception of the main body, which arrived eight days later, and occupied a position at Ponda, the Adil Khan himself being in command of 100,000 fighting men, besides an infinite number of followers; 35,000 horse, 2,140 war elephants, 350 cannon, most of them of an extraordinary size, and some large boats (which were conveyed on mules), to be launched on the river whenever necessary. The principal generals were, Nori Khan, called Hener Maluco, Rumer Khan and Cojer Khan. The enemy's order of battle was thus: the Adil Khan at Ponda with 4,000 horse, 600 musketeers, 300 elephants, and 220 cannon; Cojer Khan, Rumer Khan, and Mortaz Khan near the mouth of the Ganja Channel with 3,000 horse, 130 elephants, and nine cannon; Nori Khan oppcsite the

island of João Lopes with 7,000 horse, 180 elephants, and eight large cannon; Camil Khan and Delirra Khan facing the Pass of Banesterim with 9,000 horse, 200 elephants, and thirty-two cannon; Soleyman Aga on the heights above Banesterim with 1,500 horse and two field-pieces; Anjozcan opposite the island of João Bangel with 2,500 horse, fifty elephants, and six cannon; Xatiarviatam near Sapal with 1,500 horse, six elephants, and six cannon; Daulate Khan, Xatiatimanaique, Chiti Khan, and Codemena Khan facing the pass of Agaçaim with 9,000 horse, 200 elephants, and twenty-six cannon. The rest of the army covered the mountain ranges in vast numbers, and seemed calculated to strike a terror into the boldest spirits.

The Viceroy having inspected all the various positions, and having been reinforced with several troops from sundry parts, rearranged his men thus: the dry pass, which he had designed for himself, he committed to the care of Dom Pedro de Almeida and Dom Jorge de Eça with 120 men, and he took command at Banesterim, which position had been assigned to Fernando de Sousa de Castello-Branco with a like number of men, but who now occupied a subordinate command there, as he was anxious not to be removed from that position. Dom Miguel de Castro was entrusted with a post not far from Madre de Deos with 150 men; Dom Diogo Barradas on a point of the dry pass with sixty; Dom Pedro de Castro near Banesterim with 120 men, which were maintained at his own expense; Diogo de Azambuja close by with fifty; Francisco Pereira a little further off with twenty men; Vicente Dias Villalobos at Sapal with sixty men; Gaspar Fernandes with fifty; Dom Luiz de Almeida, Dom Fernando de Monroyo, and Dom Martim de Castello-Branco each with sixty soldiers; Francisco Marques Botelho with fifty; Alvaro de Mendoça between the Viceroy and the pass of Mercantor with ten men; a little further off Simão de Mendoça with 120 men;

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Manoel Rolim at the Pass of S. João with 100 men. In the Marque Pass eighty men were placed; Balthazar Lobo de Sousa at Bardes with fifty men; Pero Alvares de Faria near him with eighty; Vasco Peres de Faria at Necra with a company; Damião de Sousa at Rachol with the same number, and Francisco da Silveira at Norva with thirty men.

Several vessels with small guns were told off to patrol the river, and to be in readiness at any of the above-named posts, to render such assistance as might be needed. Thus the number of the Viceroy's force did not exceed 1,600 men, and he had only thirty cannon in all those posts.

At the same time Nizamaluco set down before Chaul with a large army, where the Portuguese had no greater force to oppose him than they possessed at Goa.

The attack on Goa was commenced by a furious bombardment from all the enemy's positions, but they concentrated their principal fire against the fort and works of Banesterim, which suffered severely. The enemy were fortunately unaware of the execution they did here, for what damage they caused during the day was invariably repaired at night. They poured in showers of ball, quite 600 being found in Alvaro de Mendoça's post. The Portuguese vessels cruising here, there, and everywhere, plied their guns with good effect.

This was the usual time for the trading ships to return to Portugal, and everyone tried to convince the Viceroy that, as these vessels would carry at least 400 men whose services might be required, it would be advisable to stop them. But the Viceroy, being anxious to make his glory all the greater by overcoming great difficulties, replied that they were required in Portugal, and trusted the forces he retained would be sufficient for the work he had in hand. So the vessels sailed for Lisbon. The fire from the Portuguese guns appeared to do more harm to the enemy than they received at their hands, but the defenders lost in

killed several men of note. D. Francisco da Silva, though mortally wounded by a cannon-ball, continued to encourage his men up to the last. Pedro Homem da Silva, thrice wounded by musket-shots, cheered his men on until he died. The Portuguese vessels did grand service, attacking the enemy everywhere, the crews having often the boldness to land and attack the enemy in their works, killing many, and capturing colours and arms, besides making several prisoners. Dom Jorge de Menezes Baroche in his vessels, and Dom Pedro de Castro by land, with 200 Portuguese soldiers, made such a slaughter that the Viceroy, to animate the spirits of the inhabitants of the city, sent them two cart-loads of the enemy's heads. Gaspar Dias and his brother Lançarote, running up country one night with eighty men, burnt two villages and several farm-houses, bringing away with them many prisoners, heads of the slain, and some cattle.

On another occasion these two brothers, with 130 men, attacked Cojer Khan and Rumer Khan with such success that they destroyed everything the enemy had prepared for an incursion into the island of João Lopes. In this action Francisco da Cunha Coutinho, a servant of the Viceroy, got so close to a body of 500 Moors that he was able to throw three grenades into their midst, killing several of them, he himself escaping unhurt. The enemy admired the bravery of the Portuguese, fighting, as they were, against such odds, but were much more astonished when they heard that in the very midst of the fighting and this siege, the Viceroy had ordered Dom Diogo de Menezes, who had arrived with his squadron from the Malabar coast, to return thither, and that Dom Fernando de Vasconcellos had been sent with four galleys and two small ships to destroy the city of Dabhol, to show the Adil Khan how little he cared for his power. Dom Fernando burnt two large ships there and many smaller craft, then, having landed his men, burnt some villages, and would have done the same to the city had not his own captains

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prevented him. He then returned to Goa and attacked Angoscan's works about three miles distant from the Viceroy's position, and entered them with great slaughter. His men, however, so inebriated with their success, fell into disorder, whereupon the enemy rallied and turned on the Portuguese, killing some, while the rest fled, leaving their captain, who, weakened with loss of blood and exhausted with the weight of his armour, was unable to reach the boat, but fought in the water till he died. His ensign, Augustin Fernandes, died with colours in his left hand, while he fought with his right. Forty Portuguese were killed, and their heads, together with the colours, were carried in triumph to the Adil Khan. The Viceroy immediately sent Dom Jorge de Menezes Baroche with 100 additional men to burn Dom Fernando de Vasconcello's vessel, which had been taken by the enemy. Not only was this accomplished successfully, but the cannon in it, which had not been removed by the enemy, were also brought away.

The Zamorin now made proposals for a treaty of peace, but there were strong grounds for doubting whether they were sincere, and the Viceroy therefore gave him to understand that he would yield nothing through fear, and continued firm in his resolution. The Adil Khan then prevailed upon the Queen of Garçopa to declare war against Onor, and he was much astonished to see that the Viceroy was able to send relief to that place when he thought he had scarcely a sufficient number of men to garrison Goa. The Viceroy, however, was not only able to assist Onor, but also sent reinforcements to Marramaque at the Moluccas, and to Francisco Barreto at Mozambique.

It was now the beginning of March, 1570, and the siege had lasted two months without any abatement of its fury. Many of the buildings in Goa were ruined by the enemy's cannon, many of the enemy killed by the defenders' artillery. Antonio Cabral ran up the River Cha-

pora with four vessels, and, landing fifty men, burnt four villages and over fifty sail, capturing much booty. Dom Paulo de Lima did the same at Rachol, with forty men.

The Viceroy used every possible means of securing intelligence from the enemy's camp. He bribed some renegade Portuguese there, and even corrupted the Adil Khan's favourite wife, and through her succeeded in obtaining information regarding his most secret designs and intentions. The Adil Khan, finding that his army had already suffered severely at the hands of so small a force, and that several squadrons from abroad had recently arrived to reinforce Goa, again made proposals for peace, and negotiations to that effect were commenced, but the siege was nevertheless continued, and, in the beginning of April, 700 Moors attacked a pass defended by 200 Portuguese soldiers, but as soon as the latter perceived reinforcements for the enemy coming up, they fled in such disorder that neither their officers nor the Viceroy could rally them, and in the retreat their two captains were killed.

Further reinforcements now reached Goa. Luiz de Mello, who had set out with a fleet of fourteen sail in search of an Achinese fleet, had found it near the port of Achin. It was composed of sixty well-manned ships, armed with large cannon, under the command of the King's son and heir. The fleets soon engaged each other resolutely for some time, the enemy being eventually utterly destroyed, three galleys and six small vessels being captured and the remainder, all but one, sunk. The Portuguese did not lose a single man, but the enemy's losses were 1,200 killed (including the King's son) and 300 prisoners. Luiz de Mello then returned to Malacca with the vessels and cannon he had taken, and sending some men to the Moluccas, arrived at Goa with 1,500 men, having been joined at Cochin by Vasco Lourenço de Barbudo, whom he found there making preparations to send reinforcements to the Viceroy.

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During this period, before the winter set in, several successful inroads were made into the enemy's works. One night 150 men defeated the enemy at Banesterim, and destroyed all the works they had raised. They also did the same at Xatiarrao, Chatigão, and Rachol, burning villages, demolishing the enemy's works, and slaying a great number.

The Adil Khan, now almost in despair, began to make arrangements and construct works of a durable character as though he intended to take up his position permanently opposite to Goa. He, however, resolved to make another vigorous attempt to invade the island with 9,000 men through the Mercantor Pass, which was not guarded, because the river at this spot was wide. The Portuguese, hearing the sound of a drum in that direction, ran thither, and observed him on the opposite side, personally conducting the attack. Information of this movement was at once sent to the Viceroy, who dispatched fresh troops, and followed on himself. In spite, however, of all opposition, 5,000 men under the command of the Turk, Soleyman Aga, the captain of the guard, succeeded in crossing over. Further troops were sent to the Viceroy, until he had with him a force of 2,000 men to oppose the enemy. All the various positions along a distance of two leagues were now in action.

The attack lasted during the 13th April, 1570, from morning till night, and all the following day, during the whole of which time the Adil Khan was a spectator, and witnessed the failure of his troops to make good their position on the island, whence they were at length forced to retire. The Portuguese in this action lost twenty killed, but the enemy's casualties were over 4,000, and among them, Soleyman Aga, the Adil Khan's brother-in-

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law, and other persons of note, besides which they lost some colours. The Adil Khan was furious at this defeat, and openly vowed that he would not stir from before Goa until he should have retrieved this failure. Nevertheless, he could not but recognise the difficulties of his situation, and secretly desired to come to an accommodation with the Portuguese. At last he brought himself to offer terms for the conclusion of a treaty, one of which was that the Portuguese should surrender Goa to him. It was, of course, impossible that the Viceroy should entertain any proposal to that effect, and these negotiations, therefore, came to nothing. The alternative which suggested itself to Dom Luiz de Atayde was to get rid of the Adil Khan altogether, and to this end he entered into negotiations with Nori Khan with the view of having him killed, offering, if successful, to confer on him either the Crown or great power in the government. Nori Khan agreed willingly to these proposals, but as the blow was about to be given, the plot was discovered, whereupon Nori Khan was arrested, and those who had joined with him in the conspiracy abandoned the enterprise.

The treaty of peace having thus fallen through, the siege was continued, but not with the same vigour as hitherto. The enemy's guns did great damage to the buildings of the city, but did not otherwise advance much the progress of the siege.

The Adil Khan, in order to divide and weaken the Viceroy's forces, again persuaded the Queen of Garçopa to attack Onor. She collected an army of 3,000 of her own men, which, with 2,000 of the Adil Khan's soldiers, besieged the fort. It was in July, 1570, that the news of this further trouble reached the Viceroy. He immediately dispatched Antonio Fernandes de Chale with two galleys and eight other vessels with such men as they could accommodate. In five days Antonio Fernandes reached Onor, and having joined Jorge de Moura, the commander there, fell upon the besiegers, putting them to flight with

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great loss, and capturing nearly all their cannon, which they brought into the fortress.

The Viceroy then endeavoured to create a diversion in his own favour, and to this end he secretly endeavoured to stir up other Princes to invade the dominions of the Adil Khan, and by that means compel him to raise the siege of Goa; but nothing appears to have come of this project. Both the Viceroy and the Adil Khan were equally anxious for peace, but neither desired that the other should be aware of it, and so, to all outward appearances, the siege and defence were carried on as before; but there appears to have been little or no spirit in the matter shown on either side, and less good generalship. Thus the winter was spent, the two forces still facing each other; but towards the end of August, when the season was more suitable to the enemy for operations in the field, the number of tents on the mainland was seen gradually to decrease; then followed the men, and lastly the cannon vanished, after a siege of ten months, wherein the enemy lost 12,000 men, 300 elephants, 4,000 horses, and 6,000 oxen. Thus was Goa suddenly delivered, and the Adil Khan retired without coming to any arrangement as to peace or otherwise. Later on, however, on the 17th December, 1571, a fresh treaty was concluded between the Viceroy and the Adil Khan.

Nizamaluco commenced the siege of Chaul at the same time that the Adil Khan began to besiege Goa. His general, Farete Khan, invested the place with 8,000 horse and 20,000 foot soldiers, and on the last day of November, 1569, the enemy commenced the attack, accompanied by much beating of drums and other sounds of warlike instruments.

Luiz Ferreira de Andrade, an able man and an officer well worthy of the post, commanded at Chaul, and laboured long under considerable disadvantages, being in great want of all necessaries requisite for a long siege, until Dom Francisco Mascarenhas came to his assistance with 600

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men in four galleys and five small vessels, besides some barques laden with provisions.

The fort of Chaul is seated in about 18 deg. of N. latitude, on the bank of a river, not twelve miles from the mouth of it. There were in this fortress but fifty horse and a small number of foot soldiers.

Farete Khan, desiring to distinguish himself before his Prince arrived, assaulted the place, but was repulsed with a great loss after a fight lasting three hours. The enemy then regularly invested the town, and in order to deprive them of the protection of houses in the neighbourhood of the fort, most of these were thrown down by order of Andrade. Nothing beyond a few unimportant skirmishes took place during December, but in the beginning of January, 1570, Nizamaluco arrived with the remainder of his army, which now numbered 34,000 horse, 100,000 foot soldiers, 16,000 sappers, 4,000 smiths and other artisans, 360 elephants, an infinite number of buffaloes and oxen, and forty pieces of cannon, most of them of an enormous calibre, some throwing shot of 100, 200, and even 300 lbs. weight. Thus 150,000 well-armed men encamped before a town which had only a single wall, a fortress more like a house, and but a handful of men to defend it. Farete Khan took up his quarters near the vicar's house adjoining the church "da Madre de Deos" (the Mother of God) with 7,000 horse and twenty elephants; Agalas Khan near the house of Diogo Lopes with 6,000 horse; and Ximiri Khan between that spot and Upper Chaul with 2,000; so that the city was beset from sea to sea. At the same time 4,000 horse were plundering the territories of Bassein. The King took up his quarters at the further end of the town, and a space of two leagues was covered with the enemy's tents.

Soon after the news of Chaul's critical position was known, many gentlemen flocked thither with men, so that in a short space of time there were 2,000 soldiers in the town. It was decided to defend the monastery of São

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Francisco, the command of which was committed to Alexandre de Sousa. Nuno Alvarez Pereira, with forty men, was entrusted with the defence of some houses on the shore; Dom Gonçalo de Menezes with those between the Misericordia and São Dominic, while the custody of some other houses near was committed to Nuno Velho Pereira.

It was the general opinion at Goa that Chaul ought to be abandoned, but this proposal was resolutely opposed by the Viceroy, who was supported in his views by Fernando de Sousa de Castello-Branco. He thereupon sent thither Dom Duarte de Lima and Fernando Telles de Menezes with their two galleys, and some men in four other ships to reinforce the place.

Nimir Khan, having promised Nizamaluco that he would be the first man to enter the town, proceeded to vigorously attack the positions entrusted to Henrique de Betancor and Fernando Pereira de Miranda, who bravely held their ground, and being relieved, repulsed him with a loss of 300 men, while the Portuguese loss was only seven killed. The enemy then turned their cannon against the monastery of São Francisco, where Alexandre de Sousa had some artillery. The attack lasted some time, but in the end the enemy were beaten off.

Nizamaluco, enraged at his last repulse, and desiring to avenge himself, that same night attacked the monastery of São Francisco. The Moors made a furious onslaught for the space of five hours, but were again repulsed with a loss of 300 killed.

The enemy repeated the attack the next day, and continued the same for five consecutive days, but were each time met with determined resolution by the defenders, who often sallied out against them, covering the field with their dead and capturing several colours. It was, however, at last deemed expedient to abandon that fort and withdraw the men into the city.

The enemy now occupied the fort and monastery of S.

Francisco, and attempted to capture some houses, but failed with a loss of 400 men. CHAP. XX.

Chaul was reduced to great straits, and Ruy Gonçalvez de Camara was sent to Goa for relief, with which he returned in two galleys. A.D. 1570.

At this time about 5,000 of Nizamaluco's horse invaded the territories of Bassein. Having been repulsed at Açarim and Daman, they encamped before Karanja, then commanded by Estevam Perestrelo, with a garrison of only forty men. Karanja was a small insignificant fort, between Chaul and Daman, on the coast, and might be almost considered an island, as it was surrounded by small brooks. When the enemy encamped before this place, Manoel de Lima arrived with thirty men, so being now seventy strong, Perestrelo fell on that vast number of the enemy with so much determination, that after covering this little island with dead bodies, the remainder of the enemy fled, leaving their cannon and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition.

To return, however, to Chaul. The enemy continued to bombard the place furiously with seventy pieces of large cannon for the space of a month, using at least 160 cannon-balls every day. These cannon caused great havoc among the houses, and many people were killed, one single shot killing six persons. The bombardment commenced against the Bastion of the Cross, and was carried on to a position in which Pedro Ferreira and Mem de Ornelas were posted; the position soon being levelled to the ground, the Portuguese soldiers marched out against the enemy's battery, and captured their works.

João Alvarez Soares, a revenue officer, hearing of the danger Chaul was in, fitted out a vessel at his own expense, and sailing there with some soldiers, rendered valuable assistance in the defence of the place.

The enemy attacked several houses, and were repulsed; but succeeded in planting their colours on that of Heytor Sampayo, whereupon an obstinate fight ensued. This

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house had been mined for the purpose of destroying it, and during the fight some fire dropping into the powder it blew up, killing forty-two Portuguese soldiers, but the Moors escaped unhurt. The latter immediately replaced their colours on the ruins of this house, and subsequently on that of Xira, which they took next. Ximiri Khan made a night attack on the Bastion of the C[illegible], with 600 men, but Fernando Pereira and Henrique Betancor, with about thirty men, beat them off, capturing five colours they had planted upon the works. Betancor fought with the left hand only, having lost his right in action, and Domingos del Alama being lame, was brought out on a chair to join in the fight.

April had now set in, and it really looked as if Nizamaluco had resolved to remain before Chaul during the whole winter, as new works were being erected there. Alexandre de Sousa and Dom Gonçalo de Menezes made a sally with 200 men, and making a furious onslaught, drove the enemy from their works, which they destroyed. A few Portuguese were killed, and the enemy's loss was fifty slain.

Nizamaluco, perplexed at such a continuation of reverses, made a general assault with his whole army, attacking all the Portuguese positions simultaneously. There was scarcely a single part of them which the enemy did not furiously enter and plant their colours, only to be with the same vigour and fury driven out again. In the morning 500 Moors and four or five Portuguese soldiers appeared to have been slain. At this juncture, reinforcements arrived from Goa, Diu, and Bassein, consisting of about 200 men and a large quantity of ammunition.

Two fresh dangers now threatened the besieged of Chaul; one was a troublesome disease, though not a fatal one, which caused loss of all power in the limbs of those attacked, and the other was that Nizamaluco had requested the King of Sarceta and some rebels of Cambay to attack the Portuguese in other places, and thus prevent relief

coming to them at Chaul. Neither of them, however, would listen to his proposals. Nizamáluco, then, finding that he would have to rely only on his own resources to finish the work he had undertaken, commenced to bombard the house of Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, which he continued to do for forty-two days, and at the expiration of that time he assaulted it with 5,000 men, the defenders being at first only forty; but reinforcements coming to their assistance, the enemy were repulsed with a loss of fifty killed. Again the enemy attacked this house, and again were they repulsed, but after this the building became untenable, and it was considered useless to attempt to hold it any longer; the captain therefore decided to blow it up. On the Portuguese abandoning the house, the enemy rushed in, and just as they were planting their colours on the roof, a mine which had been placed beneath it exploded, killing some of the Moors, those who escaped being blown up falling victims to the sword of Dom Francisco Mascarenhas. In like manner was the house of Francisco de Mello evacuated, after a long and stubborn defence.

The summer was now far spent, and Nizamaluco was making preparations to winter before Chaul. More than 200 Portuguese, fearing the place was doomed, deserted from the town, while 300, however, arrived from Goa and improved the state of affairs considerably. On the 11th April, 1570, Ruy Goncalvez da Camara attacked 500 Moors in an orchard, and with such success that only fifty of them escaped. He took five standards, and lost only two men killed, though the number of wounded was heavy.

Fortune was not, however, entirely one-sided in this encounter. The Moors, enraged at their losses, kept up an incessant cannonade, and a chance shot hitting one of the galleys, sunk her downright with all hands, and goods valued at 40,000 ducats. The Moors did not long rejoice over this accident, for Fernando Telles, sallying forth the next day with 400 men, defeated the enemy with heavy loss in killed, cannon, ammunition, arms, and other booty.

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Nizamaluco beheld the action from a distance, and could be seen afterwards with a whip in his hand and in a rage, threatening his men, upbraiding them for their cowardice.

Dom João de Lima, Francisco de Sá, and Dom Nuno Alvares, went out in search of some mines the enemy were supposed to be making, and coming upon a party engaged in this work, they attacked them and put every one to the sword. The Portuguese lost in these two engagements six private soldiers and the following officers and noblemen: Dom Luiz de Castello-Branco, Dom João de Lima, Antonio de Fonseca, Francisco Barradas, Ruy Pereira de Sá, and five other gentlemen of note.

After the King had made it appear by his preparations that he intended continuing the siege throughout the winter, and all things were in readiness for such a contingency, Farete Khan made overtures of peace, but evidently without any visible commission from the Prince, who caused him to be arrested, not because he had acted without orders, for he had doubtless received private instructions, but upon suspicion of his having been bribed. It was not to be wondered at that Nizamaluco was desirous of peace after unsuccessfully besieging a town for seven months with a loss of 7,000 men. Nor was it surprising that the Portuguese should wish it also, considering they had lost 400 of their own men, besides natives. All hopes of peace for the present, at all events, were extinguished by the imprisonment of Farete Khan, so Jorge Pereira Coutinho went forth with his fleet and burnt three of Nizamaluco's ships.

If was now the beginning of June, and the enemy's attacks and assaults were carried on with as much vigour as if the siege had only just commenced. The enemy's next attempt was upon the house defended by Dom Nuno Alvares, which was lost through carelessness. Some Portuguese, however, endeavoured to recapture it, but failed in the attempt, with a loss of twenty killed. The enemy

then took possession of the monastery of S. Domingos, where they made a great slaughter.

Dom Gonçalo de Menezes defended his post with success, but the Portuguese loss there was very heavy, as it was also in other quarters, where the shot from the enemy's guns is said to have fallen like hail, so incessant was the firing.

The enemy's fire never ceased from the end of May until nearly the end of June, and after this lengthened bombardment Nizamaluco resolved to make a breach sufficiently large for his whole army to enter through. On the 28th June the elephants appeared, loaded with castles full of men. The whole army was expecting a signal for a forward movement, but this was not given, because the Portuguese cannon had killed an officer of superior rank, which the King looked upon as an ill omen, and therefore postponed the attack until the next day. Six Portuguese soldiers ventured out beyond the works, and drawing a great number of the enemy within gunshot, 118 were killed, while over 500 were wounded.

The next day, about noon, the King gave the signal for the attack; the whole force advanced amid hideous yells and the sound of warlike instruments. Agalas Khan attacked Diogo Soares de Albergaria, João da Silva Barreto, Rodrigo Homem da Silva, and Lourenço de Brito, in their respective positions; Farete Khan and Sujate Khan advanced on the Misericordia, and Misnarão, captain of the guards, fell on the position commanded by Ruy Gonçalvez. Dom Francisco, the Portuguese Commander-in-Chief, having distributed part of his men where they were most needed, took up a position with the remainder opposite the King.

The days were darkened by the smoke of the guns, and the nights illuminated by the flames of burning buildings, the slaughter and confusion being great on all sides. Some of the enemy's colours were planted on the Portuguese works, but soon captured or cast down with those

who had placed them there. The elephants, which had been made drunk by the Nairs in order that they might become more fierce, being burnt and wounded, ran madly about the field. The fighting continued to the end of the day, up to which time the Portuguese still retained their positions, after slaying more than 3,000 of the enemy, among this number being a son of Agalas Khan.

The Portuguese lost during this action a few private soldiers and eight noblemen. Dom Henrique de Menezes, being lame, had to be carried about in a chair. Lourenço de Brito captured a great number of colours, and Gonçalo Rodrigues Caldeira and Jeronymo Corvo, besides many others, never once deserted their posts, though dangerously wounded.

At the request of the Moors a truce was now granted to enable them to bury their dead.

Nizamaluco was still very anxious for peace, but did not wish to appear so, whilst the Portuguese commander was equally desirous to put an end to the strife, but did not want to make the first advance to that effect. At length, however, both sides ceased from hostilities, and a treaty was then shortly concluded between them. Farete Khan and Azafa Khan were the commissioners acting for Nizamaluco; Pedro da Silva e Menezes and Antonio de Teyoe for the Portuguese Commander-in-Chief; and Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas for the Captain of the city. The main substance of the treaty was an offensive and defensive alliance between Nizamaluco and King Dom Sebastião.

The Zamorin, the third party of the league against the Portuguese, was to have attacked them by sea, but performed his part of the contract in a very half-hearted manner. After Goa and Chaul had been besieged for a month, instead of sending his fleet to sea, he sent proposals of peace to the Viceroy, with the view, it is supposed, either of gaining time or in order to put him off his guard. The matter was duly considered in council a

Goa, but as the Viceroy decided that peace should only be entertained on terms of a most exacting nature, the Zamorin dispatched a fleet about the end of February, under the command of Catiproca Marca. He soon made his appearance at Chaul with twenty-one ships, carrying a large number of men, whereof more than 1,000 were musketeers, and during the dead of night he passed through the Portuguese galleys and galleons, which filled the port, without meeting with any opposition. Only two paraos were actually opposed, but of these one managed to get in. The Malabarese boasted, and with a certain amount of reason too, of this feat, and Nizamaluco's men were naturally highly jubilant over such a success.

Nizamaluco, who was himself much pleased with the arrival of these men, gave certain posts to the 1,000 musketeers, and then persuaded the crews to attack the Portuguese ships, which were under the command of Lionel de Sousa. A large number of "calemutes"—a species of small craft—crammed full of men, joined the other twenty-one ships, and set out so full of eagerness that it seemed as if they were confident of success. They made for Lionel de Sousa's ship, but no sooner did he advance to attack them than they fled without firing a single gun. Nizamaluco, who from a height was a witness of their movements, did all he could to persuade them to return to the attack, but all to no purpose; and after twenty days the ships slipped away from the harbour unseen during the night.

The Queen of Mangalore, thinking she might obtain some advantages out of all this confusion, and hearing that Catiproca was in the neighbourhood with his fleet, represented to him how easily the Portuguese fort could be captured, offering, at the same time, to defray all expenses. Catiproca accepted the proposal, hoping thereby to regain the credit which he lost at Chaul. Quite unexpectedly he landed his men, and with ladders scaled the walls. Some servants of Dom Antonio Pereira, who was commanding

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there, on awaking and perceiving the enemy ascending, threw out of a window the first thing which came to hand, which was a chest full of silver belonging to Dom Antonio, and with it knocked down those who were upon the ladder. The commander and the garrison waking with the noise, attacked the enemy, and forced them to retire, but as they did so they carried with them the chest to their ships. As they passed before Cannanore, Dom Diogo went out against them with his squadron, and following them up the river of Tiracole, he attacked and defeated the entire fleet, not one ship escaping. Catiproca was killed, and his nephew Cutiale taken prisoner; the chest of silver was also recovered and returned to its owner.

Towards the end of June, when the Adil Khan and Nizamaluco were on the point of retiring from the siege, the Zamorin, with 100,000 men, most of them musketeers, arrived before the fort of Chale, a place only two leagues from Calicut, where the Zamorin held his Court. The fort was then commanded by Dom Jorge de Castro. The enemy planted forty brass cannon, and completely surrounded the fort, so that when relief was sent from Cochin under Dom Antonio de Noronha, he was quite unable to get the supplies into the fort, so closely was it hemmed in, and so incessant and deadly was the fire of the enemy's cannon. Francisco Pereira de Sousa, coming from Cannanore, with great bravery overcame the difficulty, but the relief was only small. As soon as the Viceroy received advices, he sent Dom Diogo de Menezes with eighteen sail to carry supplies to the fort. With great difficulty he reached Chale in September, when the besieged were reduced to the last extremities, there being at least 600 souls in the place, of which number not more than sixty were capable of bearing arms.

Dom Diogo de Menezes succeeded, after some heavy fighting, and amid great danger, in getting a large quantity of provisions and ammunition into the fortress, in which action, however, he lost forty men.

The King of Achin, the fourth of these confederates against the Portuguese power in India, had constantly entertained designs against Malacca, and he now sent a fleet as a diversion in that direction. This, however, was met, ere it arrived at its destination, by a Portuguese fleet commanded by Luiz de Mello da Silva, and an engagement took place, in which the Achinese were entirely defeated, and thus Malacca was for a time relieved.

Thus ended the powerful league that had been formed against the Portuguese, and thus was it successfully resisted by the valour and the fortune of this Viceroy, who opposing the forces which had been uniting against him, succeeded in re-establishing, for a time, the military prestige of the Portuguese, which had recently been somewhat on the decline.

Dom Luiz de Atayde, Conde de Atouguia, was a man of undeniable valour, had a great experience in military matters, to which he had devoted himself from his youth, and his mind was so free from avarice, that while other men brought back from Asia heaps of treasure, he only brought with him four jars containing water from the four famous rivers, Indus, Ganges, Tigris, and Euphrates, which were preserved during many years in his castle at Peniche.

After serving in Africa and Europe, Dom Luiz went over to India to serve there, and at the age of twenty-two was knighted on Mount Sinai by the Governor, Dom Estevão da Gama. Returning to Portugal, he went as ambassador to the Emperor Charles V., and was present at the battle of Mühlberg, in which the Emperor defeated the Lutherans under the Landgrave and Elector of Saxony, where he behaved himself with so much gallantry, that Charles V. offered to knight him. Dom Luiz de Atayde replied that as he had already been knighted on Mount Sinai he could not accept the honour. The Emperor, in the hearing of all, said that he envied more that honour than he rejoiced over the victory.

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Dom Luiz returned to Lisbon in 1572, and on his arrival, the King, Dom Sebastião, received him with great honours, yet afterwards (like King Dom Manoel and Duarte Pacheco) slighted him very much. He was afterwards restored to favour, and returned a few years later as Viceroy for the second time.

His successor was Dom Antonio de Noronha.

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